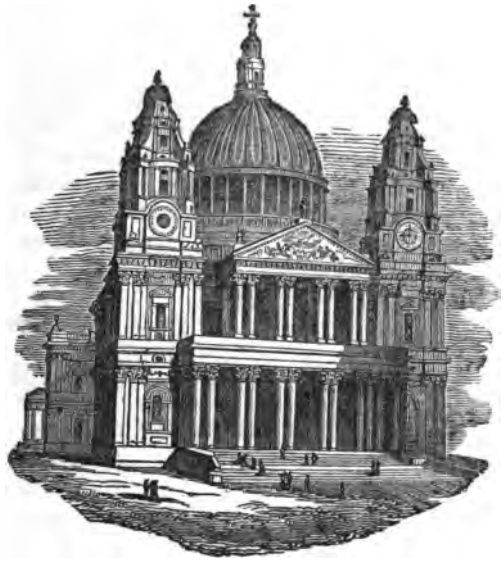
THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Quarterly Review.



Πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.—Matt. xvi. 18.

VOL. XIX.

LONDON:
WILLIAM EDWARD PAINTER, STRAND;
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.
MDCCCXLVI.

CONTENTS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, MDCCCXLVI.

ART. I.—*Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; Illustrated by a Geological Map, Sections, and Diagrams, and Figures of the Organic Remains.* By P. E. DE STRZELECKI. London: Longmans. 1845.

2. *Lyell's Journal of a Geologist in North America.* Maps and Plates. Two Vols. octavo. London: Murray. 1845.

THE difference between empiricism and science is this, that the empiric depends solely on his facts, as he calls them—depends on his own limited experience, his own partial deductions; while the man of science endeavours to avail himself of all the experience and all the knowledge which is to be found amongst all mankind: and in proportion as the science we take in hand is more extensive in its sphere than the subjects to which we have been accustomed to give attention, so is it necessary to enlarge our views before we dare assume that we understand it; much more before we can lay down any fixed principles by which we may venture to test—by which we may venture to regulate and classify the single and isolated facts which may break in upon us from time to time, starting up in the remote regions of these extensive sciences.

In a science like geology, which is wide as the circumference of the world, deep as the solid foundations of the earth, the experience of a whole nation, yea, of a whole generation of scientific men, may be too limited to afford sufficient grounds for laying down any fixed principles—any universal law; and, if so, the attempt to lay them down is dogmatising at the best,

and may be mere empiricism. In so extensive a science, there may be provincial—there may be national empiricism; for the empiric is not necessarily an individual: it may be a whole society of one type. No one at present hesitates in allowing that the old Wernerians formed one class of empirics, and that the Huttonians or Plutonists formed another class; and the time may come when another and larger class may be formed through an amalgamation of the former two.

Werner did much towards making us better acquainted with the external characters of minerals: Hutton and Playfair brought to light many curious effects of heat on mineral substances, coinciding very remarkably with the appearances of various classes of rocks, in the formation of which the agency of heat had not been till then suspected. But the mines of Germany were too narrow a basis for an universal system: the gunbarrels and pigmy furnaces of Hutton and Sir James Hall formed ridiculous caricatures in comparison with nature's grand laboratory, however valuable the single facts may have been which were established by their interesting experiments; like, as it cannot be denied, that many important facts were discovered by those diligent experimenters, the alchemists, in the middle ages. We apprehend that the system of geology, which is at present in vogue, rests on too narrow a basis to be permanent; for Germany and Great Britain are the only countries in which mining operations have been carried on to such an extent as to render it possible to know truly the constitution and superposition of mineral masses. Nor shall we have any confidence in the assertions which are made concerning the structure of the earth, until the results of mining operations in many distant parts of the earth have been made known; and that by men of science who have themselves collected the facts, and who can tell us wherein these facts agree with, or differ from, the facts which have come under our own observation.

It is only by mining and quarrying that the relative positions of strata can be ascertained in the habitable parts of the earth: for the bare cliffs and precipices of mountainous districts usually consist of one kind of rock only, and scarcely ever teach more than what is the prevalent rock of the district. A traveller, passing through a country, may readily discover its general features—its superficial character; but such observations are of no value in geology. The surface of the earth has been so much disturbed, and by such a variety of agencies, that we can draw very few inferences, from what appears above ground, concerning the rocks which lie beneath. And even the rocks

which break through the soil, are not always those which form the substratum of the district: anomalies, like the semi-granitic peaks of Malvern, or like the different masses of the Wrekin and the Skirrid, occur in all countries, by which a passing traveller would be misled. It is only in the bowels of the earth that the true positions of the several formations can be ascertained: and it is only by many observations, and in distant countries, that we can ascertain whether these relative positions are merely local, or whether they are so general as to be justly considered universal—that is, universal, when not interfered with by some local irregularity—some exception to the general law.

We surely are not now needing to be taught that no system of geology can be deduced from hand specimens, or the contents of the best cabinets: these do no more than give practical tact, accuracy in perceiving minute distinctions, separating species, and distinguishing varieties from each other. In like manner, the partial and exaggerated views which are taken by those who are conversant only with a single district, or with one country, become so many impediments in the way of forming a general system—that is, a system which shall hold true in all cases alike. The rocks themselves, and their relations to each other, must be studied *in situ*, and on a large scale, and in many localities, before any general system, having any pretension to truth, can be formed; and since it is now well known that in different quarters of the globe these formations differ greatly in relative position, in quantity, and in character, they must be thus carefully studied, in all parts of the world, before we can be sure that any one system, even as a local system, is true, and will stand every test; for the general *does* test, *does* govern, the particular system, though the local and particular may fall far short of, and little conduce to, any general system.

Much mistake arose when the new science of geology came into notice, through the partial views of nearly all the founders of it—of all who were thought eminent, and gave *éclat* to the geological theories. Their opinions were formed upon facts derived from their own several localities, and they not unnaturally supposed the condition of things to be similar throughout all the earth. Werner, confident in the facts of German mineralogy, devised the aqueous theory of formation; and he founded a school of most enterprising young men, who brought to light daily new facts, all of which they held to be corroborative of the theory of their master. To them they were so, because having their minds pre-occupied with

one idea, all the facts which they saw told in the same scale, and they saw no other facts. Their facts were all deduced from one region, under the domain of one power, to whose agency the theory had been, in the first instance, very carefully adapted. The followers of Werner were many of them blind in their devotions, some knew no other facts than Werner's; and when they did look out for facts in this, or other lands, beyond the German pale, it was with German eyes: they caught at all the facts which were favourable—saw none which were unfavourable to the aqueous theory.

Hutton and Playfair, on the other hand, from having made the basalts and whins of Scotland their peculiar study, were led to regard fire as the chief formative agent in all rocks; in which they were strengthened by the very striking experiments of Sir James Hall, who found that by exposing pulverised rocks to heat, under such pressure as would prevent the gasses from escaping, they would become consolidated; and not only rocks but saw dust, or vegetable matter, thus treated, could be converted into coal: and he also found that substances which were converted into glass by cooling *rapidly*, might, by *gradual cooling*, be made to assume an opake and stoney character, instead of the shining vitreous character. Thus, for consolidating the earths into rocks, fire appeared to be a sufficient agent, while, at the same time, it was shown that heat, combined with pressure, would neither calcine nor vitrify, but only consolidate.

Both parties, however, left unaccounted for the notorious and all-important phenomenon, that vast masses of strata are *conformable* with each other, yet not *homogeneous;* a fact which renders both these theories, under any modification, equally inadmissible: for supposing a stratum of hard silicious sandstone to lie between two strata of clay, yet all three perfectly conformable, which is a very common case, this state of things cannot be accounted for by either hypothesis; water will not account for it because the ingredients differ; fire will not account for it because the clay is not consolidated; and any pressure which enabled the fire to consolidate the rock would consolidate the clay also, which lies in juxta-position on both sides of the rock.

The English geologists, who have since taken the lead, and chiefly in consequence of the formation of a Geological Society in London, began without any theory, and on the sole principle of collecting and classifying facts; yet, from the remarkable abundance of fossils in the London clay and gravel, and other deposits lying above the chalk, they have

been led to the study of animal remains, and have given fossils a very prominent place in determining the distinctions between different deposits, and the order in which they have succeeded each other. Had they kept to this, their proper province, all would have been well; and we should have been able to use their local knowledge of fossils in full confidence, without abatement, without qualification: but, unfortunately, they, too, have been ensnared by theories, which we do not wish to speak of harshly, and which we would not allude to at all but that they do warp observation and distort facts; while, in prematurely grasping at too much, they are in danger of losing all.

All these errors are gendered by that partiality which arises from limited observation; and the corrective will come in proportion as other facts from distant quarters are made known: for even, if all the facts in all cases should be tinged with partiality, yet if they be from *distant* regions they will be *different* kinds of partiality, and the errors will neutralise or compensate each other, leaving a residuum of truth; and, therefore, we welcome any observations concerning the geology of distant countries, and the more so in proportion as they are more detailed: therefore, we are glad to meet with the works which we have placed at the commencement of this paper, and especially the first of them, which is a very striking account of a most remarkable country, and a country with which we are only just beginning to become acquainted. It is by an extension to all parts of the world of such observations as have been made in England that truth will be established; and until this is done we cannot be expected to receive, as universal principles or foundations on which geology as a science may securely rest, facts derived from one country alone, and that also a country, the geological structure of which is notoriously different from all other countries, in the number and variety of the mineral products found within the same extent of space, and in the singular abundance of the most useful minerals—coal, iron, and lime—which are found throughout the whole length of the land from Bristol to Newcastle, and which have already formed a larger ingredient of the prosperity of England than any other of her internal sources, yet seem destined to exert an influence still greater on the coming age, and carry her forward in a career at once so rapid and extensive as to cast all our past experience into the shade—to make England one city—and that the metropolis of the world.

England presents a remarkably good field for geological

observation, from its great variety of rocks all abutting against its western mountains, and exposed along its southern coast, where their succession and junction is traceable along the cliffs which are laid bare by the action of the waves. The granites of Cornwall form a base against which the mica slates and shales of Devonshire lean, succeeded by the limestone of Plymouth, and the marles and lias of Lyme Regis. To this succeeds the oolite of Dorset, passing into Portland stone and Purbeck, surmounted by chalk, London clay, and the fresh-water formations of the Isle of Wight. This complete succession is a great advantage, in simplifying our ideas at the commencement of a study; but it is accompanied with the temptation of making our systems of geology exclusively English, from assuming that we have on our southern shores a complete display of the whole succession of strata, from the fundamental granite to the last sands and gravels which lie over the Norfolk crag or London clay. We think that, as no formation is universal which is not to be found or accounted for everywhere, when the formations above and below it appear, so every universal formation, or its equivalent, should appear in such a succession as this; unless we can account for its absence by marks of denudation, or disruption, leaving a manifest *hiatus*, which we are then at liberty to supply from other lands.

But in finding equivalents, or in supplying a deficiency, we are in danger of unwarrantably increasing the number of universal formations; and of making an aggregate of many particulars, which has real existence nowhere. We cannot allow that the universal formations are more in number than the distinct formations which are exposed in every such situation as the southern coast of England: and if it be asserted that another formation ought to be present, we require distinct proof, from more than one other series; that this formation is accidentally absent from the English series; and every such proof of accidental absence generates the suspicion, on the other hand, that some may be accidentally present which ought not to be regarded as universal formations.

In the last geological map of England, Mr. Murchison regards the distinct formations as eighteen; but of these only twelve appear on the southern coast. These twelve, therefore, are all that should *à priori* be regarded as universal; and the absent six may be regarded either as local deposits, or as having equivalents and substitutes in some of the twelve. We find, in fact, that two of the absent formations are the upper and lower Silurian, which have indisputably their

equivalents in the old red sandstone of Devonshire; and the other four, which are absent, belong to the coal measures, which we have always regarded as local deposits, or, when regarded as a whole, would call it the *independent* coal formation: believing each coal district to be distinct and separate from all other formations, and having no right whatever to a place among universal deposits, or to rank as one of a geological series.

Every universal deposit, having a place in a series, must re-appear whenever the strata which lie over it are removed; as the Hastings sand re-appears at the Isle of Wight, and at Purbeck, under the green sand and the chalk. But if the carboniferous strata were universal, they ought to appear in the neighbourhood of Torbay, between the old red sandstone and the new; but nothing at all like them appears, except a few patches of Babicombe and Devon marble. By the same rule, if strictly applied, we might strike out the lias, and the Oxford clay, from the series of universal deposits, since they are decidedly local and partial; though not so entirely separated into patches as the independent coal formations—and of course the London clay, and the other less considerable deposits above the chalk, which are only accidental lodgements in the superficial hollows, and have so little solidity or constancy of character—have still smaller pretensions to be ranked among formations, or as forming members of a geological series. These being struck out would leave only eight distinct formations above the granite—mica slate, old red sandstone, new red sandstone, oolite, Portland stone, Hastings sand, green sand, and chalk; and it would greatly simplify our ideas to regard all other strata as only appendages or subdivisions of these.

Clay slate is regarded by Mr. Murchison as only an appendage of the old red sandstone, and chlorite as an appendage of mica slate. This principle might be extended; and, in studying foreign geology, we must be prepared to find rocks which, though differing from our own, it will be safer to regard as equivalents for, or subdivisions of formations with which we are already acquainted, than to constitute new formations, which convey no new ideas, but are little more than the same thing under a new name.

The most remarkable of the recent additions to our knowledge of extensive formations is that which has resulted from Mr. Murchison's examination of the old red sandstone of Cumberland, and Wales, and Devon, and South Russia; yet all these can only be regarded as subdivisions of one great

formation, for some of the members prevail in one locality, some in another; and the other members are reciprocally defective, and seen only in the minutest indications, if not totally wanting. But looked at in reference to the primary and secondary rocks, these all, as one whole, occupy precisely the same place in the system which had been long ago assigned to our old acquaintance; it is, after all, only an old friend under two or three new names: and though we quite agree with Linneus, in thinking that it requires more science to distinguish species than to form genera, and so give all credit to Mr. Murchison for his sagacity, we would also urge the propriety of respecting well established genera, both because classification and order are stamped upon all that we see, and because life is too short to be wasted in learning a new classification for every new discovery.

For it is to be borne in mind that, as things at present stand, one classification is as good as another, provided it be equally clear. All present arrangements are merely optional and conventional—are not scientific—are merely like the sorting of papers in an office, or the arrangement of words in a dictionary, for more convenient reference. The principles upon which a scientific arrangement should be made are not yet discovered.

One of the most able and candid of geologists, Professor Ansted, in his "Introduction to Geology," (p. 93), observes:—

"It is, perhaps, an unfortunate circumstance for geology, that in whatever way the subject is first viewed, it is surrounded with difficulties, from the impossibility of actually connecting geological phenomena with the operations now going on around us. If, for instance, we endeavour to trace back the history of the world, and pass from the consideration of the alluvial matter carried down by rivers, to that of the gravel, which appears to be the newest deposit, and one abundantly spread over various formations, we are at once struck by the utter inadequacy of any cause now in action to produce such effects. If, on the other hand, we attempt to look back to that far distant period when the world was only beginning to assume its present form, it requires no slight effort to dispossess the mind of a certain incredulity, naturally arising from those feelings of astonishment produced by the contemplation of phenomena so unfamiliar to us, and apparently so inexplicable; and a great effort is required fully to comprehend them. Before, however, entering on the considerations of the Palæozoic rocks, this effort must be made; for in them we have a series of strata, whose total thickness amounts to many thousand feet, which contain, in rich abundance, several distinct groups of animal and vegetable remains, not one of them the same, and but few of them similar to the animals and vegetables of our own time; and these

deposits are spread over a large proportion of the actual land upon the earth; the species found in them, in England, being again met with in Russia, in North America, and apparently in Australia."

Professor Ansted does not use words at random; and speaking of the *impossibility* of connecting geological phenomena with any known operations of nature, he means what he says. There is an impassable gulph between our world and the world of geology, which renders an explanation of the causes of the geological phenomena a present *impossibility;* and, where data are wholly wanting, *time* will not lessen the difficulty—millions of years will not remove an impossibility—will not accomplish a work which has never begun: the element of time in such a case is wholly beside the question—is altogether absurd; and as we are unable to take the very first step; as we are unable to connect the alluvial matter carried down by rivers with the newest geological deposit, that of the gravel, which has some little resemblance to present operations, how greatly does the difficulty increase as we recede more and more from the only world we know, and its present laws!—and we need not wonder at finding the laws of that other, that Palœozoic world, in which not one of the creatures was the same as those of our own time, appearing wholly inexplicable. The Palœozoic world is separated from our own by an impassable gulph: its laws are at present unknown to us, and so far as these laws are concerned, our only wise conduct is to be silent. But concerning its phenomena, we do well to observe and classify them, just as we might observe the phenomena of Jupiter or Saturn; and when all the phenomena have been collected and compared, it may lead to general inferences tending to clear away the present difficulties, and perhaps to bridge over that gulph which now separates us from the past; and, in the meantime, we may beneficially avail ourselves of such systems of classification as are at present in use, so far as they can be made to apply to the past world, using them only for present convenience, and being ready to give them up when necessary, or when any true principles shall be established.

It is true, as Professor Ansted says, that the subject is surrounded with difficulties, and that there appears to be an *impossibility* in surmounting them; but the impossibility arises from the inadequacy of the causes which have been referred to by geologists: it may be impossible by these means to account for any one of the phenomena which we observe. Yet there may be other causes and other means, which have not

been noticed, or have not been brought to bear upon the question, which may afford such explanations of geological phenomena as to remove the difficulties, and bring them into harmony with the present system of things, and its acknowledged laws and operations; and in preparation for this it is absolutely necessary to get rid of the idea that the modern theories will stand. No length of time will suffice to cause that which is absurd in principle to cease to be absurd: though it is by their enormous drafts upon time that men bewilder themselves, and forget the first absurdity. No alluvial deposit will suffice to account for, or could possibly produce such a deposit as the gravel, the uppermost and least considerable of the geological strata; and scarcely amounting to a stratum, seeing it is not consolidated into rock, but is only a loose bed. But if so—if there is an impassable gulf between the present alluvium and the first and least considerable of the strata—if there be an "*impossibility*" in actually connecting these two—how does beginning at the other end of the geological series help the enquirer? How is it less impossible to connect the *oldest* of the strata with the present alluvium? How are the difficulties lessened by pointing to the farthest removed, the most enormous and widely diffused formations, which, from their great hardness, as stones, are most unlike of all to the mud of rivers? The difficulties *increase* instead of diminishing at every step, and are rendered still more palpably and appallingly insurmountable by the *fossil contents* of the older strata; of which we are told that "not one of them is *the same*, and but few of them *similar* to the animals and vegetables of our own time." We want to be taught how the *first* step is to be taken, from the operations *now* going on to the gravel beds; but we are told that there is an impossibility in the way of this. Yet we are carried at one vast bound to the *far distant* Palœozoic, and so bewildered by the new and strange sights presented to our view, that it is hoped we may forget to enquire how we came there, and receive with blind confidence any account of the matter that our guide may furnish.

If words have any meaning, no length of time can render an impossibility possible; but we are not laying hold merely of words—the words assert a truth, and it is for that truth we contend. No length of time can convert the mud of rivers into gravel strata, because they are things totally different in substance; and no length of time can further change gravel beds into solid rocks, or newer strata into older, because the ingredients are so different. And the totally different living

beings which are entombed in these older strata only interpose another and a still greater difficulty in the way of accounting for what we see, by operations now going on around us. Time was out of the question, and beside the mark, when it lay only between mud and the gravel beds: but in the fossils of the old strata another constitution of things is also introduced—therefore, our time and its laws are superseded, and cannot by any possibility come in. It is not only gratuitous but absurd, in such a connection, to speak of "that far distant period when the world was only first beginning to assume its present form;" when we are told in the next breath that "not one of the creatures was the same, and but few of them similar to the animals and vegetables that now exist." It was not, in any exact sense, *this world*, when the laws of matter were different, and all living things were totally unlike ours.

It being, therefore, an acknowledged fact that the operations now going on around us cannot account for the least and lowest of the geological phenomena, let us hold fast to this fact throughout the whole system of geology. Let us be consistent, and not cheat ourselves into the idea that, as the discrepancies become greater, it becomes easier to account for the phenomena. The existence and continuity of the same properties and laws are assumed and taken for granted as the basis of all reasoning, without which basis not a word of argument will stand, and we should be left to mere speculation and chance. But these properties and laws being the same, it is absurd to suppose that a connection, which cannot be established *now*, might have been established millions of years ago: or that a present *impossibility* may, perchance, have once been possible, or may yet become possible in the long lapse of ages whose duration is incomprehensible. It is here that the error slips in. Time, as mere succession—time, in the indefinite sense of past, present, and future—mixes with all our thoughts—with our thoughts of the things we see, whether connected with present operations or not. But time becomes definite—becomes the scale to measure other time only when we can connect it with present operations; yet even then only so in the same sense in which it is definite—that is, only to measure the things which are under present laws, and can be connected with operations now going on. Time, as a merely indefinite period, and in the vague sense of boundless duration, has no place in science: it belongs to the wonderment of the vulgar: to have a place in science, time must be connected with some known epoch, during which some known process has been accomplished. But the processes now going on

cannot be connected at all with geological phenomena—therefore, no time defined by these operations can be applied to geology: geological time consists of vague, incomprehensible, boundless epochs, which no one attempts to define. But the mind having been beguiled into contemplations which bewilder it as to time, may become bewildered in other respects; and may deem it allowable to assume that things which are incomprehensible now—nay, in which we acknowledge a present impossibility—may have taken place somehow or somewhere during those inconceivably remote epochs; forgetting the ground and basis of all the argument, which is, that the things have *not* changed their properties, *and*, *therefore*, we may account for them. If, from what we know of alluvium, we are unable to account for the gravel beds, no drafts upon time will enable us to account for them: and still less from the same alluvium, which is our only *datum*, to account for the Palœozoic formations. And since it is an acknowledged impossibility to connect the gravel with any operations now going on around us, we are surprised that men do not perceive that the impossibility is increased an hundredfold by every stage between the gravel and old red sandstone: and we wonder at the inconsistency of first acknowledging a difficulty to be insuperable and then overleaping it, and speaking of far greater difficulties as though none whatever existed.

The radical mistake consists in regarding rocks that are stratified as *mere deposits;* and that, in defiance of all experience, which testifies that no mere deposit ever hardens into stone. By deposits we mean any kind of sediment which falls to the bottom of water in which it has been *mechanically* suspended—meaning to exclude those substances which may be held in *chemical* solution, and are thrown down by electric or chemical agency, or evaporation of the solvent fluid. And there will be found this marked distinction between mere deposits and chemical precipitations—that the former will dry in amorphous cakes, or loose friable powder, void of internal structure, having no arrangement of particles, no law of cleavage; but the chemical precipitations will be of a crystalline nature—perfectly so if the solution and precipitation have been complete, and varying only according to the nature of the substance and menstruum—always the same if made under similar circumstances. Thus we call all kinds of mud, and sand, and shingle, mere deposits; but the stalactites formed in caverns are not mere deposits, because the lime has been dissolved in water, and not mechanically suspended, and the stalactites are semi-crystalline bodies. And the differ-

ence is still more apparent in plaster of Paris and all kinds of mortar, which require that the ingredients should be in a chemical condition, and that the water should be in proper quantity when, at its setting or crystallization, the water suddenly disappears, not by evaporation, but by being taken up as water of crystallization at the moment when the consolidation of the mass takes place.

We must keep in mind the difference between mechanical suspension in water and true solutions, and remember that disintegration is the very opposite of consolidation, instead of being a step towards formation. Men may pound rock crystal, or the diamond itself, and shake up these powders in water; yet the deposit will not crystallize or consolidate. To form crystals, of such substances, a perfect solvent for them must first be found. And that which applies in the fullest sense to the hardest and purest substances applies to all substances in a lower sense, and according to their several degrees of purity. A solution of copper may be precipitated in a solid form, so as to be a perfect revival of the metal, with all its former properties; but mere filings of copper, shaken up in water, cannot be made to yield such results. In like manner the disintegration of granite and the older rocks, by exposure, and frost, and storms, would not at all prepare for their being reconsolidated into strata: some solvent power is necessary beyond the mechanical suspension in water. Disintegration is in itself simply destructive, and it is the same in all cases. What would be thought of the man who should find the trunk of a tree decayed by exposure and mouldering into dust, and should yet maintain that, if buried for some thousands of years, it would reconsolidate, and become sound timber? Scarcely more absurd would this be than the maintaining that the deposits of rivers may in time consolidate into stone. The fibrous structure of the tree upon which its character as wood depends, and which constitutes also its solidity, is not an accidental arrangement of particles indurated by time, but is the nature of the tree, and the same in all the trees of the same species. And, *mutatis mutandis*, exactly such is the case with rocks. Rocks have not grown, but they have been *formed*, and different laws of formation are observable in different rocks, manifested in different internal arrangement of their particles, like the various kinds of fibre in trees. And as each species of tree shews the same fibre in every tree of the same species, so each kind of rock has its own internal structure, which is found to be the same in all instances of rocks of that species. And by these internal characters a

specimen may be known at a glance, as readily as oak is disguished from beech by its grain. And the internal characters go beyond mere difference of grain: there are differences of fracture, lustre, opacity—as well as of smell, touch, and weight—or cleavage, effervescence with acids, and changes wrought under the action of the blowpipe.

All these various characteristics of the different rocks will be found more decidedly marked as the rocks approach to a crystalline structure, in consequence of the preponderance of one kind of earth, and that in a state of greater purity: and the rocks will even assume the precise form of true crystals without transparency—without losing the earthy character of rocks, and only greatly enlarged in proportions, by the addition of the earthy ingredients. A specimen of corundum now lies before us, to all appearance a mere stone, yet it has precisely the external form of an enlarged sapphire—an irregular six-sided prism crossed by deep furrows, terminated at each end by a six-sided pyramid with smooth faces. Coarse garnets, and zircons also, are often found debased while they are enlarged, and retain as rocks those forms which belong to their proper earths when found in the pure state of crystals. We call all rocks semi-crystalline formations on these grounds of fracture, cleavage, and other signs of internal structure, in which they agree with pseudo-crystals in all respects, and with true crystals so far as the pure ingredients preponderate over the earthy; and we thus regard all of them without exception, because these characteristics of formation, as distinguished from amorphous sediment or chance medley, are common to all rocks, in greater or less degree: no one of them is without a character of its own, which character is uniform and constant, distinguishing it from all other rocks.

And, on the other hand, try the deposits of rivers, or the products of volcanic eruptions by these tests, and it will be found that the first are all amorphous or chance medley, and the second all mere glass or cinder. They afford no evidence of formation, no internal structure: there is no connection to to be established between them and crystals, or pure earths. The deposits from rivers never have any other character than that arising from a mixture of clay and sand: the lava and scoriæ of volcanoes are all either glassy or cindery. They have no other constancy than the negative character of being wholly unlike any true rocks; and, in all their forms of irregularity, evince an utter want of law, as clearly as all the regular formations evince the presence of law when they were deposited. It was this that enabled Humboldt in the Andes

to draw the line between the lower regions which consist of true rocks, and the upper regions which are volcanic. And although these upper regions are many thousand feet in thickness, there was no approximation in appearance to true rocks —the original mountain masses, and the ejected volcanic masses remain still, and ever must remain, unmistakably and totally distinct from each other.

We bear in mind the fact that Sir James Hall converted chalk into limestone, and sawdust into coal, by heat under pressure; but this is a fact which does not apply. For you must have the chalk in purity and the wood without earth, neither of which the alluvium of rivers will supply: and you must have *pressure* as well as heat, which is contrary to the idea of each stratum being a *superficial* deposit, and subversive of the doctrine of *succession* with long intervals, on which all the notions concerning such lengthened periods of *time* are founded.

There is an experiment of De Saussure on record, in which the wood of the pinus abies, grown on a granite soil abounding in silex, yielded on analysis more than thirteen per cent of silex, and forty-six of carbonate of lime; but the same species of tree grown on a calcareous soil yielded no silex, and sixty-three per cent of carbonate of lime. And there is an experiment of Sir J. Hill, who exposed a stoney deposit to aquafortis till all the calcareous matter was dissolved, when the silex remained as a thin transparent film, retaining the exact shape of the stone with all its angles and indentations. These are the kind of facts which seem most to bear upon the question of regular formations, and of the petrifaction of animal and vegetable remains. What we mean will be best understood by those who are acquainted with petrified trees, which are common in many districts, especially among coal strata, and also in the Portland limestone and Hastings sand. In these fossils the texture of the woody fibre remains; but the ligneous substance is gone, and its place is supplied by perfect stone, having such tokens of rock formation as we have spoken of above. Some of these fossils retain the woody fibre throughout; but in others it is retained in part, and has given way in other parts of the same specimen so as to present in one mass, wood, and compact limestone, and black flint, and quartz crystals—all these being as perfectly characterised as if they were found in distinct blocks. This marks a stage far beyond agatized wood, and cannot be rendered intelligible by infiltration, or any process which we can parallel with the operations now going on around us. And such diffi-

culties are met with by examining nature on a large scale, and become of course so much the more formidable. A practised eye will discover at a distance what are the prevailing rocks of a district, by the grand outlines of its mountain ranges: the pyramidical summits indicating one great class—the rounded summits another class—and the table lands with precipitous sides another; and all these with their numerous subdivisions are not in any sense accidental varieties—they all indicate distinct formations, each having laws of its own. No one law will embrace all these distinct formations: each has its own characteristics, traceable to laws which apply to it alone. And none of these formations can be accounted for by materials derived from aqueous solution, or deposits from a mechanical suspension of the ingredients in water: nor does their consolidation at all resemble that produced from the fusion of earthy particles by volcanic heat.

In many of the broad faces of cliff, which are found on our south-western coasts, raised beaches appear, like bands of shingle, from a foot to a yard or more in thickness, running horizontally between massive beds of the solid rock, high up in the cliff, and far above the present level of the sea. Such a raised beach occurs at Nelly's cove, near new quay, Cornwall, at an elevation of near thirty feet above high water mark. "The remains of sea beaches are found similar, in all respects, to those on the neighbouring shores, but which are now displaced; and, owing to a change in the relative level of sea and land, are elevated above high water mark, often as much as forty or fifty feet." (*Ansted* I. 21.) These raised beaches are sometimes consolidated by a calcareous cement, as between Porthalla and the Nare point—"in which the raised beach has become so consolidated that the sea has worn out a cave upon the top of a small fault under the beach that supports a head of angular fragments derived from the hill above, where the continuation of the grauwake beds appears." (II. 138.) There exist, also, in similar exposures of lower portions of the same coasts, evidences of subsidence of the land below the present level of the sea—such as whole forests appearing to stretch far below any known low water mark. These submarine forests are so abundant on the Devon coast, that "it is difficult *not* to find traces of them in this district at the mouths of all the numerous vallies which open upon the sea." (i. 23.)

These instances are adduced by geologists to infer from them that other agencies have been at work beyond those agencies of which we know anything by experience—beyond

those the effects of which we can calculate, or the time of which we can measure. This is precisely our argument throughout: we assert that all the geological phenomena are beyond our reach at present, and that no sufficient explanation of any of them has been given. This one phenomenon is allowed to be inexplicable; but it is endeavoured to pass it off as an exception, when in fact it is only an illustration of the rule. "It must not be supposed that in every instance, where a change of level is produced, and a tract of land elevated or depressed, the change was accompanied by an earthquake, or occurred in the immediate vicinity of a volcano; so far is this from being the case, that there is reason to believe in the existence of gradual and slow movements, by which a whole continent may be affected, in addition to these occasional outbreaks." This is something like an *et cetera* to mystify, or form a make-weight at the end of an insufficient argument, by which a simple and modest man may be silenced, or may feel abashed—since it implies that sufficient reasons have been given, but there are plenty yet in store, if men are still so obtuse as to require them. "There is *reason* to believe in the existence of gradual and slow movements, by which a whole continent may be affected." And there is *greater reason* to dispute the existence of such movements—certainly in the case of England; and even if such movements are admitted, they would not explain these facts: for you have two *opposing* classes of facts to explain—the *raised* beaches and the *submerged* forests—*both* occurring on the *same* coasts, and often within sight of each other. Granting a slow movement to raise the beaches *upwards*, there must be another slow movement to sink the forests *downwards;* and these occurring not merely within the limits of a continent, but even of a contry. It was necessary to make the movements slow to account for the horizontal position of the beach; it was necessary to exclude earthquakes and volcanoes because there are no appearances of disturbance; yet the explanation attempted is to us wholly unintelligible. It is said "we can easily imagine that the land may have been, by the same *oscillatory* movement, elevated in one spot and depressed in another at no great distance" (23). With such an imagination it is not our fortune to be gifted. We had been taught at school that oscillation was moving to and fro in the horizontal direction; but geologists can easily imagine it to be up and down in the perpendicular direction. We know of no kind of motion that will answer their reasoning so well as the dancing up and down of the keys of an organ under the hand

of the player; for we are of Hamlet's mind, and think that they are often playing upon their auditors.

Although these statements are so self-contradictory as to be worthless for sustaining the system which they are meant to uphold, they embody facts which are valuable, and make concessions of which we may avail ourselves in refuting the objectionable parts of that system. A submarine forest is found in the basin of the Tay, where stumps of trees have been covered by a bed of shingle containing marine shells. "The overlying marine beds correspond to those which have received the name of raised beaches, and they offer as distinct evidence of *recent elevation* as the submarine forests do of *depression*" (ii. 21)—that is, the marine beds covering *trees* prove a recent elevation of the sea to reach that level, or of the land to be raised to that height, and the trees, having necessarily grown on *dry land*, prove by their position a recent depression. But surely this proves too much for the geologists, since, if these overlying beds correspond to the raised beaches, it follows that the raised beaches also are "recent;" and what then becomes of the argument for long protracted periods, and the gradual and slow movements spoken of already? But we pass this to come to general facts.

Many of these beaches lie, nearly in horizontal positions, between beds of solid rock—as that near Porthalla in Cornwall, with the same grauwake formation under it and over it. Such instances as these are sometimes adduced to prove that the rocks above and below the beach were formed in the sea, as the beach itself which lies between was confessedly formed on the sea shore. But the instance proves quite the contrary—proves that the rocks were not formed by that agency to which the beach owes its origin. For if both had the same origin they would be indistinguishable: either the rocks would have continued shingle like the beach, or the beach would have been consolidated into the same substance as the rocks. The beach lying between rocks, yet retaining its own character, proves that the rocks were never formed from such as it, or it would have become such as they are: it has remained unchanged, though exposed to the agency by which the rocks were formed: it was therefore prior to their existence, and it subsisted through those convulsions which constituted and arranged them. Jamieson and Macculloch noticed, long ago, similar raised beaches between beds of basalt, in the western isles of Scotland. We presume that scarcely any geologists will, at this day, dispute the volcanic origin of basalt; yet, with as much propriety might its marine origin be inferred

from these instances as from those of the coasts of Cornwall, the marine origin of those rocks.

The dirt beds at Portland also come under the same category as the submarine forests. The trees thus imbedded, between layers of solid stone, do prove that the formation of stone has proceeded *after trees existed*—after forests had covered the surface of the earth; but they prove also that these forests have been *suddenly* enveloped with the stoney matter, and that the hardening took place before the trees themselves had time to decompose, and lose their form and fibrous structure; and they prove that it was not heated lava in which they were enveloped, since such heat would have destroyed all traces of organisation still more effectually than the slower process of humid decay. We require in all these cases consistent explanations in agreement with known facts, or a confession of ignorance. And though we may not have an explanation to offer, we can neither concede to one theorist that the sea has been repeatedly changing its level to suit his hypothesis; nor concede to another theorist that lands have oscillated and continents have danced up and down, because he can easily imagine such a thing. We require proof, and from undisputed facts.

Another very important question arises, concerning vegetable matter imbedded in rocks or strata of any kind—which is, whether they are in the localities where they grew, or whether they have been brought from a distance? The greater number of submarine forests have probably grown on that part of the earth where they are now found, the place on which they grew having sunk thus much below its former level. But some of them may have been large floating islands, like those which are carried down the great American rivers by floods; and which may have grounded in the low situations where they are at present found. Most of the peat bogs may be accounted the remains or accumulations of forests which have grown in those localities; but not so the vegetable matter which has furnished materials for our great deposits of coal. We know that the peat bogs consist of trees still growing in these climates, the hazel, the willow, the oak; and the accumulation is not beyond what trees growing upon the ground might be expected to afford. But the coal fields indicate a tropical or at least a foreign vegetation, of which tree-ferns, stigmariæ, and sigillariæ form the type: while the vegetable matter required to form a single bed of coal is so enormous that it could not possibly grow in the place where the coal is found, but must have been brought together from very extensive

tracts of country, to be heaped and consolidated in those hollows, or basins, which contain the independent coal formations. The quantity required, combined with the necessity of its being undecayed in order to form coal, renders it impossible that forests growing on the spot, for however long a time, could furnish the materials. For the ground at one time cannot sustain more than such a number of trees as would be quite insignificant for such a purpose; and one generation of trees must die and decay, and become incapable of being turned into coal, before another generation could spring up to take its place; and the growth of no one generation growing in that space would suffice for the smallest seam of coal, as there they lie, tier over tier, some of them of enormous thickness, in all the great coal fields. When vegetable matter is accumulated, even in considerable quantity, but not under pressure, it only becomes peat: when subjected to any degree of pressure, in moderate quantity, it only passes into stone, or manifests a slight tendency to coal, as at Portland, and still more so at Bovey. It is only when accumulated in large quantities, and subjected to great pressure, that it becomes perfect coal, and these are almost always found to be basins of mountain limestone resting upon old red sandstone, very appropriately called "the independent coal formation."

Peat always rests upon a bed of clay, but it lies near the surface. Coal has for its floor a bed of clay filled with stigmariæ and similar vegetable impressions; but the still more important accompaniment of coal is a very solid basin of rocks, of vast thickness below the coal measures, and enormous mountain masses lying over them above. The great pressure to which the coal has been subjected is indicated by the abundance of faults, and lifts, and contortions which are met with in all the workings, and the coal generally improves in quality according as it has been most heavily pressed, the deepest workings, or "lower delve," being always the best coal in a district, and the superficial seams being in general altogether worthless. Trees are often found in the shales and sandstones which lie above the coal, but generally tossed about in all directions, always stripped of their smaller branches, and seldom of coal, but generally of the same nature with the bed in which they lie. In a few instances they have roots, but more commonly they are broken off short, like the corresponding stumps in the Portland dirt bed: and the appearances are as if the few which held by the roots had been exposed to some tremendous rush and crush, as if a liquid mountain had overwhelmed them at once—an idea which is strengthened by

frequently finding marine shells in the superincumbent strata. However this may be, all the appearances indicate that the agency by which the beds of coal were deposited was not tranquil, and that both at the time of formation, and after the beds had become coal, these districts have been subjected to great violence and convulsion.

The wood found in peat bogs is often undecayed, having sustained no other change than that of colour: it is black as ebony, but makes excellent furniture. When trees have lain in the London clay they become for the most part pyrites, which is often the case when they are found in lias, and in the shales which lie between the beds of coal. In gravel pits and beds of sand the wood becomes a mass of silex; and in limestone it becomes sometimes a calcareous, sometimes a silicious mass, retaining only the fibrous structure of the wood—none of its other properties—and often losing even this last trace of what it had been, and becoming compact stone, or a bunch of crystals. These facts prove that peat will preserve wood for an indefinite length of time; and that, in the other instances, it is not time that has wrought the change of the wood, but circumstances; for the change depends upon the nature of the bed in which the wood has lain. All trees found in like circumstances have undergone a similar change into pyrites, or silex, or limestone, according to the nature of the bed. The peat has warded off the decay, which, if the wood had not been thus protected, time would most assuredly have effected. And so it is not time that has converted other trees into coal, sandstone, silex, lime, or pyrites: these changes are owing to the nature of the several beds, which produced a simultaneous and apparently a very rapid change on all the trees which had lain in the same strata: that is, the mixture in which they were imbedded wrought the change, and that exactly in accordance with the ingredients which entered into the composition of that mixture. But the change is such as could be effected by nothing short of chemical agency; therefore, the ingredients were held in chemical solution in the several mixtures, and not merely mechanically dissolved in water; for the change is no kind of infiltration—it is chemical incorporation or substitution. And it should be observed that in many of the pieces of petrified wood, the decay of the wood *had already begun*, before the chumps were thus imbedded, and many pieces are worm eaten; yet, in these decayed and worm eaten pieces, the petrifaction is just as complete as in those pieces which had been sound wood—all shewing that we are not to look to any thing, save the bed itself, to account for the petrifaction of wood.

These facts concerning fossil wood apply to all other fossils, whether corals, shells, or animal remains: the things themselves were some of them living, some empty shells, or only bones of animals, when they were engulphed in their several beds; yet all further decomposition became arrested in all alike; and all alike have taken that permanent form of stone we see now, dependent solely on the mineral contents of the beds in which the fossils are found. In some of the beds, which contain saurians and fishes, there is the clearest evidence that life has been suddenly destroyed by the influx of a deleterious mixture, suffocating instantly every living thing within its extent; and in these cases, the fossils consist largely, sometimes entirely, of pyrites. We believe that this, which was obviously and indisputably the mode in which living beings were surprized to become fossils, in some instances, was really the mode in which all fossils were converted from the flexible, elastic, or germinant and expansive and productive attributes of organic matter, into the fixed, unalterable, dead condition of inorganic matter; in all its forms, thus distinct from, and not to be confounded with, the mere matter apart from the life which belongs to organized beings of any kind.

As in the case of wood, so in all other fossils, it is to the nature of the beds in which they lie that we must look for the source of the materials of which the fossils now consist for those mineral ingredients, of various kinds, which have taken the place of the vegetable or animal matter, and yet retain the external form of organized beings; while not only for the chemical power to act upon the fossils, but also for the materials and consolidation of the beds themselves, we must have recourse to some other source than the older rocks, and some other principle than mechanical suspension in water: the simple earths to be derived from the older rocks are not sufficiently numerous or diversified, and the mere deposition of such earths would never consolidate. Some chemical agency is necessary for the least of these effects, and the effects are frequently so powerful as entirely to dissolve the fossil itself—so that madrepores, corals, and wood melt, as it were, into the stoney mass in which they lie at one end of a specimen, while the organic form remains at the other end, in all the sharpness of the most characteristic specimens.

Sir John Hill, and the older writers, who had no theory to support, and who reported plain facts and minute circumstances with great accuracy, had a more true conception of the nature of rocks, and the mode of their concretion, than we usually find in the writings of the present time. He draws a distinc-

tion between natural sands, and those which are formed from the decomposition of rocks; finding the former to be homogeneous when examined by the microscope, and to consist of particles of *the same* shape, whether small crystals or less regular particles and globules; but finding decomposed rocks to yield very impure sands, and the particles to be of no determinate or constant shape, but mere irregular fragments. And he strongly argues that neither the natural sands, nor the decomposed rocks, can, under any circumstances which we are acquainted with, become stones.

"A sort of sand is produced at this time ..... stone is daily converted into sand, if that gritt may be so called ..... but no observations I have ever made can at all authorise the believing that stones are produced at this time; or that sand is, or ever can be, in the present state of things, turned into stone." And speaking of the conglomerates, with nodules of quartz, he says—"The stone composed of them seeming to have owed its coalescence merely to this, that its constituent matter, having first concreted into these granulæ, which we call its gritt, they sunk together in the fluid they were formed in, and before they had acquired their proper hardness, pressing upon one another, and cohering wherever they came in contact ..... Let not this system be misunderstood to favour, or at all authorise, the general error of supposing strata of stone to be formed at this day out of sand, clay, &c. Sand, originally loose, can by no agent now in force be ever made to coalesce into stone, nor can any cement avail for effecting this. Clay and sand can only make loam; water impregnated with spar, falling upon a stratum of sand, finds free and open passage, without depositing any part of its contents. And there is no stone the gritt of which will agree with any of these common sands." (434, 435).

The more numerous and more scientific observations of modern times have only more confirmed the observations of Sir J. Hill, and convince us that the cohesion between the granulæ of all stones is an element of their first formation, and that it is not effected by the introduction of another substance to cement or bind together particles which had been originally loose and separate; and, consequently, that if this cohesion be destroyed, if rocks be decomposed, such a *debris* will not coalesce into stone, by time, or by any natural agency at present known; and still less will natural sands cohere, nor can any salt or fresh water bind them into stone. It was in speaking of the grittstones that Sir J. Hill made his remarks on the composition of rocks; and it is in this class of rocks, even to the present time, that mistakes have been most frequently made. The gritts are very numerous in reality, and occupy very distant positions in the geological series; but, in general appearance, they so much resemble each other

that considerable local and practical knowledge is necessary to distinguish the different groups. To say nothing now of the newer sandstones, it is notorious that many enormous groups had been till very lately confounded under the one common designation of old red sandstone. Hugh Miller removed the mistake of supposing that this great formation was destitute of animal remains, though he also regarded it as one vast deposit of many thousand feet in thickness. But to Mr. Murchison we are indebted for distinguishing several well-marked divisions, classed as the Silurian and Devonian groups; and more recently a Permian group, spreading over a large portion of European Russia.

We have no doubt that these distinctions are well founded, and expect that other distinctions will appear in this great formation, either co-extensive with the sandstone wheresoever it is found, or local and not capable of identification with those already known, and so requiring a local name like that of Perm, last adverted to. There is one point to which especial attention should be directed, in constituting subdivisions of a great formation like this, so as to distinguish one group of beds from another group—namely, the natural breaks which occur; that is, when the dip of one group varies greatly from the dip of another group, with such constancy as to shew that the groups have been differently acted upon, and acted upon in the mass, and not as separate strata. If the beds forming one group are conformable to each other, and are all raised in a mass to a high inclination, and another set of beds are conformable but in an horizontal position, this indicates disturbance in the former case, and comparative tranquillity in the latter, which may prove sufficiently characteristic to separate the groups.

In what we are now saying one great group is present to our thoughts which has not, we believe, been as yet considered to be so distinct from the rest as it appears to be—namely, a mass of conglomerate, lying between beds of micaceous shale and clay, in most cases of great thickness, and with a high angle of inclination, which group forms the basis of all the *regular* coal formations of England, and lies between the mountain limestone and the upper Silurians. This bed of conglomerate dips under the limestone at a higher angle of inclination than it, as the limestone again is more inclined than the coal beds; but they all may be regarded as more conformable with each other than any of them are with the Silurian beds beneath them. The conglomerate dips towards the centre of the coal field at an angle of twenty-six to thirty,

forming a vast bowl. It has the appearance of sinking under the weight of that immense accumulation of mountain masses which constitutes the coal field above, or the edges may have been raised by an explosive force acting from beneath, and finding vent between it and the Silurian groups. To this last idea we rather incline, because in many places, while the bulk of the conglomerate is dipping under the limestone at an uniform angle, certain portions of the higher edges of the bowl have fallen back in the other direction, as if they had been raised by an explosive force, which, having got vent, left them unsupported, and they fell back by their own weight into the hollow which the explosion had made. However this may be, there are marks of separation here which ought to detach this group from the old red sandstone, and couple it with the carboniferous series, as the lowest member of the coal field.

We have no doubt that those geologists are right who have maintained that the coal measures are local and partial formations, and are only to be found at certain depths below the surface, being strictly independent; although where they do occur it is between the two great deposits of oolite and red sandstone, by which we mean that wherever coal is found regularly deposited the old red sandstone will be found under it, and, in many cases, oolite above it; but that it does not follow from this that wherever red sandstone and oolite are found there will also be coal. In extensive districts of this description coal is wholly wanting; and, therefore, the carboniferous group ought not to be regarded as one of a geological series in the sense of being constantly found, but only as occupying a certain place in the series in those cases where it does come in.

None but those who have studied the sections of many coal fields are fully aware of the great disturbances which have taken place in this whole group of strata—far greater than in the old red sandstone below, or the oolite above, the coal formation. We allude not to the whin dykes which, like the gigantic faults of primitive districts, are traceable across whole countries, and cut through coal and everything else in their course. We speak of disturbances which are peculiar to the coal formations, and do not extend to the adjoining strata on either side. In the Jarrow Colliery, Durham, there are seven upcasts of the same seams within a short distance, some of eighteen and twenty-five feet, and one of six fathoms; and some of the seams are bent as if compressed into a shorter space, and one is actually splintered from the force. Such instances are frequent; but they cannot be made intelligible

without diagrams. The limestone beneath the coal shews the same marks of disturbance, and is often cut through by rivers, as the Wye at Chepstow, and the Avon at Bristol, and so is open to our observation. The St. Vincent's rocks at Clifton afford a good section of the limestone dipping at a very high angle under Bristol, abutting on the old red sandstone upon which Cook's Folly stands, and covered by the newer conglomerate and marls which appear at the water's-edge, below College Green, near St. Augustine's Church. Numerous faults and slips appear both in the St. Vincent's rocks and in the quarries on Durdham Downs, and these rents are filled with conglomerates, consisting of fragments of the limestone itself, and of the lias and sandstone above—fragments of all sizes, and some of them fragments of other conglomerates—the whole cemented together by calcareous spar, and capable of polish.

The lias group, as a whole, stands higher in the geological series than the carboniferous group; yet this breccia, which fills the rents in the limestone, would seem to indicate that a turmoil was going on while the whole carboniferous group was forming, which had not subsided till the lias was formed, but swept into its vortex portions of this latter to fill the faults and hollows of the limestone and all the intermediate beds: and still more striking proofs of this occur at Tenby, and along the whole of that coast to Pembroke. The limestone is generally very full of madrepores, encrinites, and corals; and these are sometimes found in the conglomerate which fills the faults. All the fragments bear such relation to each other in position and shape as to lead to the inference that many of them were joined together, and have been broken in being jammed into the place where they are found; and sometimes they are compressed as though the substance had been yielding, or in a soft and vitreous condition. Some of the fragments thus divided contain the two halves of a madrepore, divided only by a vein of spar, and forming one compact mass, clearly showing that the division took place in the act of forming the stone.

In order to come to a just conclusion concerning the formation of all strata, and the agencies by means of which the various geological phenomena have been produced, it is important to mark those groups in which disturbances of an extraordinary kind, such as those just mentioned, occur; for this may lead to distinguishing separate acts of formation at considerable intervals from each other, which might suggest an arrangement of the numerous strata into distinct groups.

each of which groups might contain some typical characteristic common to all its strata, and thus forming a generic distinction between group and group. This may be the case with reference to formation alone, and without regard to the mineral character or fossil contents of the strata, or those other minutiæ which might constitute specific differences, and furnish marks for subdividing the groups.

There seem to be three groups, in the geological series, during the formation of which these signs of extraordinary disturbance appear. The first is that consisting of gneiss and the slaty rocks which lie between granite and the old red sandstone, and which the older geologists called transition rocks. The contortions in these have forced themselves upon the notice of all observers, and are to be found in Lyell and Ansted, and all the other writers on geology. The second is the carboniferous group to which we have been adverting already; and the third consists of the Hastings and green sands, and other strata, which lie immediately beneath the chalk formation; and between the first and the second of these groups occurs the well-marked formation of old red sandstone; and between the second and third the equally well-marked oolites; while the chalk marks off the strata which lie above the third as distinct from all that are below it.

Gneiss, the lowest member of the first of these distorted groups, is less known than the other members of the same group, being difficult of access, and neither in itself nor in its contents of sufficient value to induce men to explore its structure, that they may turn their knowledge to account. Clayslate, from its great value, has been very extensively worked, and is known to have features in common with gneiss and micaslate in its *bedding*; while in its *structure*, which gives it the *slaty* cleavage, a law of formation has existed which is peculiar to clayslate, and found in no other formation. The bedding of gneiss, micaslate, and clayslate, is very irregular, deviating continually from the horizontal position, and often twisted and doubled together in a very remarkable manner. In all these distortions the particles of the two former are arranged in the *direction of the bedding*, and when they split at all it is in this direction, more or less approaching to the *horizontal*; but clayslate, on the contrary, has its particles arranged in a direction *nearly perpendicular*, without any regard to its bedding, and consequently always splits in a direction nearly at right angles with the splitting of gneiss and micaslate. This is certainly owing to a law of the nature

of crystalization, and the slates themselves often become unequivocally crystalline.

The rocks which form this group, from the semi-crystalline structure they present, have been called metamorphic, on the assumption that the bedding involves sedimentary deposition, and that the crystalline structure therefore requires a change to have been afterwards produced by volcanic heat. It is assumed that water first deposited the beds in horizontal layers; and that the distortions were next produced by convulsions without heat, affecting the whole formation, because the beds are all conformable with each other, however much they may be raised or twisted; and then, lastly, that the slaty structure was produced by heat without convulsions, because the structure is regular, and the same in the most disturbed beds, as in those which are nearest to the horizontal position. The hypothesis has these three stages—one of bedding, one of convulsion, one of metamorphosis, which are to be kept distinct; for if either be mingled with, or affected by, the other agents, the hypothesis breaks down, and does not agree with the facts.

For all the beds being conformable, the sediments for the *bedding* must have been deposited *horizontally* to ensure this conformity, and must have been all deposited before any one of them was disturbed; both because this is the only way in which regularity of deposit is conceivable, and because water must finish its work before the work of fire can begin. And the first act of the fire is supposed to be convulsion, without alteration of structure; to be lifting and deranging the bedding of the whole formation, by the power of fire, without imparting heat to the beds thus distorted: and the second act of the fire is supposed to produce the metamorphosis or change of structure which converts it from a mere deposit into clayslate with its perpendicular cleavage. It is shewn by trap dykes destroying the slaty structure, when they cross a bed of slate, that *such* a degree of heat would be too great: and it is assumed that the heat which accompanied the convulsion did not alter the structure—therefore, *that* heat was very small, so that we see it is a very ticklish operation. There must be no metamorphic heat during the time of convulsion, and there must be no convulsive heat, or trap heat, when the time of the metamorphosis has begun. But how all this can be we leave the geologists to explain.

The second instance of these distorted groups—the coal measures—has several peculiarities. First there seems to have been an outburst between the conglomerate, which forms the

lowest member of the carboniferous series, and the old red sandstone: the effect of which has been to turn up the edges, all round the coalfield, especially the conglomerate and limestone; so as to form large basins, in which the coal seams lie. Secondly, the coal beds, and intervening shales and marls, are thickest in the *central* parts of this basin, and thin out all round towards the *circumference*; some of them wholly dying away before they reach the surface, as all of them would reach the surface at the edges if they continued, because all the strata are basin-shaped. These appearances are in favour of the idea that the various sandstones and marls, which are sometimes found above the carboniferous strata, sometimes around and apparently below them, and which it is hardly possible to distinguish from each other in mineralogical character, have had in truth the same origin: and that accidental circumstances have placed some of them within the carboniferous basins, while others, being outside, have appeared to belong to the old red sandstone on the one hand, or the lias of the other.

The third great disturbance occurs under the chalk, and above the Hastings sand: and whereas the two former disturbances have left evidences of accumulation, in great formations which took place at the time of those disturbances, this third, on the contrary, is chiefly known by its denudations, and the destruction of formations which had previously existed. There are strong grounds for believing that the coalfields have sunk in the centre, partly from a vacuum beneath, partly from accumulations above; but there is no ground for believing that the limestone and conglomerate, which form their basis, ever much exceeded their present extent. But there is every reason to believe that the chalk was once continuous from the Shakspeare cliff to Beachey Head, and that the north downs of Surrey and the south downs of Sussex were once united, until that denudation, which constituted the Wealds, swept away all the chalk which lay above the Hastings sand. The chalk *en masse* remains undisturbed, but its edge is turned up along the whole line of the outburst, and the strata thus broken up have been all swept away, so that not a trace of them at present remains. This solidity of the remaining chalk may be partly owing to its bulk, which is so enormous that it is computed to form one eighth of the surface of the earth—an extent compared with which the denudations appear insignificant: whereas the carboniferous strata are partial and limited in extent, and almost all greatly disturbed. But in the apparent quiescence of the great mass

of the chalk, we have evidence of these disturbances and denudations taking place after the earth had assumed its settled form—after the chalk, and the strata above it, had become consolidated. And what was manifestly the case in these strata, we think was probably the case in the other instances; and that such manifest disturbances of the order of succession invalidate all the inferences which have been built thereon concerning protracted periods of time: and although the general tendency of this last outburst was for denudation, yet there may have been some instances of accumulation, as partial elevations above the chalk, or more extensive lodgments in its hollows and valleys: for, concerning the chalk, and all other formations, of whatever age they may be, we assume that they always had these inequalities, since we can form no conception of the earth existing at all under any other conditions than the present proportions of land and water—of vapours rising from the sea to purify the atmosphere, and condensing again upon the mountains to return in rivers to the sea, keeping up a constant circulation—of the like proportions of hill and dale, not only for water courses, but for variety of soil and climate, without which the different species of vegetables and animals could not subsist; and of the existence of which living beings, we have proof in all the times of which we speak.

Our object at present is only to use incontrovertible facts as arguments against the prevailing system of geology: and to offer such suggestions as may occur, from the consideration of these facts, as may lead to some better arrangement; and the first step towards the true arrangement would be, the distinguishing between such formations as are of great extent, and have some claim to be regarded as universal, and such as are limited or partial, and, it may be, solitary or local. On those formations which seem to be universal, the more limited formations which seem to belong to them might be arranged so as to form a series, and the partial or local beds would be an after consideration. But the very term *universal* is to be used with the qualification of remembering that we, as yet, know but a very small portion of the earth's surface, and all our notions must be open to correction; and there is no term we use throughout in which such a qualification should not be borne in mind.

While geologists continue to regard all strata as formed in one way, and all in regular sequence, and therefore all as universal formations (for the two ideas are inseparable—universality must follow as the consequence), no true advance in the science can be made—no true representation is given of the existing phe-

nomena. But it appears probable that, when any right grouping of the strata takes place, we may find the fossil contents of great importance in keeping the groups distinct from each other, as we have already found their importance in distinguishing stratum from stratum. As strata have their peculiar and characteristic fossils, so there may be fossils common to a whole group, which may distinguish it as clearly as if it were a single stratum.

If we regard the chalk as being entitled to be called an universal formation, and make it the foundation of our uppermost group, every one knows that echini are the fossils which especially characterise chalk. But echini are found in all the beds above the chalk in the London clay of Sheppy, and in the gravel-pits of Norwood, and Sydenham, and Kensington; and we are not aware that echini are met with in any stratum which lies under the chalk, except in a few instances of the beds which cover the oolite, and these are so rare as scarcely to form an exception. Therefore, it may happen that echini would sufficiently distinguish this whole group.

The oolite, with the soft limestones of like kind, is a formation nearly as extensive as the chalk, and might serve for the foundation of another group; and of this group it would probably be found that the cornu ammonis was the distinctive fossil. The old red sandstone, in like manner, might be regarded as the foundation of the carboniferous and liasic group, and the granite as the foundation of the remaining one: and even, if characteristic fossils should not be found in these, the negative distinction arising from the absence of the fossils of other groups, or the paucity of fossils altogether, might prove to be distinctions sufficiently characteristic.

The partial formations we allude to are found in isolated masses, and connected with disturbed districts, so as to render it probable that they have been ejected; yet not as lava, but more like those muddy eruptions which have sometimes occurred in Mexico and Peru. We regard clayslate as a partial formation, with many of the older rocks as serpentine and crystalline limestone. The local formations are in like manner connected with disturbances, and are often characterized by fossils, which, if not unique, are of very rare occurrence elsewhere. "The bed of death," (as Hugh Miller calls it), with its strange contents, is one of these local instances. Dr. Mantell's iguanodons of Tilgate is another, and the saurians, in the Lyme Regis lias may also be another instance; and we are persuaded that more accurate investigation will greatly increase the number of local, and, perhaps, also of unique formations.

There is one fact to which sufficient prominence has not been given, but which justifies all we are saying, being inconsistent with the ordinary notions of stratification, and absolutely requiring some such outbursts as we mean—namely, the discharge of liquid rocks from the bowels of the earth, without volcanic, that is, vitrifying heat. The nearest approach to what we mean was the eruption of mud at Lima within our own time: and somewhat similar were the outbursts in Auvergne and Dauphiny, in the middle of the fifth century, which are still commemorated by the church in the Litany and Rogation days; but these are not parallel, because they were truly volcanic, yet even these have not been repeated. The fact we allude to is, that the formations we have instanced are notoriously and indisputably at higher elevations than the granite and other rocks from whence they are supposed to be derived. On the common hypothesis, as derivatives, they should unquestionably be of lower elevation than their sources; yet they rise far above the primary rocks. Snowden is the highest mountain in Wales: this, on the geological theory, ought to consist of granite, or a primary rock from whence the secondary rocks might derive their materials. But it is not a primary rock, nor is it volcanic, for casts of shells are found in its shaley strata to the very summit. There is granite at its foot in Anglesea, but not one-fourth the height of Snowden: and the highest granite of Cornwall does not rise to one-half the height of the secondary rocks of Wales; nay, even the carboniferous rocks of South Wales rise higher than any of our granites—therefore, it is a physical impossibility to derive materials, in the way proposed, from granite, seeing our primary rocks, which ought to be the highest, rank among the lowest in Britain. And the fact is brought into a still narrower compass by the outburst beneath the chalk between Reigate and Godalming; for Leith-hill, near Dorking, consists of Hastings sand, which, in geological language, has its proper place full five hundred feet below the level of the north and south Downs; yet Leith-hill rises full two hundred feet above the north and south Downs, and commands a view of both from its summit. Here is a case of palpable upheaving of the lower strata, without any volcanic symptoms: and, not far from Leith-hill, it will be remembered, is the Tilgate forest, where the iguanodons were discovered; and all the strata rise to an anticlinal axis down the centre of the denudation, which fact entirely refutes the idea, thrown out by Dr. Mantell, that a river, like those of the tropics, had once rolled down this valley of denudation, on the

banks of which the iguanodons had basked and died. The supposition is a physical impossibility—it calls the chicken into being before the egg is laid. There was no valley till after the chalk was swept away by the upbursting of the sand—till after the country had put on its present appearance: and, as a similar denudation re-appears on the French coast near Calais, this convulsion preceded or accompanied the separation of our island from the continent, and before that time there was no mouth for a river—the Straits of Dover did not exist.

Another class of facts deserves a more particular examination than it has yet received—namely, the occurrence of some strata, in almost every group, which are destitute of fossils, and that sometimes in the midst of strata in which they abound. The old red sandstone was once supposed to be destitute of fossils, and till very lately the existence of them in this group was known only to a few. It is now well established that, in certain of the beds, they are abundant; yet, it is still correct to say, with reference to the extent of the formation, that they are of less frequent occurrence in this than in the other fossiliferous groups, and large portions of the formation seem to be without organic remains of any kind. The peak of Snowden is full of shells, but is surrounded by strata destitute of them; and even in the chalk there is a great difference in this respect between its upper and lower beds—all of which differences have yet to be accounted for in any true hypothesis.

If it should turn out, on careful examination of these classes of facts, that there are *quiescent* as well as *disturbed* strata, and *that* constantly and *characteristically* so, and that these bear such relation to each other as to account for their being disturbed in the *one case* and quiescent in *the other;* and if it should appear that a *different mode of formation* is uniformly indicated by the presence or absence of fossils, or by cleavage, or by crystallization, or any other constant character; and if, moreover, a distinction can be drawn between formative convulsions and destructive convulsions—that is, between ejections by which strata have been formed, and convulsions which have only broken up the strata in order to their being swept away: if these things should be made manifest, then we can conceive the possibility of explaining existing phenomena, in accordance with the Mosaic account of the Creation and of the Deluge. But until it is seen and acknowledged that we must have recourse, not merely to the surface, but to the bowels of the earth, to find materials for the great formations, the mere facts cannot be accounted for—much less can principles be established; and, as Christians, we cannot admit any

principles which are not in accordance with the plain letter of Scripture.

Every notice that appears of the geology of other lands leads us to expect that, in proportion as we become better acquainted with other countries, so, what we already know, will require to be modified; that formations which are regarded as universal will be found wanting in other localities, and that new formations will appear of which we are ignorant. Geology, which professes to be an universal science—professes to give an account of the constitution of *the whole earth*—cannot be allowed these claims, until the structure and arrangement of the strata *in all parts of the earth* have been examined. It has begun in our hemisphere, and may agree very well with what we know—it may disagree with the facts of the other hemisphere, and may be utterly refuted by its phenomena whenever they shall become known.

The works which we have placed at the beginning of this article are such works as we hope to see multiplied; and it is with reference to such works, and having these in our mind, that much of the above has been written. The first of these works is especially valuable, both as being a careful survey of countries, concerning which we can only say that we are just beginning to know something; and, also, because it is the production of a man who is at the same time competent to observe, and so unbiassed by theory as to give us the full and fair report of those facts which came under his observation. Nothing is slurred over or done in a slovenly manner—he seems to have had his eyes open to all the phenomena, and to have recorded carefully all that he met with.

Some of the facts concerning the geology of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, which are now brought to light by De Strzelecki, may prove not a little embarrassing to those who are wedded to a system, or have committed themselves to a theory; but they are such as we have been all along expecting, and which will, we believe, come out more and more, as distant countries shall come to be examined, and especially countries of the southern hemisphere. We are not surprised at learning that the geology of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land differ so greatly from each other; or that both differ so much more from our northern geology, which we have been too much in the habit of considering as the type of the order prevailing over the whole earth.

Everything tends to suggest or confirm the opinion that the southern hemisphere differs in all respects from the northern —in climate, in natural productions, and in geology: and New

Holland especially seems to be the land of paradoxes, if it may not be reckoned altogether one great paradox. It is a vast continent almost without mountains, almost without rivers, almost without trees, almost without inhabitants; and its few plants and animals were not only distinct from the known productions of the earth, and the animals with which we are conversant, but they were for the most part so unlike as to be perfectly paradoxical; so that Home, and the other anatomists, suspected that a trick was being played off when some of these strange shapes were first submitted to their examination. And now it appears probable that some degree of scepticism will be excited among our scientific men of another class, as it comes into manifestation that the geology of this strange country is in harmony with the rest of its features, or at least, in this respect, that it is unlike the geology of other countries.

Though we are at present very imperfectly acquainted with the geology or the fossils of Australia, all that we do know, and especially that information which we have most recently acquired, and chiefly from the work before us, favours the idea that our notions must undergo a complete revolution, and that especially concerning extinct animals. We have already heard of the bones of gigantic birds from the interior of New Zealand, which the natives declare to be abundant, and to belong to creatures which lived in the days of their fathers; and some fragments of bone have been examined by Professor Owen, the results of which examination are now given, connecting these fossil remains with animals now existing of the kangaroo and marsupial classes, which are so characteristic of Australia—so different from the animals of our hemisphere. The man from whom some of these fragments were obtained stated "that similar ones, and larger still, might be got further in the interior; but that, owing to the hostility of a tribe, upon whose grounds the bones are to be found, it was impossible for him to venture at that time in search for more." (312.) On the astragalus of one of these fossils from Australia, Professor Owen says—"Viewed in reference to the general characters of that bone in the mammalian class, it offers great and remarkable *peculiarities;* and we further find that *these* are *exclusively*, but most *closely* repeated in certain *Australian genera* of marsupialia, and especially in the bulkiest of the existing vegetable feeders, which are not saltatorial. The inference can hardly be resisted, that the rest of the essential peculiarities of the marsupial organization were likewise present in that still more bulky quadruped of which the fossil under consideration once formed part." (310.)

Speaking of another of these fragments, Professor Owen observes—"I know of no quadruped that so nearly resembles the present large Australian fossil as the Wombat; and the molars of the Kangaroos, in their double roots and double ridged crowns, are those amongst the marsupials which most nearly resemble the molars in the present gigantic fossil." (302.) "We may conclude that the foot of the great extinct marsupial possessed that degree of rotatory movement which, as enjoyed by the Wombat, is so closely analogous to the pronation and supination of the hand. We finally derive from the well-marked marsupial modification of the present fossil astragalus, a corroboration of the inferences as to the former existence in Australia of a marsupial Vegetable Feeder as large as the Rhinoceros." "The present bone is from the alluvial or newer deposits in the bed of the Condamine River, west of Moreton Bay, Australia." (312.) Other of the fragments were got at Boree, and came from the interior.

Similar facts are brought to light in the flora of the Australian coal measures, which we have not room for in detail; but the results are given in the following summary:—"In reviewing the few species of the ancient flora that have been hitherto collected from the carboniferous deposits of Australia, including therein the fossil plants from the basin of the Hunter, in New South Wales, and those from the Jerusalem Basin, in Van Diemen's Land, we at once perceive the interesting fact that, although limited as the species are in number, there is *no trace of any of those remarkable genera so characteristic of, and so abundant in the strata of the European and American coal fields,* such as Lepidodendron, Sigillaria, Stigmaria, *Calamites,* or *Coniferæ.*" (251.) "The basins themselves, if indeed contemporaneous, appear to be characterised by *a distinctly localised flora; no species,* as far at least as our observations have extended, being found *common to the two deposits.* In comparing, therefore, the whole of the species at present known from these deposits with the coal plants of Europe, there appears, indeed, to be but few, if any, analogical forms." "These few observations partly lead us to infer that the flora of the southern hemisphere was perfectly distinct in its facies from the northern at the carboniferous period; just as, at the present time, the modern flora of the same continent presents a striking difference to that of other portions of the globe." (252.) "It is desirable that the local geologists may be stimulated to make a good collection of these fossil plants, so that a careful comparison may be instituted with those of northern Europe." (250.)

Though we are only using this volume at present in con-

firmation of the general principles which we have been advocating for several years, for which purpose the facts it discloses are very important, yet we cannot omit the opportunity of saying that it is, in all respects, a valuable addition to our knowledge of those distant colonies of our countrymen which have risen into importance with a rapidity not to be paralleled anywhere save in the colonization of North America. Australia may be called another new England, though Great Britain is but as a speck in comparison—may be regarded as the new world of the nineteenth century. The main object of Count Strzelecki's visit to New South Wales was to examine its mineralogy: it was to him an unknown region: he was without guide or guide book. He passed many years in the survey—travelled seven thousand miles on foot—yet, though neither perseverance nor devotion to the pursuit were wanting, "they have procured for me (as he modestly avows) only the consciousness of how little I have done, and how much is still needful to complete such a delineation as the geology of the present day requires." Such modesty is to be ascribed to a strong perception of the much that is desirable to be known, rather than of the little which is actually known. The additions made by this volume to our previous knowledge are many and most important. The geology mapped and described reaches one hundred and fifty miles inland, and stretches from the thirtieth to the thirty-ninth degree of south latitude. The descriptive parts of the survey are arranged in four epochs, and the map is coloured accordingly. "The mineral constituents of each epoch are distinguished by a strictly mineralogical nomenclature, in preference to a geological, as the latter cannot, as yet, be applied to Australian rocks without involving questionable analogies, or implying identities with eras of deposition in other parts of the world." (52.)

We would also give what publicity we can to the following statement:—"I have also prepared a geological map of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, upon which I have laid down and illustrated what the present description will relate in words; but that map I am unable to take upon myself to publish." "It is twenty-five feet long, and five feet in width, and is on the scale of one-fourth of an inch to a mile." (54.)

The description of the scenery, often of the most singular and romantic description, into which the survey carried our author, is given with graphic power; and he speaks very favourably of the hospitality, frank, and kind-hearted, though

rough, which he met with in the mountains, liberally offered, while all pecuniary recompense was refused. A more favourable picture of the colonists is given than we expected on the whole; but instances of shameful spoliation and massacre of the natives are also recorded with the just indignation of one who feels as a man, and who, as a Pole, has experienced in person, and witnessed in his own land, similar wrongs without the same excuse of being perpetrated in savage regions; and he copies, with proper commendation, a dispatch of Lord Glenelg, severely reprobating such barbarous practices, and forbidding their repetition.

The products, agriculture, and resources of the colonies are detailed; and magnetic and meteorological observations are given. In short, we must quit the subject, for the present, by saying that we could only do justice to the contents of this volume by a lengthened review, of which it should form the only topic.

Mr. Lyell's work is such as we might expect to receive from one, not only thoroughly acquainted with geology, but who has written several systematic works; and who, therefore, though looking at a new country with an intelligent eye, looks at it with reference to the confirmation of facts already known, or blanks to be filled up in that system. The freshness and impartiality of an ardent novice sometimes more than compensate for inexperience in a case where it is actual observations that are principally wanted, and where we have already found the evil of speculation. Nor is America so likely to furnish the variety or the contrasts which may be expected to be found in the southern hemisphere: yet there are some facts which are applicable to our purpose:—

"On our way home from Charleston, by the railway from Orangeburgh, I observed a thin black line of charred vegetable matter exposed in the perpendicular section of the bank. The sand cast up in digging the railway had been thrown up on the original soil, on which the pine forest grew; and further excavations had laid open the junction of the rubbish and the soil. As geologists, we may learn from this fact how a thin seam of vegetable matter, an inch or two thick, is often the only monument to be looked for of an ancient surface of dry land, on which a luxuriant forest may have grown for thousands of years." (i. 180.)

We entirely agree with this, and would say, not only for thousands but for millions of years, if it will better meet the contrary argument: for a forest could not *continue* to grow if the accumulation become greater than a few inches in its depth, because the seeds which must form a rising generation

of plants, to supply the place of those which die of age, must be able to reach the soil *beneath* this accumulation, and root *in the soil* in order to become trees; and this they could not do, if the accumulation exceeded a few inches in depth. But in a preceding page, speaking of the anthracite of the Bear Mountain, it is said:—"The vegetable matter, which is represented by this enormous mass of anthracite, must, before it was condensed by pressure, and the discharge of its hydrogen, oxygen, and other volatile ingredients, have been probably between two hundred and three hundred feet thick. The accumulation of such a thickness of the remains of plants, so unmixed with early ingredients, would be most difficult to explain on the hypothesis of their having been drifted into the place they now occupy; but it becomes intelligible if we suppose them to have grown on the spot." (i. 86.)

We do not so much refer to this for the contrast it presents to the above extract, as for the purpose of expressing our dissent from it *in toto*. We had thought it an established fact, from Sir James Hall's gunbarrels, that the effect of pressure was to *prevent the escape of the volatile ingredients*, and that *thus only* could vegetable matter be converted into coal; and the accumulation of drift is only inexplicable by those who will think of nothing more than the drift of a river, and have made no account of the effects of an universal deluge. Then how is it easier to conceive the vegetable matter to have been *so unmixed*, by supposing the trees to have grown on the spot? Surely, they did not grow in the air! Surely, they did not grow in mere dead leaves! They must have had a soil to root in, and increase, and multiply.

In examining the footprints in the red sandstone of the Connecticut river, which is supposed to belong to the triassic group, or occupy a place between it and the coal, and which are in successive layers at different intervals, to a depth of twenty or thirty feet, with a dip of eleven to fifteen degrees, Mr. Lyell "cannot conceive such markings to extend through a thickness of twenty-five feet, without supposing a subsidence of the ground to have taken place from time to time during the deposition of the layers on which the birds walked." (i. 253.) We think the supposition would only solve one of the difficulties suggested by these footprints, even if we allowed that to be a difficulty which is merely the consequence of a particular theory of stratification; but we quote it on account of the sensible remarks which follow:—

"This sandstone is of much higher antiquity than any formation in

which fossil bones, or other indications of birds, have been detected in Europe. Still we have no ground for inferring from such facts that the feathered tribe made its first appearance in the western hemisphere at this period. *It is too common a fallacy to fix the era of the first creation of each tribe of plants or animals, and even of animated beings in general, at the precise point where our present retrospective knowledge happens to stop.* The discoveries in Connecticut ought to teach us extreme caution in deducing general conclusions from mere negative evidence, especially when we infer the non-existence of land-animals from the absence of their remains in contemporaneous marine strata."

Would that the words we have printed in *italics* stood as the motto for every treatise on geology! Would that geologists had borne in mind that man is one of those animate beings, concerning whom we should exercise extreme caution in deducing conclusions from mere negative evidence! Above that of all other land-animals, the caution applies to the era of the creation of man.

Many passing remarks in these volumes tend to inculcate similar caution—as speaking of the difference in the fossils of strata, which in other respects seem to be contemporaneous, he says:—

"When we consider how remarkably the *species* of the Suffolk crag differ from the shells of the contemporaneous faluns of the Loire, the geologist will not be surprised to learn that I have only met with nine American miocene shells, agreeing with fossils of the same period in Europe. It is also worthy of notice that the shells identified with recent species agree with testacea, now living on the western side of the Atlantic, some of which are forms peculiar to America. In like manner, the fossil shells found in the miocene strata of Europe, which agree with recent kinds, belong to species inhabiting the British seas, the Mediterranean, or the African coast of the Atlantic. Hence it follows that, at the remote period called Miocene, the seas were not only divided as now into distinct geological provinces, but already that peculiar distribution of the living mollusca, which now exists, had began to prevail. This conclusion is remarkable, when we recollect that, at the geological era alluded to, the fauna was so distinct from the present that four-fifths of the species, now living, had not yet come into existence." (i. 138.)

This does not state the contrast strong enough; for nearly all the plants found in the strata of Europe belonged to a flora only found at present between the tropics, and nearly all the animal remains are in climates where such animals could not now exist—elephants, along the shores of Siberia, as well as in England and America; crocodiles and hyænas, in our gravel beds and caverns; horse-bones in America, and elks in Ireland. It is not easy to reconcile these palpable diversities

of climate, which the hypothesis of plants growing, and animals living, where their fossil remains are found, necessarily involves with the idea of the seas being divided, *as now*, into distinct geographied provinces—with their living mollusca distributed, *as at the present time;* but looseness of thought in all respects slips in, through the loose manner in which they are accustomed to speak of time; for when they speak of *recent* species, it means, at the very least, thirty-five thousand years ago, which is said to be "a much more probable conjecture" than that of Bakewell, which was only one-third of the time that would be required for the retreat of the falls of Niagara from the escarpment of Queenston to their present site (34). Whether we take twelve thousand or thirty-five thousand years thus vaguely, it produces a vague idea that, during such a length of time, things may have happened which we should at once perceive to be incompatible, and therefore impossible, if they were fixed to any one definite point of time. The land it is which divides the sea into distinct geographical provinces; and, if the distribution of the inhabitants of the sea was the same as at present, at any given time, this infers the temperature, depth, and other physical requisites were the same; and it ought to follow that the inhabitants of the land, and their physical requisites, were also the same as at present, and the land must be under the same laws of temperature and climate as the sea.

But geologists seem to think that they can deal with a whole continent as a plaything—can change its climate at pleasure, and lift it up and down, and dispose of its mountains and vallies, and lakes, and rivers, according to their own convenience. Mr. Bakewell handled the district between lakes Erie and Ontario, with the Falls of Niagara, in one manner—Mr. Lyell handles the same little toy in another.

"Some geologists have considered these facts as very difficult to reconcile with the glacial theory. To me they appear to indicate the following succession of events:—First, the country acquired its present geographical configuration, so far as relates to the outline of the older rocks, under the joint influence of elevatory and denuding operations. Secondly, a gradual submergence then took place, bringing down each part of the land successively to the level of the waters, and then to a moderate depth below them.....Thirdly.....the clay, gravel, and sand of the drift were deposited, and occasionally fragments of rock, which had been frozen into glaciers, or taken up by coast-ice, were dropped here and there at random, over the bottom of the ocean, wherever they happened to be detached from the melting ice. During this period of submergence, the valleys in the ancient rocks were filled up with drift, with which the whole surface of the country was overspread.

Finally, the period for re-elevation arrived, or of that intermittent upward movement, when the ridges.....were formed in succession, and when valleys, like that of St. David's, which had been filled up, were partially re-excavated." (ii. 101.)

We leave this without comment to the good sense of our readers; but we congratulate them on learning, from the same authority, that the earth is cured of these intermittent fits, and has had no relapse for thirty-five thousand years. For we are told concerning the "big bone lick," that, "it is impossible to view this plain, without at once concluding that it has remained unchanged, in all its principal features, from the period when the extinct quadrupeds inhabited the banks of the Ohio and its tributaries." (ii. 67.)

But, though we speak thus lightly of the crochetty parts of these volumes, we would not have our readers conclude that they are worthless. They are, on the contrary, full of valuable observations, and sustain the character which Mr. Lyell has acquired as one of the most able and indefatigable of geologists: these are but specks and blemishes, which do not materially lessen the general value of the work. We wish that they were not there; but, as inseparable from a system, we tolerate them—if that pursuit of a favourite system has imparted zeal, and perseverance, and a collection of minute facts, which, but for it, we might never have known. And to part with Mr. Lyell, under favourable impressions, we commend the following most important passage to our readers:—

"In regard to the rarity of marine vertebrate animals in the oldest rocks, it may perhaps be no greater than is observed in strata of more modern date, formed in seas of equal depth, or at points as remote from the land. Many years have not elapsed since the old red sandstone was thought to be barren of ichthyolites; but now, in addition to the numerous genera found in Scotland, by Mr. Hugh Miller, M. Agassiz has announced that nine genera of sharks, of the division cestracion, occur in the Devonian beds of Russia, examined by Messrs. Murchison and De Verneuil. The appearance of fish so highly organized, in some of the oldest formations, is strongly opposed to the theory of progressive development advocated by some writers, and imagined by them to derive support from recent geological discoveries.

"Professor E. Forbes, after acquiring much experience by dredging in the Mediterranean of the fauna which characterises the sea at different depths, has inferred that the Silurian seas in these areas, hitherto examined, were at first very deep and tranquil, although, in parts, they after grew shallower. The following are the principal grounds of this conclusion:—first, the small size of the greater number of conchifera; secondly the paucity of pectinibranchiata (or spiral univalves); thirdly, the great number of floaters, such as Bellerophon,

Orthoceras, &c.; fourthly, the abundance of brachiopoda; fifthly, the absence of fossil fish; sixthly, the deep water forms of most of the sea-weed; and seventhly, the absence of land plants." (ii. 57.)

All these facts we shall have occasion to use on a future occasion, but to a purpose very different from that to which they are at present applied, and in connection with other facts which are not yet fully developed; and, in the meanwhile, thank Mr. Lyell for the varied and important information contained in his volumes, which we have read both with pleasure and profit.

ART. II.—*Perfect Peace. Letters—Memorial of the late John Warren Howell, Esq., of Bath, M.R.C.S.* By the Rev. DAVID PITCAIRN, Minister of Evir and Rendall. Eleventh Thousand. London: Seeleys.

ABSURD, or hacknied, or ill-chosen names have damaged many a good cause, by seriously offending superficial refinement. It may be true that, as shabby clothing would not convert a prince into a beggar, nor the purple and fine linen change the beggar into a prince, no more can badly-chosen words turn philosophy into folly, nor the choicest flowers of the dictionary change folly into wisdom; yet is it nevertheless true that the prince ought to appear in dress which the usages of society have appropriated to his rank, and the philosophy in language which cultivated minds have prepared for it. There may be a fickle fashion in words as well as in dress. But yet, as there are certain kinds of dress which, though obsolete, can never appear vulgar, so there are words which, through all changes of time and language, retain their dignity. The poet truly asks, "Who hath not felt the magic of a name?"—and this is undoubtedly true, both for evil and good. In fact, words hold in powerful slavery the minds of the great portion of mankind. It is more often than not the sounding title, and not the man who wears it, that awakens the diffidence and awe in such as have not been behind the scenes to ascertain how little it implies. Two names which, in a case of real vice, are all but convertible, will awaken—the one, emotions of loathing or contempt—the other, forbearance, or dangerous sentimentality. Let a tale of some bloody pirates' deeds be mixed with such qualificatives as *daring*, *chivalrous*, (because he may not happen to have butchered the wife as well as the husband) *heroic*, and the like; and instantly the veil is thrown over the blood of his murdered victims, and the

plunder of the wrecked vessel is looked upon as fairly earned wealth; and the whole is wound up with this stuff:—

> "He left a Corsair's name to other times,
> Link'd with one virtue and a thousand crimes."

As might be supposed, in no branch of human knowledge has this evil quality of words displayed itself more fatally to human welfare and happiness than in religion; for as religion is a matter deeply concerning all alike—the learned and the unlearned, the wise and the foolish, the refined and the vulgar; and as there is no royal mint for coining the words of the realm as there is for coining the money of the realm, the natural consequence is, that this subject is deluged with words, many of which are *vox et preterea nihil*, for they represent no distinct ideas that will arise spontaneously at their bidding when heard or read. And yet in no subject are clearly defined terms so important as in religion. The history of the "Quarrels of Authors" would prove this. There are, however, insuperable difficulties in the way of finding out words that all will agree to adopt for representing the ideas belonging to two of the least understood, because the least sensuous, of all subjects—the unseen realities of the spiritua world, and the emotions and operations of the human mind. For what is so difficult as accurately to describe a mental emotion, so as to convey it to another?—nay it is impossible. Yet emotions must be spoken of, for it is the end of religion to awaken them; and hence words must be found to enable us to describe them, as best we may, to others; and thus it has come to pass that words, which are big with momentous import in the mouths of such as first employed them, have become ready-made vehicles of falsehood and deception for the ignorant or insincere: for it is not always easy to determine that the expressive solemn word which, from the lips of the good man, shall inadequately represent the solemn mental state, shall, from the mouth of another, really represent base hypocrisy. If we could pursue this subject where it would lead us, we should comprehend more easily the somewhat mysterious declaration of Christ:—"By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be judged."

There is one theological term which especially justifies much that we have said about the good and evil qualities of words. The word *conversion* will, at the moment it is uttered, awaken feelings of contempt or loathing in the minds of thousands; whilst, on the other hand, a large class of serious minded persons employ it as a synonyme with eternal blessed-

ness itself. Now it seems certain that these two classes cannot understand each other's real meaning when using this word. When we hear some denying that the term represents any truth in the Christian system, whilst others absolutely affirm that it implies the essential conditions of a true Christian state of mind—the obvious inquiry is, can these arguers employ the same word in an identical sense? Is this term the real representative of the same ideas in the minds of both? Or, is not their logomachy but a repetition of the arguments of the two knights before the doubly-painted shield, who were saved from an appeal to the sword by simply changing sides, and thus ascertaining the ground of each other's assertions? We are, indeed, confident, that if many fierce abusers of this term were required to state accurately what mental state they consider it designates, we should hear quite as much absurdity from them, as we do but too often from many others, who quote it as the very watch-word of the true followers of Christ. The absurdities put forth on this subject are by no means confined to one side; for if it is foolish in one to defend what he has mistaken, it is not less foolish in another to deny what he does not, in any true sense, understand.

We propose, then, calmly discussing both the word, and what it must really imply (if it has any true meaning at all), in the hope of setting before the minds of such as are harassed by doubts, because unfurnished with the requisite information, that which may help to afford tranquillity, when they meet with it in the course of their sober enquiries, or when they hear it from the lips of others, who would determine the orthodoxy and spiritual condition of every man by his adoption or rejection of it.

As the only proper weapons for such a discussion as this are reason, demonstrations, proofs, founded upon sure principles, and not declamation, we shall pursue the following course of investigation. There lies before us a well-authenticated case of what is called *conversion.* We propose testing it by such principles as, it cannot be denied, are alone applicable to such a case.

The gentleman in whom this change is reported to have taken place was the late John Warren Howell, Esq., M.R.C.S., late Honorary Secretary of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, and Corresponding Member of the London Botanical, and other learned societies. As we, ourselves, were unacquainted with him, or with any of his friends, we must, of course, trust to the fidelity of the brief memoir

supplied to us by the work standing as the text of this article. And, indeed, it has been ushered into the world by such trustworthy editors, that to question the fidelity of its statements would be exposing every piece of history to a like uncertainty.

Mr. Howell was a practising surgeon, residing at Bath, where he was born on the 21st of December, 1810, and died at Torquay, January 10, 1844.

We think it important to collect together every particular that may be thought to characterize Mr. Howell, in order that we may be supplied with sufficient materials for fully trying the case; and hence we extract the following account of his early literary advantages:—

"His rudimental education was defective rather than liberal, so that in after life he was wont to speak with regret of what he called 'the waste of his early years.' To a great extent, it may be said that he was self-taught."

At the age of fifteen, he was articled to a medical practitioner at Bath. Subsequently, to complete his studies, he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, as a medical student. Here he gained considerable distinction; "and even, at this period, his proficiency in science enabled him to deliver a course of lectures on medical botany, in the theatre of the King William-street School of Medicine, which were recognised by the Royal College of Surgeons, and by the Apothecaries' Company, London. This was certainly a very gratifying compliment to so young a man."

He returned to England in 1833, bringing with him an increased and ardent love for the profession he had chosen, and a large accumulation of professional and general knowledge, and the highest testimonials of industry, ability, and character.

"In his examination before the Royal College of Surgeons, in answering the first question propounded to him, he had entered so readily, so fully, and so intelligently into an explanation of the subject, that he was dismissed in ten minutes."

In Dublin he had been favoured with occasional intercourse with men of the highest consideration for talent and acquirements—men from whose matured experience he gathered useful information, which acted as a stimulus and a guide to his own inquiries. On his return to Bath he missed these advantages, though they existed there: but Mr. Howell was then young and unknown, and as yet moving in comparative obscurity. He was, however, chiefly instrumental in founding the Bath Literary and Scientific Association, in 1837. Here

he read papers on astronomy, chemistry, botany, geology, mineralogy, &c.

As it is our desire to throw all the light we can on Mr. Howell's mental constitution and character, we quote the following description of his qualities as a lecturer:—

"His lectures displayed a deep and accurate knowledge of the many different topics of which they treated; they were specimens of the versatility of his genius, as well as of the extent of his researches; they were distinguished by great originality of thought, and by profound logical acumen; and from his command of matter, they were generally prolonged to double the length of time that is usual; but the attention of his audience was maintained throughout by the continued flow of new and interesting ideas, and by his elegant and engaging manner of delivery. He was gifted with an uncommon facility of expressing his sentiments in the most perspicuous and appropriate language; and, on this account, he was in the habit of speaking from short notes. Sometimes he spoke with the greatest fluency for two hours, and altogether *extempore*."

This is high praise, and we cannot but regret that no specimen whatever is given us of the texture of his thoughts and compositions.

According to the testimony of intimate friends, his genius was of a high order. One of them says:—

"During my intimacy with him, which was that of brothers, I could not fail of being struck with his originality of thought, with his acuteness in analysis, and his patient perseverance in research."

Another says:—

"As a philosopher he was diligent in the pursuit of science, treading her mazy and difficult paths with confidence, perseverance, and success. His reasoning was generally characterised by originality of thought, and his ideas expressed in language appropriate, firm, and unequivocal. I do not hesitate to apply the epithet, *unequivocal genius*, to Howell. His acquirements were as varied as his talents were varied."

His biographer speaks of his genius and talents in equally decisive terms. He assures us, "he was continually making discoveries in some one or other of the departments of science; and had he lived (he died at the age of 34), there is good ground for believing that he would have earned for himself a high and deserved rank amongst names illustrious in the annals of science and philosophy."

Now, making what deductions the most cautious may deem prudent from the weight of such eulogistic language, uttered by the voice of affection and admiration over a dead friend, yet ample evidence must be allowed to remain that Mr. Howell's mental gifts and acquirements were such as fully to

qualify him for judging of the truth of any system propounded to him, and for saving him from being victimised by those powerful appeals to the imagination which are too often successfully resorted to on a sick-bed. We consider this important point fully established by our proofs.

There have been, however, so many instances of highly-gifted men, who possessed brilliant talents for every pursuit but their own immediate duties in life, that we must still further endeavour to ascertain that Mr. Howell could claim the praise, not only of genius, but what is of far higher value, common sense—prudence being, as Aristotle says, the parent of all the virtues. Had he failed in his own profession, whilst attending to the pursuits of science, he would have stood before us as deficient in certain mental and moral qualities, which would have materially injured our estimate of him as a whole, and which would certainly have prevented our setting him up as a standard for the testing certain important principles. We do not, however, find that this was the case, as we gather, from indirect statements, that Mr. Howell was a successful practitioner, earning an honourable income by the confidence with which his diligence and skill inspired the public.

We now turn to seek for traits illustrative of his *moral* nature; that is, having satisfied ourselves that his intellect could not be imposed upon by specious and hollow arguments, and flimsy appeals to the imagination, we desire to ascertain the probability that he would not *profess* to believe statements, because he *wished* them to be true; or, in still plainer words, we desire to know, not only that he possessed genius, but also natural and acquired honesty.

On this point, the affirmations of his biographer are equally satisfactory. He thus writes of him:—

"In addition to much that was purely intellectual, there was about him a moral loveliness that greatly elevates our conceptions of his general character. His conduct was very blameless in the sight of man. He did not degrade himself by sensual indulgences. The prudence and self-respect which guided him in other things exerted their benign influence to uphold him in the path of virtue. The refinement of his mind, too, and his extreme delicacy of feeling, made vice odious to him: thus he avoided many of the evil practices by which many young men are so easily snared: and, by the concurrent testimony of those who knew him best, he was a highly honourable, upright and amiable man."

Further, his biographer subjoins:—

"It is no more than justice to record how kind and dutiful he was in all the varied relations of life. So long as he remained under the

parental roof, he was far from despising parental authority; and when he married, he gave the object of his choice that faithful devotedness of affection which he claimed and received in return.

"The endearments of wedded life made him indifferent to the pleasures of public amusements, and of private parties. With his wife and children, and with the quiet companionship of a few scientific friends, he found a perpetual source of social and domestic happiness."

We consider that all this thoroughly establishes this second point, which we deem vital to the discussion.

To complete our preliminary case, it remains for us to ascertain the amount of the influence of his religious opinions and practices; and whether they were such as required a change. Again, then, we return to the records of his biographer:—

"He certainly had at heart an abiding theoretic reverence for the Divine Being; and he conscientiously believed in Divine revelation. He constantly and openly repudiated the sceptical opinions so prevalent in the French schools of medicine and of science. In his own study of the manifold works of God, he took pleasure in discovering the wonderful traces of Divine wisdom, and of almighty power, whether in the magnificence of the starry heavens, or in the anatomy of the minutest plants: and in his public lectures he appears to have delighted in explaining to his fellow-creatures, and especially to the young, whatever was calculated to exalt their conceptions of the great Creator. The Divine Being, whom he habitually revered, was the God of Nature."

We pause to examine this sketch before proceeding to fill it up. It will appear so conclusive to many that we think it best at once to try it by the accredited standard of Christ's religion. It cannot, then, be too forcibly urged that religion, in its principles, is chiefly a matter of feeling. The proof of this is brief and conclusive. Christ summed up the whole of the law, in all its ramifications, required to meet the endless varieties of human character, conduct, and circumstances, under two heads—love to God, and love to our fellow-men. The apostle's homely commentary upon this is—"love worketh no ill to his neighbour; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law." Now, love belongs to the heart. The intellect comprehends and admires, and ministers to a taste that voluntarily rejects the grosser forms of sin; but the heart loves. The simple inquiry then is—whence did all this correctness of sentiment and conduct in Mr. Howell proceed? Was its root religion, as defined by Christ? In solving this problem, we know of no safer aids than the deliberate and thought-out declarations of the individual himself. They must be regarded as its proofs. The following extract embodies them:—

"In the midst of all his studies, Mr. Howell *practically* forgot the God who is revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures, and forgot his obligations to obey those Scriptures, whose Divine inspiration he acknowledged. The fear of God was not before his eyes; the love of God was not in his heart; the glory of God was not the object he had in view, nor the end at which he aimed; the day of holy rest, which God has set apart for his own special service, was desecrated by secular occupations: the public worship of God was seldom attended, and family worship was not thought of: the welfare of his immortal soul was overlooked — the great concerns of the eternal world were neglected. This is no exaggeration—*it is the substance of his own heartfelt regrets—of his own tearful confessions on a dying-bed.*"

Mr. Howell, then, though possessed of a rare share of moral decorum and purity, was not, by his own deliberate confession, a *religious* man, according to the New Testament definition of that character. Nor will this be thought strange by him who admits St. Paul's judgment of even higher qualities than these —namely, that to understand all mysteries and knowledge, and to let one's liberality know no limits, and to talk with the eloquence of angels, "*without love*, profit nothing." To dissent from this verdict of character is to set aside the standard of Christianity, and to leave ourselves without the power of determining, philosophically, what it is. Mr. Howell confessed that this αγαπη did not enter into his religious character; and hence he felt it utterly failed him in the hour of need.

The tale may now soon be concluded. Mr. Howell's intense labours, by day and night, taxed too heavily nature's resources; and, threatened by pulmonary consumption, he quitted Bath for the milder air of Torquay. Here he remained for some weeks, very steadily improving in health and strength, and he returned to Bath under the impression that every unfavourable symptom had been subdued, and that he was able to grapple with the accumulation of duties which absence had created; but, as usual, this deluding complaint flattered but to destroy more securely, for he felt not that his working powers were destroyed; so that, after some fitful struggles, he again returned to Torquay, to accomplish a far higher destiny than science and professional success could have opened for him at Bath. We have now to trace out the commencement, course, and termination of the remarkable and decided change which took place in Mr. Howell's religious views and principles.

During his first visit to Torquay, his religious opinions and feelings do not appear to have undergone any modification. He formed acquaintance with more than one who earnestly endeavoured to impart to him more definite views of the Gos-

pel. He listened with patient attention to every statement of divine truth that was submitted to him, and where there was room for it, he entered eagerly into argument. But as he frankly acknowledged afterwards, "it was nothing more than the play of the understanding."

On his second return to Devonshire, there was, however, a very manifest alteration in him both as to body and mind. "His strength was prostrated; his nervous system had sustained a dreadful shock; he was depressed in spirits and greatly agitated." After a few days, Mrs. Howell joined her husband, "and found him in a state of great uneasiness, from the apprehension that his death was certain, and that it might be sudden." That such a change in all his beloved relations to this world should produce a corresponding change of mind, we are prepared to admit. But he was still the master of his fine intellect, and of his high moral integrity: so that, though he became deeply anxious about his eternal welfare, it was still impossible to impose upon his understanding false views of divine truth, or to bribe his fears to embrace them. We give this as a reply to such as might superficially settle the case in their own minds, by attributing the whole of the change to the fear of death.

But the change had already commenced, and it is thus affectingly displayed to us. "That evening (of Mrs. Howell's return) after his wife had read a portion of Scripture to soothe and comfort him, he asked her to pray with him. His request took her by surprise. She was unaccustomed to pray aloud, and felt obliged to decline. 'Then I must do it myself' said Mr. Howell; and he did pray with her, which he had never done before."

Everything now indicated that Mr. Howell was in earnest. "On Sunday morning, Mrs. Howell went to Torre Church, and at the commencement of the litany was startled to hear the name of her husband read out, as a sick man desiring the prayers of the Church, and, on inquiry, she found it had been done at his own solicitation."—"He read the Bible diligently, with a wish to understand it. His correspondence with his friends at Bath did not entirely omit the mention of literary and scientific subjects; but it was characterised by this new feature, that he intimated, without disguise or reserve, the dangerous condition to which he was reduced, and his desire to seek for consolation in religion."

We pass over some few intermediate scenes, and approach the period when the editor of this book, and the author of the

searching letters in it, descriptive of Mr. Howell's religious transition, was introduced to him in his ministerial capacity.

He had partly rallied; returned public thanks in Torre Church to the Giver of all good, for what he imagined to be restored health; and had again relapsed, to retrace his steps no more. At this crisis, says the editor, "his inward distress became great; but he was looking to God, and crying for mercy. As a minister of the Gospel of Christ, I was asked to visit Mr. Howell, because he was a dying man who truly needed, and greatly desired, spiritual consolation."

Though a little beside our purpose of accumulating evidence for the case before us, we cannot forbear quoting the description of Mr. Howell's *personnel*, as it appeared on Mr. Pitcairn's first interview:—

"There was the stamp of superior intelligence in his countenance; there was more than that—there was dignity of character, combined with great benignity; whilst his hazel eyes, and long dark eyelashes—his capacious brow, crowned with a profusion of jet-black locks—and the scarlet scarf that was loosely twisted round his neck, gave me the idea of what is generally designated *genius*. I had been told he was a clever and very accomplished man, and now I could not doubt it."

In making extracts from the letters, of which we have just spoken, we think it necessary for our purpose to confine ourselves to such statements as unfold Mr. Howell's *own opinions of himself*; for "what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man that is in him?" Hence, then, we want the dying man's own confessions, as elicited by the appropriate course pursued towards him by an accomplished clergyman. Upon these we may justly sit in judgment:—

"Mr. Howell spoke with great kindness of the Christian friends who had assiduously visited and instructed him. He confessed that his understanding went along with their statements, but that his heart remained untouched."

On Mr. Pitcairn's first visit, with wise professional skill he endeavoured to ascertain the clearness of Mr. Howell's views upon the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel, the revealed character of Jesus Christ, as "God manifested in the flesh." This appears to have been fully discussed, and the results are thus collected and stated. "On the divinity of the Saviour, I found Mr. Howell well established. The reality, and the importance, and the necessity of his humanity, had burst upon him with all the power and freshness of a new subject. He said it had never been so fully and so plainly opened up to him."—

"Mrs. Howell has informed me that her husband constantly referred to this conversation, on the humanity of the Saviour, with peculiar satisfaction. He always said it was the opening up of this subject that led him, by God's blessing, to a distinct knowledge of the Gospel."

The next visit was made in consequence of an express message delivered by Mrs. Howell from her husband, who, she said, "had been labouring for some time under deep distress of mind, and wished particularly to see me." This took place about nine o'clock at night. "On entering his bed chamber, Mr. Howell flung out his arm across the bed, and grasped my hand with a cordiality and firmness that spoke more powerfully than words how thankful he was to see me. But he could not speak, and his fine countenance was expressive of inward agony: it was quite an appalling spectacle." It is our simple duty to describe what followed, strictly adhering to the words of the narrative:—

"I silently gazed upon him for a minute or two, and then said, 'God is our refuge in every time of distress and trouble.' Before we attempt to converse with each other, we had best cast ourselves upon God. If you please, we will pray for his guidance, deliverance, and blessing. The distressed man signified his approval. During the prayer, which had especial reference to his case, it was very affecting to be continually interrupted with 'Yes,' 'yes'—'Amen,' 'amen,' joined with the sobs of his wife. We were very earnest in our supplications; and while we were yet speaking, it happened to us as to Daniel of old, that God heard and answered; indeed, I was never so sensible of an immediate answer to prayer. On rising from my knees, and opening my eyes on Howell, I found him greatly soothed: his countenance had gained its usual placidity."

The origin of the state of mind which led to the above scene must be stated to complete the description:—

"Mr. Howell mentioned his great spiritual comfort of my visit on Sunday. He acknowledged that he never, in all his life, had experienced such pure happiness; it was like an anticipation of the joys of heaven. His elevated state of religious feeling continued uninterrupted the whole of Sunday afternoon and evening, during the midnight hours, and throughout the forenoon of Monday. The excitement connected with this great and joyful change had borne hard on his debilitated frame. As the day advanced, he sank into great exhaustion; and, amidst this weakness of body, what he described as a *cloud of terrible darkness* enveloped his mind. He could not believe anything. The truths which had been the joy and rejoicing of his heart vanished from his hold like unsubstantial shadows. All his hopes and consolations had suddenly fled; and so terrible was the conflict to which he had been subjected, that he used the liberty of sending for me."

Mr. Pitcairn does not, in the above extract, mention any formal cause for this "cloud of terrible darkness," which we deem a great omission; as, in such complaints as Mr. Howell's, the body too often holds in fearful slavery the natural powers of the mind. In a note, however, the cause is assigned:—

"Mrs. Howell has explained to me that the distress into which he sank was connected with deep conviction of sin. As she sat by him, suddenly throwing both his hands upon his head, he exclaimed, '*Oh, I have been a great sinner*,' and the tears rolled down his cheeks."

This cause is perfectly adequate to the effect.

We add a few more particulars of this visit, as containing important counsel for others:—

"I sat beside him till half-past ten o'clock. *It is vain to argue with people who are in the distressing condition in which I found Howell. The introduction of light is the only way to expel darkness*; so I asked for a Bible to read a portion of the 6th chapter of St. John. We spoke of the Son of God as the only food of an immortal soul—the bread of life—of which, if a man eat, he shall never hunger. This supplied sublime materials of thought, and placed before him the true object of that faith which sanctifies and saves. Thus we talked on, and the disconsolate man forgot his sorrows. We talked of Christ, and he found him to be his nourishment, his balm, and consolation. When I left him, his mind was as tranquil and peaceful as could be desired."

At the next visit, Mr. Pitcairn found his friend "beautifully composed, having had no return of darkness or distress." He almost immediately, of his own accord, referred to the conversation of Nicodemus with our Lord, and expressed his conviction that being "born again" must mean some radical and thorough change in a man's views and feelings; and then he put the trying question—"but when such a change is effected, don't you think there will be the consciousness of it?" In reply to this, Mr. Pitcairn spoke of *conversion* as a reality, referring to the case of Saul, and then added—"In reference to yourself, it appears to me that although the work has not been instantaneous, or complete, nor accompanied by miracles, yet a similar change has been undergone by you. You now acknowledge that Jesus is your Lord and God." At last Mr. Howell said, "I do feel that a great change has taken place." It is added that Mr. Howell made this confession with a great effort; but, from the moment of its being made, he continued to bless God for his wondrous mercy and forbearance towards him.

We might almost stop at this stage of his change, as nothing

which follows disturbs this conclusion. But we cannot withhold the summary of his history, given *after* this change, as supplying indisputable facts:—

"He now began to give me a sketch of his former life. From a child, he said, he had felt an inordinate thirst for knowledge of all kinds. Of course he had studied hard in the way of his profession, and even after he was established in practice his ardour in the pursuit of literature and science was unabated. He rose early and sat up late, and, with shame and sorrow, he confessed that the Sunday had been too often spent in his laboratory, making experiments in chemistry. Sometimes he went to church; but he did not go as a humble devout worshipper: the object in view was generally to hear some celebrated preacher. He also read books of theology, and had a particular liking for controversial divinity; but it was merely to enlarge his stock of knowledge. All this time he lived free from those gross vices in which he saw others around him indulging. He was opposed to scepticism, to materialism, to Unitarianism. In the application of his powers to philosophical and scientific pursuits he thought he was living a rational life, and he was very well pleased with himself. He referred to his intercourse with two serious-thinking physicians, Dr. Morgan, of Bath, and Dr. Tetley, of Torquay, as having been instrumental of good to him. He found that the first chastisement of his heavenly Father had not been severe enough. Had he been able to prosecute his medical profession, he felt assured that the warning he had received would have been lost upon him—that he would have forgotten God, and continued to neglect his salvation. He remarked that the pursuit of knowledge is, in itself, laudable; but in his case it had been carried to an extent which he now saw to have been sinful, inasmuch as it excluded higher objects from that attention they deserved."

Subsequent visits to Mr. Howell proved that he was entirely convinced of the reality and nature of the inward change that the spirit of God had wrought. On one occasion he said, "*I am as conscious of believing in Christ as I am of being alive.*" Again he said, "I see it—I see it; I am sensible that the whole state of my views and feelings, in regard to religion, has undergone a great change; but I only feared I might be indulging a false hope." On another occasion Mr. Pitcairn said to him, "You tell me how peaceable and composed your mind is. You are relieved from the load of anxiety respecting the pardon of sin, which pressed so heavily on your spirits; and you acknowledge that of late you have experienced a happiness to which you had all your life been a stranger." "Yes, true—very true (he exclaimed), I do feel as if I were just beginning to live. My hours of purest happiness are those spent in the contemplation of Christ. To be with Christ, is my view of heaven."

We will add but one more of this kind of *proofs* of his change—we mean his own deliberate affirmations of what he really was—and then pass on to his dying scene:—

"Thursday, the 21st, was his birthday. He entered on his thirty-fourth year. I called at my usual hour. He looked languid and emaciated: it was evidently an effort for him to speak, even in a subdued whisper. As we shook hands I expressed a hope that, in the midst of so much bodily frailty, he had peace of mind. He answered, 'Perfect peace;' and, after breathing, he repeated with emphasis, '*Perfect peace.*' His motionless posture, and the placidity of his countenance, were to me like two witnesses attesting the truth of his declaration."

We do not think it necessary to accumulate more proofs of the reality of Mr. Howell's change. We will only pause over his dying moments:—

"On Wednesday he sunk into stupor. Dr. Madden asked him how all was within. He replied in a whisper, 'Oh, there has been a wonderful change! wonderful—wonderful!' and he went on repeating the word 'wonderful' for about the space of a minute. Early on Thursday morning warm cloths were applied to his limbs; but it would appear he was himself conscious that the coldness of death was creeping over him. Of his own accord he turned round from the side on which he had been lying, and, placing himself flat on his back, he first stretched out his limbs; he then closed his own eyes, and compressed his mouth, and folded his left hand across his breast. The right hand he placed just outside the bed-clothes, as if for a parting shake with those around him; and in this attitude the last breath gently escaped from his chest at ten o'clock, without one feature of the face being distorted, or one muscle of the body convulsed."

ἱερον ὑπνον
Κοιμᾶται θνησκειν μη λεγε τους αγαθους.

This affecting calmness and self-recollection remind us of the dying scene of Mr. Wolfe, author of the "Ode on Sir John Moore." "He repeated part of the Lord's prayer, but was unable to proceed; and at last, with a composure scarcely credible at such a moment, he whispered to the dear relative who hung over his death-bed, 'Close this eye, the other is closed already; and now farewell!' Then, having uttered part of the Lord's prayer, he fell asleep."*

Now, we deem this remarkable history of a remarkable man, which we have endeavoured to arrange for our own purposes with logical precision, one which we are bound to receive as it is presented to us, or to explain it otherwise upon incontro-

* Wolfe's Remains, p. 210. 2nd Edition.

vertible principles. We have purposely so stated the case as to render the attempt of the caviller to dispose of it by a sneer hopeless and absurd. Sneers may sometimes be as good, or even better, than arguments; but not in such a case as this. For we have shown that the subject of this change was endowed, intellectually and morally, with qualities which entitled him to sit in judgment upon any such facts, as a philosopher more richly furnished than the ninety-nine out of the hundred. The proofs we have given of his genius and talents are not more perfect than those of his unsullied integrity. If it is morally impossible that he should permit his understanding to be imposed upon by erroneous deductions from the letter of revelation, so it is as morally impossible that he should permit his heart to be deceived by artificial emotions. Here then is a phenomenon; and we ask the philosopher to explain it upon sure principles.

The editor classes it amongst the instances of religious *conversions*. We have already stated the objections entertained by many to this (in their estimation) offensive word. We grant to them, then, the argument derived from its frequent abuse. But does this argument go so far as to prove that the word represents but a falsehood?

Conversion means *turning*: it is the abstract noun from the compound Latin verb *converto, I-turn-with*. It is applied to designate a mental state, or condition, which has become altogether different from a former one.*

Now we may ask, generally, whether it is not possible that the human mind can be changed, turned, or converted from one permanent and characteristic state to another permanent and characteristic state, of an entirely opposite tendency? It certainly is possible, for the occurrence is very common that, in the same mind, deep dislike to an object should be changed for as deep a liking to it; and the word *conversion* would be a very proper one for designating this change. We are not just now alluding to any kinds of causes for such changes, whether religious or other; though, of course, there must be an adequate cause for every such effect; but the present inquiry is, simply, whether it is psychologically impossible that a complete change can take place in the essential characteristics of a human mind? We think that the history of most grown-up persons will save us the trouble

* *μηποτε επιστρεψωσι, και αφεθη αυτοις τα αμαρτηματα.* St. Mark iv. 12. Our definition of the word is strictly proved in this example, where it occurs under circumstances which demonstrate its true import.

of formally answering this inquiry. We shall, therefore, consider it as proved, that the fundamental idea implied in the theological term *conversion* is real, and of frequent occurrence.

Ere we proceed further in this inquiry, we must briefly digress for the purpose of correcting a popular error, prolific of much mischief. Nothing is more common than for well-educated people to regard the terms *conversion* and *regeneration* as synonymous. Many of the objections to the services of our Church have arisen from this erroneous (as we think) conception. When called to join in using her baptismal services, how many have followed it with trembling lips, because, in their minds, the idea properly represented by the term conversion has been transferred to the term regeneration? But, as it appears to us, the radical idea of regeneration represents a case in which the Spirit of God alone is operative, and the mind acted upon simply passive; whereas conversion represents the case involving the agency both of God and man. *Converto*, I-turn-*with*. With this, however, our space forbids our proceeding further—enough has been said to suggest caution and relief. We only earnestly add the wise counsel of Bishop Ryder—"It is better to confine the term regeneration to the privileges of baptism." Certainly, all churchmen should abide by this direction; for if we will only permit our enemies to put their own meaning on the terms employed in our formularies, they may, and will, make our services speak what they like.

If, then, extreme mental changes, or (to use the word properly descriptive of them) *conversions* can take place under various aspects of life, and from various causes, certainly, complete mental changes, or conversions, are possible, when religion, one of the most powerful of all mental stimulants, is the acting cause.

But we are aware that many would, without hesitation, yield the point thus far, if pressed to carry it no further. They will admit the fact of the change, but are staggered at the consequences claimed to follow it—the pardon of sins, and the possession of the promises, therefore, of eternal life. Mr. Pitcairn makes this claim upon our belief for the subject of his memoir, and so, evidently, did Mr. Howell for himself. And if the fact of Mr. Howell's change be traced up to its true authorship, such results, we think, cannot be denied, upon principles stated, and variously developed in the Bible. For such a change or conversion, as we are contending for, and assuming Mr. Howell's to have been, we assign to the direct agency

upon the human mind of the Holy Spirit. And the same agency always accompanies this change, agreeably to its nature and requirements, with the gift of *faith* in Christ—(that subtle principle which the spiritual anatomist can no more specifically define, than the physical anatomist can define, in its essence, what *life* is)—and faith in Christ, as St. Paul said in the gaol at Philippi, will be followed by salvation; and salvation must imply previous pardon. This, at least, is the logic of the New Testament.

Or, we may exhibit this most vital case thus:—Man is a sinner against God. Sin implies guilt. Guilt implies a radical moral disorganization and general loss of true happiness, by the essential constitution of the human mind; conscience, the especial instrument of causing the misery, being also a component part of that mental structure: and that same conscience, by its like natural properties, is competent to impart mental happiness or peace, when the consciousness of guilt is removed. We state these as psychological facts—the certainties of mental science. Now, Mr. Howell affirmed that he was conscious (and who shall deny another's consciousness?) of guilt, and of the misery accompanying it. But, he adds, these sensations were, somehow removed, and exquisite happiness in its purest form, namely, *perfect peace*, took their place. The vital inquiry then is—how was the change accomplished?

We are not the masters of our own emotions. We cannot, by a voluntary effort, bid ourselves be happy or sad. Our tears and smiles, for matters of earthly grief, are more in the power of others than in our own—our own volitions, in no just sense of the word, are the causes of either. The human spirit of another, mysteriously acting upon my human spirit, may awaken the sad or the joyous emotion; but, my own self-efforts cannot awaken it—if I were lying under the deep displeasure of another, whose will to crush me was equalled by his power to do it, the mental misery, consequent upon my dangerous condition could only be exchanged for happiness by the fullest consciousness that he had forgiven me, based upon evidence which I could not doubt. And this evidence might be conveyed to me in various manners, without any personal intercourse between us; but the foundation of the changed emotions must rest upon my consciousness of the reality of his pardon. These propositions, which are easily susceptible of proofs, may assist us in investigating the cause of Mr. Howell's transition from a mental state which yielded permanent distress to one which yielded permanent happiness.

No abstract knowledge of the inherent nature, or the con-

sequences of sin, can impart what the apostle calls "godly sorrow, that worketh repentance unto salvation." If the penitent's feelings could be excited by the mere effort of the *will*, there are seasons in most men's lives when they would repent. ("Who are born not of the will of the flesh!") The Divine Spirit, acting upon the human spirit, can alone produce this. The understanding may perceive the necessity of the emotions of repentance; but the Spirit of God can alone awaken them. It was so in the case of Job—no human arguments could awaken the feelings which he subsequently acknowledged were proper to his condition: nor were those deeply significant words—"I repent"—extorted from his lips, ultimately, by any power short of that which, we are told, the Deity put forth for the purpose. And, therefore, Mr. Howell would rightly argue that, as God had, in just (so he fully acknowledged) displeasure, awoke in him the sensations of misery, so He alone could remove them; and (what might not be the necessary consequence of their mere removal, though it would greatly influence his conclusions concerning it), awaken sensations of peace to replace them. Indeed, it seems evident, if Mr. Howell's spiritual distress was permitted, that it might be the true index to himself of his spiritual condition before God; then, as its removal could only be effected by the same Divine permission, so would that removal, in like manner, be the index to the knowledge of his altered condition towards God. And why should the distressful emotions of Mr. Howell's mind have been subdued, and a totally opposite class aroused to replace them? All human analogies—all possible sound deductions from the revealed principles of God's moral government—all the tenor of revelation force upon us the answer, in the words of the prophet—"Though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me."

For, if the pardon of our sins is not an attainable blessing, we may ask—what did Christ die for? Why does the Bible, given to man in his wretchedness, hold out hopes of happiness before his aching eyes, unless the grand cause of all this wretchedness—the Divine displeasure—can be removed? Indeed, if this be not the true purport of the Bible, then are all its lovely scenes of happiness, described as existing somewhere, and somehow, and for some of God's creation—just to our wretched race what the crown of thorns was to Christ—the highest symbol of power, freedom, and human happiness, set upon his head in that dark, lone, hour when men's wickedness had reduced him to the lowest point of degradation and woe. But we cannot avoid the favourable conclusion. For if the Bible,

and that enlightened human reason which is to sit in judgment upon its contents, are the product of the same Divine mind, then are we safe; for the inference is the result of clear demonstration. Thus, David was inspired to affirm, "Blessed *is* he whose transgression *is* forgiven, whose sin *is* covered." He even points out the prescribed means for obtaining this forgiveness—"I said, I will confess my transgression unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin."

Here, then, is that same truth historically conveyed to us, as *verified* in a particular case, which St. John thus announces, generally: "If we confess our sin, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sin." Isaiah represents God as appealing to the *human reason* to judge of the fact: "Come, let us *reason* together; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; and though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." This form of stating the case seems expressly designed to meet the denial or the doubts of the possibility, on the ground of difficulties apparently to us insurmountable; for the illustration of the wool purified from its scarlet dye involves an impossibility: yet, says God, I can make white the scarlet-dyed sinner. But a living instance of a pardoned sinner is set before us.

On a certain occasion a sick man was brought to Christ for cure. He thus addressed him:—"Son, thy sins be forgiven thee." The Jews justly concluded that, unless the utterer of these words was a Divine person, they were mere blasphemy. In reply, then, to their accusation, Christ thus put the case to them:—"Whether is it easier to say to this man, thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say to him, arise and walk? To prove then, that I did not exceed my power in pronouncing this man's forgiveness, I will perform before you another miracle, *expressly to satisfy you of my power to perform the first.* I will cure him by a word." He had said this should be done, to prove that the "Son of man hath power on earth* to forgive sins;" and if Christ had this power on earth, has he less now that he is in heaven, on his intercessorial seat at the right hand of God?

We are taught to believe that the pardon of sin will be

---

* In St. Mark's account, the order of the Greek text would naturally require this translation:—"the Son of man hath power to forgive sins upon earth." The difference is not unimportant. The force of επι της γης, according to its position in the received translation, is, that whilst Christ was on earth he had power to forgive sins. According to the above arrangement, its position might tend to the doctrine, that he always possessed this power to bestow upon men whilst *they* were on earth.

followed by the blessing of eternal happiness—it being understood that pardon implies a changed spiritual state, which consists of a different set of principles, and pursuits, and habits. Now, Mr. Howell had not been a wicked man. On the contrary, he had been eminently virtuous amongst his human fellows; and though much—very much must be conceded to this, yet there is something which no well-informed mind dares accord to it. Certainly, Mr. Howell deserved well of his fellow-men for his virtues amongst them—*their* heaven, if they had one to bestow. But the full enquiry is, as to his possessing such defined qualifications as should fit him for another defined form of existence, very different from this earthly one. In short, the enquiry is about his possessing the requisite virtues for the *Christian's heaven*, as revealed to us by the founder of our religion. This, we say, is the right view in which to look at such a case as Mr. Howell's. True, by his upright conduct, he was supereminently fitted for the society and the rewards for virtue of his human fellows; but was he fitted by that alone for the society of the "just made made perfect," *as revealed to us in the Christian Scriptures?* He himself thought not—he fully conceded the point of his total unfitness for it: for he judged the case upon right premises. He knew that God was the sole author of the state, or condition, described *as heaven:* and, therefore, that He alone could claim the right to determine what are the necessary qualifications to be obtained by such as should seek to inherit it. He vividly apprehended the equity of these terms, as summarily expressed in the duties towards God, and those towards man. Supposing, then, Mr. Howell might feel, that, upon the whole, he had fairly fulfilled the latter, whilst he knew he had deliberately and systematically neglected whole classes of the former; on what ground was he to establish his fitness for this heaven? where the chief employments of its inhabitants, as we are told, is that service in which Mr. Howell had little or no experience—the pure service of God, for "they serve Him day and night."

We are endeavouring to solve the problem before us upon principles fetched from Divine revelation alone, rejecting all hypothesis founded on imaginary views of Divine mercy: nor can any other course be pursued without leaving all to mere wild conjecture, and the reasonable unbelief of such as require proofs upon admitted principles. Indeed, it would be just as right to attempt the solution of a problem of the natural world, upon principles resting on conjecture, as was for so long a time the method of science, whilst the natural results were the absurd astronomy which the telescopes of Newton

for ever annihilated, because they exhibited real facts, and hence the true principles upon which the Author of all natural phenomena rules the starry hosts of heaven. The only sure principles, then, for solving this problem of the moral world, are those which have been revealed to us in His word, as applicable to it. For the superficial world would at once say that so virtuous a man as Mr. Howell was, needed no change, or conversion.

Now, there are views revealed to us of the future home of Christ's true followers which may serve to throw light upon this point. That abode is described to us as a *definite state;* implying, therefore, certain acquired tastes to capacitate for the enjoyment of its peculiarities. This is agreeable to the views developed by Bishop Butler in the following passage from his "Analogy:"—"Without determining what will be the employment and happiness, the particular life, of good men hereafter, there must be some determinate capacities, some necessary character and qualifications, without which persons cannot but be utterly incapable of it: in like manner as there must be some without which they would be incapable of the present life."* That Mr. Howell had not acquired these tastes, appears to be most certain; for his mental emotions had been habitually awakened by an entirely different class of objects. Had he, then, in so short a space of time as his last illness afforded, opportunity sufficient for acquiring them? This leads us to a discussion of the case of a death-bed repentance, which Mr. Howell's must be called; for this is one vital feature in the case, which cannot be left unnoticed without suspicion.

To throw light upon this point, we shall make use of the following felicitous illustration, (we quote it from memory only) taken from an ingenious "Essay on the Internal Evidences of Revelation," published some years ago:—"A young gentleman of fortune, Mr. Erskine tells us, had recklessly squandered his all, and was reduced to poverty. In this state he wandered forth one morning to visit a spot from which he might once more gaze upon the fair heritage he had so madly lavished away upon sinful pleasures, with the intention afterwards of committing suicide. As, however, he stood there, his mind underwent a change—that is, according to our definition, was converted—and he resolved to return to the world, and by any means in his power to aim at recovering his lost inheritance. He continued there some time longer,

* Analogy, part 1, chap. v.

brooding over plans, and arose to go forth to their execution with the soul of the miser. He commenced with some inferior occupation, soon regained the confidence of friends, who lent their willing aid; and after years of labour, in acquiring what was husbanded with the penuriouness of the most accomplished miser, he died richer than when he had entered life."

The application of the story is this:—Suppose there had existed a paradise of misers, whose sole happiness, as a society, would, of course, consist of conversations and habits altogether repugnant to minds of a liberal cast; and suppose, further, that almost immediately after this young man had resolved to embrace the miser's life, before time served for developing and proving his principles, he had died—the inquiry is, would he not have been an eligible candidate for that society of misers? His spendthrift habits had brought him to wretchedness, and had all but dug for him the suicide's loathed grave; hence nothing would be so hateful to his new principles, tastes, and resolves. These new principles were to restore him to life; and, if successfully applied to competency and wealth, must he not, then, love them?—and would not the oldest and most confirmed member of that society have found in him an eager, and respectful, and happy listener to all that constituted the joys of that scene?

We will apply this to the case before us. Mr. Howell had pursued a course of life in which the peculiar blessings of Christ's religion had been, as it were, squandered away, and now, on his dying pillow, he found himself spiritually a beggar and bankrupt. But new views rise up before him. The means of regaining his lost inheritance are pointed out. He felt, and most fully believed in, their efficacy, and most sincerely resorted to them to regain it; and affirmed that, if he lived, he would make those new principles the guide of his future conduct. As the young spendthrift had suddenly, in soul and heart, become a miser, so had Mr. Howell, in soul and heart, suddenly become a disciple of Christ. Science, professional success and reputation, now took the lowest place in his affection, and he loved, beyond them all, Jesus Christ, and his laws, and his people, and his heaven. Why, then, in virtue of these principles, which evidently wanted only time and sphere for effectual operation, would not Mr. Howell have been a fit candidate for mingling in that mighty throng who shew the true spring of all their joys by evermore casting their crowns at His feet, and in hymning His praises, who has loved them and washed them from their sins in His own blood, and has made them kings and priests to God for ever and ever?

We acknowledge that this is almost the only cheering view we are ever able to take of what are called death-bed repentances or conversions. As a rule, we place the most trembling reliance upon even the more hopeful cases. It is the recorded experience of a living clergyman, of no ordinary pretensions to genius, learning, sagacity, and apostolical diligence in personal intercourse with his flock, that of all the hopeful cases of sick-bed repentances which his own wide experience had brought before him, not one of those who regained health remained true to his professed conversion. We can say that such has been our own more limited experience of the extreme untrustworthiness of such changes. And we can easily conceive and believe that many of these had deceived themselves as well as us. For, not only does the fear of near approaching death destroy naturally the wishes for the old pursuits, but the absence of all the usual temptations, and the incapacity of yielding to them even if they were presented, add to the power of the deception; and thus cause them to mistake the work of nature for the work of grace. But after a close and patient investigation of the striking features of Mr. Howell's change, we do not find our convictions of its reality disturbed by these difficulties. We have fully admitted it as an exception to our rule.

For, moreover, we cannot for a moment compare Mr. Howell's case with that of the open violator of the Ten Commandments. The dying-bed repentance and conversion of the open profligate requires an amount of evidence to substantiate its reality, which usually lies beyond all human reach. But the case before us is entirely free from these difficulties. For Mr. Howell's natural temperament had inclined him to a virtuous life, and this temperament we regard as a *divine gift* to him for special purposes; which, as it must have saved him almost entirely from the distractions of that two-fold repentance which men find it so difficult to deal with, of course materially simplified his case. For, supposing the penitent profligate may be able to realize the possibility that God can, for Christ's sake, forgive the most henious crimes against his own majesty, yet, what atonement, in his agonies he asks, can his mere sorrow make to the many victims of his guilty indulgences, who may be still living, apparently the outcasts of God and man, through those very sins, the evil consequences of which he hopes to escape in his own person, merely by being sorry for them under peculiar circumstances?—and he feels he is dying without the ability of making one act of reparation! We state this extreme case to simplify that of Mr. Howell,

And if any one should deny to us the importance of the distinction, we should feel ourselves unable to argue with him. According to our judgment, then, there was one species of remorse, which but few indeed can escape, that formed no element in Mr. Howell's repentance, and therefore certainly simplified its difficulties.

But, as we have said, there must be an adequate cause for every complete change in the human mind. We must, therefore, assign causes, in the present case, adequate to the production of that peculiar change which took place in Mr. Howell's, or our case will be incomplete.

He who attempts to reduce the statements of the Gospel concerning the method of a sinner's salvation to a scientific form will find, at least, this arrangement:—there is God, the Creator of man, and, therefore, his legitimate Sovereign and Lawgiver: there is man, the created, and, therefore the legitimate subject of this Sovereign Creator, who, having violated the prescribed conditions upon which the divine favour was to to be retained, has incurred the prescribed consequences; that is, a nature changed from good to evil, and certain penalties. But Christ, the Son of God, by his voluntary and expiating sufferings for man, has made it possible that God can be just to his own holy nature, and yet the justifier, or free forgiver, of him that believeth on his Son. But man, the sensuous, cannot, unaided, adequately apprehend the character of Christ, the spiritual, and his spiritual work; and hence the Holy Spirit was given to act upon man's understanding and heart, to enable him to comprehend and yield to the terms of the salvation thus provided. These terms are stated in this comprehensive formulary of salvation—"Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

Now, Mr. Howell's case includes all the terms of this statement. He acknowledged his rebellions against God, his Creator and Sovereign, and the justice of the consequent penalties. He acknowledged, also, the incarnation of the Son of God, both God and man, as the accepted piacular victim for sin; and that salvation from the punishment he dreaded could be obtained only through Him. He acknowledged, also, the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and its delegated power to act upon the human mind and affections, in making available to his case the work of Christ. Hence, he prayed to God the Father for the gift of this true faith in God the Son, through the aid of God the Holy Spirit: and thus using, according to the plain directions of Scriptures, the instrumentality above explained, Mr. Howell affirmed, "*I am as conscious of believing*

in Christ as I am of being alive;" which are the prescribed terms of salvation, according to the above formulary of the apostle.

Here, then, is what we seek for—a definite effect, established by evidence which cannot be refused without vitiating the sources of all history; and here is an adequate cause for its production—"Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." But Mr. Howell was as "conscious of believing in Christ as he was of being alive"—having reached that stage of religion, not *per saltum*, but by treading the thorny paths (emphatically designated *the narrow path* and *the strait gate*) which are appointed to lead to it. According to the strictest use of words, then, this new mental state cannot be more justly described than by the word *conversion*; and, according to the strictest application of those revealed principles of God's government upon which alone such a case can be investigated, it implies the fulfilment of the promises of the Gospel—pardon and eternal blessedness.

We have thus endeavoured faithfully to investigate what we regard as a remarkable fact. We believe there are few similar cases that are so well able to bear the most searching spiritual criticism. We wish it, however, to be especially noticed that we have not, in this investigation and conclusion, held out a premium for an ungodly life, by making it out to be an easy matter to get cancelled past enormities, by the fancied acquisition of a new set of unproved moral principles, and by prayers, tears, and lamentations, poured forth in the last days of existence, when it is infinitely difficult to tell whether they proceed from the spirit or the flesh. On the contrary, we deduce a very different moral from this story. We point out to the ungodly or worldly man, who should seek to find, from this record of a dying man's triumphant repentance, encouragement for his own fatal procrastination, the laborious and torturing process through which Mr. Howell was required to pass ere he obtained "perfect peace;" and then we would ask him, what must be the process at that hour, through which *he* must expect to pass, whose life has been not only one of forgetfulness of God and his Son, but of infinite evils to his fellow-creatures?

We cannot dismiss the subject, without subjoining a few words upon such conversions as are blessed with time and trials for proving their reality by the necessary fruits. We again state our opinion, that the theological terms *regeneration* and *conversion* ought not to be confounded. The former term, according to our apprehension, involves, necessarily,

mysteries, which lie altogether beyond the range of human comprehension. But the mental state implied by *conversion* may be made intelligible, and presented practically to all: we can understand, that a man may be turned, changed, or converted, by the agency of the Holy Spirit's aids, from vicious to virtuous principles; that he who lived without prayer may become a man loving prayer, and living in its very spirit: that he who loved not Christ, and believed not on Him as a Saviour, may love him, and place all his hopes of happiness upon his atonement for sin: in fact, that, upon religious grounds, the thoughtless and disobedient may be turned, or converted, into the good, the careful, the thoughtful, and the obedient. This is a change or conversion which all may understand, and aim at. Such a conversion, too, implies, fully, human co-operation in the use of appointed means with divine grace. It admits, further, of all gradations, from that almost imperceptible turning which is marked only by the first penitential sigh, and the first solemn resolve, and the first earnest prayer, until, in its onward progress towards perfection, the man becomes a new creature in Christ Jesus, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. Such a conversion has its twofold proofs—objective and subjective. The objective lie open to the gaze of the world, being furnished by his altered life and conversation. The subjective are cognizable by his own consciousness—a proof which at least cannot be denied to the possessor. "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." And the proofs of his possessing this gift are supplied to us: "for the fruits of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Most of these are mental emotions and states which belong not by inheritance to the natural man; and whereas, their opposites exist in us without an effort on our part to acquire them, these exotics are reared and fostered, and maintained by those painful endeavours, which, however, serve to prove the reality of the change, or conversion, which has led to the cultivation of them.

It may have no little weight with some to know that Butler ("Analogy" part i. chap. 5) thus distinctly acknowledges this doctrine:—"Upright creatures may want to be improved—depraved creatures want to be *renewed*"—where it should be noted that the Bishop does not apply the term "upright," according to its lax popular sense, to such human conduct as may be much less fallible than the world ordinarily exhibits, and so is only relatively, and not really, upright; but to conduct which *never* deviated from moral rectitude. And to *renew*, is

to make new again what has become old; which is so near akin to an act of *creation* as to require power beyond that allotted to finite beings.

ART. III.—*The Typology of Scripture.* By the Rev. PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, of Salton. Edinburgh: Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1845.

ARBITRARINESS of interpretation has, at all times, too much characterized the expositions of those who have undertaken to explain the types of Scripture. Whilst one school finds Christ everywhere—in every act, in every event, and in every minuteness of circumstantial detail—others, equally orthodox, but dissatisfied with the over-strained exposition consequent upon the opinion that each and every portion of Scripture typifies and adumbrates Gospel truth, refuse to admit the Messiah to be anywhere, save only in those few detached and scattered instances which have been expressly recognized as types by New Testament authority.

Doubtless, one main reason which led to the adoption of this strict and more cautious proceeding was the uncertainty and even extravagance of exposition occasioned by the want of some strict and definite canon, whereby the liveliness of fancy might be curbed; though, at the same time, there can, we think, be little doubt that, in Germany especially, the canon which would so reduce the number of types as to leave us only those few which are actually and expressly pronounced by the New Testament to be such, arose partly from a spirit of antichristian rationalism. We cannot but fear that it was under this spirit that Dathe, in his edition of the "Sacred Philology" of Glass (which in other respects, also, was so changed that Glass himself would scarcely know his own), quietly and altogether omits the section upon types.

We would not, however, (and we feel sure that we shall not) be understood as throwing out any insinuation against the orthodoxy of such interpreters as Marsh, Van Mildert, Conybeare, Chevalier, and others, sound and eminent divines, who, in our own country (anxious to guard against all extravagance and unsatisfactoriness of exposition), have advocated the excessively and over-cautious principle. Nevertheless, the opinion advocated by them, that those only can be considered types which are in Scripture expressly declared to be such, lies open to one very great objection, in common with that of

the school to which they stand opposed. They might with truth have said that no others can be so considered, *with equal certainty;* and this perhaps is all they really mean. If it be not, we can only say that their canon is equally arbitrary, and the correctness of their opinion equally incapable of direct and positive proof. Scripture nowhere so limits the number of its types. Such a canon furnishes us, indeed, with a well-defined rule of interpretation, and with such a rule, it is scarcely possible to be guilty of extravagance. But it is important to observe that it breaks the entire, and continuous, and all pervading connexion, which most certainly subsists between the Old Testament dispensation and the New throughout; it necessitates the conclusion that the Jewish and patriarchal ordinances were an incongruous admixture of the typical, and of mere formalities; and it proceeds, likewise, and is even based upon the assumption, that the difficulty of typical interpretation is so great as to demand nothing short of inspiration, in order to reach correct conclusions.

Inspiration, however, is not held to be necessary to correctness of prophetical interpretation; yet, from the analogy subsisting between the two, prophecy and type, both being revelations more or less obscure, and both referring mainly to Christ, there is most certainly a previous probability that a capacity to interpret the one is no less attainable than a capacity to interpret the other.

We have, however, more than the probability furnished by analogy to guide us to the conclusion for which we feel disposed to contend: for as our Lord upbraids his followers with slowness of perception in reference to the import of Old Testament prophecy, so does the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews complain of dulness of apprehension as to the typical meaning of the types of Scripture; and his complaint, also, evidently proceeds upon the assumption that they who were in possession of the great discoveries of the Gospel, might, of themselves, and without express instruction as to particulars, recognize without difficulty, the same truths in the types and shadows of the law.

But the unsoundness of the principle of the safe school becomes especially apparent when we consider how small, out of the many probable types, is the number of those which in the New Testament are actually asserted to be such; and, also, how incidentally the assertion is made, or the fact implied, with reference to the greater portion of those that are so recognized—so incidentally, indeed, that it seems impossible to avoid the conviction that, in adducing particular examples,

the New Testament writers merely singled out a few as specimens of a class, and as occasion required, leaving unadduced a far greater number than the few which were actually and specifically given.

Nowhere, for instance, are we told what it was that was symbolized by the shew-bread, by the golden candlestick, by the ark of the covenant, by the cherubim of glory, nor even (except by implication) by the holy place itself. Indeed, scarcely any of the services or materials connected with the Jewish ritual are explained, with the exception of some few of its sacrificial rites. Yet we cannot but believe that they had all a high and mystic meaning, for the dispensation as a whole is asserted to have been typical; and the fact (which is indeed admitted), that the whole was typical, involves the necessity of examination and enquiry as to the meaning of its details.

There is doubtless much risk of forced, false, and extravagant exposition in the supposition that anything is typical for which we have not the express authority of Scripture. Yet this risk is quite consistent with the truth of the supposition. Nor is the risk less when we attempt to investigate the meaning even of types, which by New Testament authority are expressly declared to be such, if their precise meaning have not been also, by the same authority, explained. Nevertheless, the risk does not warrant, much less necessitate, the abandonment of our best investigation. Scripture, indeed, must be our alone authoritative guide; yet not in the straitened sense for which those who so deprecate all possibility of risk, contend. It furnishes us with general principles, and illustrates these by particular examples, and thus, indeed, it is our alone authoritative guide; yet so few and so isolated are the instances specified and explained, that we are obviously left very much to ourselves to apply and carry out these principles, and, by searching the Scriptures, even to scrutiny, and by comparing spiritual things with spiritual, to add to these specified examples.

The work before us proceeds upon the supposition for which we have contended, that there is much that is typical for which we have not express New Testament authority. It is by far the soberest, most systematic, and most satisfactory work of the kind that we have yet seen, and will, we trust, very speedily obtain extensive reputation. Whilst, in common with the cautious school, rejecting as fanciful a large proportion of the unsatisfactory, unsubstantial, and unsubstantiated notions of such writers as Mc. Ewen, Mather, and Guild, it gives us much that is new, and at the same time well supported. Mere originality, indeed, is of very doubtful value; yet, if well sus-

tained, we do think that original remark is a recommendation of the very highest kind, especially upon points that have been variously, yet never satisfactorily, explained. It can hardly be expected that we should coincide in all Mr. F.'s opinions; nevertheless, we cannot but believe that the great bulk of them are satisfactorily, and that all of them are plausibly maintained. The types discussed merely respect the patriarchal period—those belonging to the Mosaic dispensation being reserved for a supplemental volume.

As a specimen of the work, we select his sentiments as to the truth intended to be taught by the cherubim, which, if not fully substantiated, (for the point is a *quæstio vexata*) are such as at least to merit attention.

Passing over as unsatisfactory and uncertain all speculations grounded upon the possible derivation of the word, he fastens upon the name so often applied to these cherubim, both in the Old Testament and in the New, "*the living ones*," and infers therefrom that life, in some very peculiar sense, is their especial and essential characteristic. Assuming this, as a starting point, he then supposes that the life personified (the component parts of the cherubim being all of the creature kind), must be the created and derived, as contradistinguished from the independent and creative; that (inasmuch as the creatures composing the cherubim are all of them inhabitants of this our earth), the created life, so symbolized, is in some way connected with this lower region of existence rather than with the angel world; and that (the creatures composing the cherubim being all of special excellence), this life is life of the very highest kind.

Thus far Mr. Fairbairn's sentiments and arguments are, in a great measure, those of a work published not long since, (1837) by Baehr. But with regard to the truth more especially symbolized, his opinion is that they are not, as supposed by Baehr, mere symbols of the divine attributes as displayed in creation, nor indeed that they are mere symbols at all; but that they do truly predict and typify that which at some period shall be a reality—(of course, not as to bodily appearance, but as to the thing symbolized)—in short, that they are both symbolical and typical: typical of that which shall be, though symbolical of that which is meanwhile only in purpose and idea. The truth typified he believes to be the ultimate glorification of redeemed manhood.

But in justice to Mr. Fairbairn we must give his own, in his own words:—

"What then do we hold to be the proper antitype to the cherubim?

We answer, without hesitation, redeemed and glorified manhood. They were *symbolical*, as has been said, of the highest properties of creature-life, and of these as outgoings and manifestations of divine life; but they were *typical* of redeemed and glorified manhood, or prophetically representative of it.

"*This opinion we rest on the following grounds:—*

"1. The considerations just advanced [of which for want of space our review takes no notice] go to establish the conviction that the idea symbolized was to be embodied and fully realized in something belonging to the ultimate dispensation of the Gospel—the symbol of the preparatory religion being the shadow or imperfect representation of a better thing to come.

"2. That this better thing to come, in the present case, is redeemed and glorified manhood, appears from the correspondence between the design of the cherubic emblems and the primary destination of man. The former were a complex and combined image of the most perfect manifestations of God in creation; and, of all the objects in creation, it is said of man alone that he was made in the image of God. Hence, in the ideal representation of divine qualities exhibited by the *cherubim*, though there was a combination of four animal forms, the appearance of man was the preponderating one, implying that it was he whom the representation chiefly respected—man, however, not as he now is—for then the human figure alone had been sufficient—but man raised to a new sphere of life and being, and endowed with properties which he did not possess even in paradise.

"3. The same, further, appears from the place originally assigned to the cherubim, and the purpose for which they were appointed. It was man's original ground they occupied, and his office in connection with the tree of life that they entered into. The tree of life still being allowed to stand, (though the way to it was barred till a righteousness should be provided that might prevail to open the way to it, which sin had barred) was a sign, as we have seen [in preceding chapter], of a coming restoration. A ray of hope shone out from the gloom which attended man's exclusion from his first home, for the tree of life not only stood, as if in reserve for its proper possessor, but was meanwhile committed to the keeping of creatures whose form at once bespoke their alliance to man, and implied a superiority to him as at present constituted. It was thus seen that the region of life was not finally lost to man. He still manifestly had an interest in it; and, though his person was for the present debarred, his nature was represented in it; and not only represented, but combined with powers and manifestations of life, such as had not belonged to it, even in its unfallen state.

"4. The other places in which the cherubim are represented as appearing, such as in the most holy place, or in immediate connection with the throne of God, comport best with the idea of their being an ideal representation of redeemed and glorified manhood. For what does this bespeak but the wonderful fact that man's nature is to be exalted to the dwelling place of Godhead? Hence, while the cherubim in the most holy place looked toward the mercy-seat to intimate that it was

of divine grace, and through the blood of atonement alone, that man could find a place there at all, they yet stood so close to God, that he was said to dwell between them. Hence also in the Revelation, they are represented as being in the nearest place to Godhead, as 'in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne,' and to them, as highest in rank among the heavenly hosts, and also perhaps as being most immediately interested, is given the first honour of proclaiming the successive openings of the seven-sealed book. The action, moreover, ascribed to them in chap. vii. is capable of consistent explanation on no other supposition than the one here advocated. For there, in company with the four and twenty elders, they sing, 'Thou art worthy to take the book, for thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests." (pp. 313-315).

We cannot extend our extract. Perhaps it is hardly quite correct to say that "it was to man's office, in connexion with the tree of life," that the cherubim were appointed. Man, indeed, was put into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it (לשמרה)—yet surely not in the same sense in which the cherubim and the sword of fire kept it. This remark, however, leaves untouched the merits of Mr. Fairbairn's exposition as a whole; and in the verse in which God is said to have placed in the garden of Eden "cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, *to keep* the way of the tree of life," it is, indeed, quite possible that the expression "*to keep*" may refer merely to the sword—the cherubim being placed therein simply as occupants—but the sword, the symbol of God's vindictive justice, as indicating the means whereby that which the cherubim symbolized, could alone be realised.

We think, also, that the declaration of Psalm xviii. 10, in reference to God, when invoked by David, that "*he rode upon a cherub*," might receive a more satisfactory explanation than that proposed by Mr. Fairbairn in a page preceding our quotation (p. 308). Perhaps, as one of the component parts of the cherubim was an eagle, (a bird surpassing all others in power of flight), the expression merely denotes *speediness* of relief. Mr. Fairbairn's explanation of the term *cherub*, as applied to the powerful king of Tyre, in supposing (p. 307) that the name *cherub* is applied to him, not in reference to the truth taught by the symbol itself as such, but simply "because he seemed to stand upon the *highest* ground of creature life and enjoyment," is, we think, of a more satisfactory kind; and is in principle the same with that proposed in reference to the declaration of the psalmist—the usage of the word being in each instance supposed to be figurative, rather than according to its strict meaning, as symbolically used.

Yet, notwithstanding these criticisms as to minor details, Mr. Fairbairn's opinion upon the point selected by us as a specimen of his work, if not fully substantiated, is, we think, more satisfactory, by far, than the ordinary supposition that the cherubim symbolized angelic natures; and more so, also, than the Hutchinsonian notion, advocated and made popular by Parkhurst, in his Lexicons, that they were emblematical of the triune God—both these opinions being at variance with the fact that the cherubim or "living creatures" are represented in the Apocalypse (ch. v. 8, 9), as acknowledging themselves to have been "*redeemed to God* by the blood of the Lamb."

But we are not so very anxious to maintain the thorough correctness of the opinion proposed by Mr. Fairbairn, with reference to the cherubim. To contend for the principle that the Old Testament Scriptures contain more of type than is specifically recognized *totidem verbis* in the scattered and incidental intimations of the New—this is our anxiety; and in Mr. Fairbairn's application of this principle we recognize much that is extremely satisfactory, and but little that is extravagant and fanciful; and hail, therefore, with much pleasure, (though without fully acquiescing in all its opinions,) a work that, adopting the principle for which we have contended, uses it with caution.

How far this and other of God's appointed symbols may have been understood, or how much (unsuspected by us) of unwritten revelation there may have been in patriarchal times, upon the subject of man's redemption, we cannot tell; but we know that the patriarchs were not left in total ignorance; and to assume that they knew merely just so much as incidentally transpires in the brief narrative of upwards of two thousand years, given in the book of Genesis, appears to us more unwarranted than the supposition that they at the least knew, with more or less of certainty, what was a type and what was not; and more unwarranted than the supposition that they also knew (less perfectly, indeed, than ourselves, yet in a general way, and with more or less of clearness), that the types foreshadowed redemption and salvation.

ART. IV.—*Vindication of John Ronge, the Luther of the Nineteenth Century.* Translated from the German. By the Rev. ROBERT TAYLOR, M. A., Rector of Clifton Campville, Staffordshire. London: W. E. Painter, 1845.

2. *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* By J. H. NEWMAN, Author of "Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church." London: Toovey, 1845.

THE present ecclesiastical crisis is probably one of the most remarkable that the history of Christendom affords. Rome, torn to pieces by internal convulsions, is finding foreign aid where she least expected it. Whilst the iron yoke of her bondage, reluctantly endured for centuries, is at last goading her own children into desperate resistance, her ranks are recruited by seceders from her firmest opponent, and deserters from a purer faith.

That which is passing around us, day by day, is indeed calculated to excite our surprise as well as sorrow. The history of the Church, as far as we know, contains no parallel case. Nothing like it has yet been seen. Rome has often had to suffer for her own misdoings in the compelled secession of her adherents; but, save in isolated instances, has not had, as now, to glory in numerous and voluntary adhesions of intelligent and highly gifted members of the English Church. In the days of the licentious and cruel Henry, and of his more cruel and darker-minded daughter, whole classes of men were bandied to and fro to take their place in one communion or another, according as the temper of the times prevailed with their interests, or the terrors of persecution influenced them; and ever and anon some cavaliering chaplain or solitary non-juror stepped across the narrow path that divided them from Rome; but it remained for our days to witness an organized and simultaneous secession, important as to its moral character and bearing, from the ranks of the orthodox priesthood of the land, in submission to the usurped authority of such an intruder into God's household, and anomaly in Christendom, as the pope.

It is no new thing that men should rise in indignant remonstrance against the tyranny of the Church in Rome, as is the case in Germany—it is no new thing that they should pay her back in fierce revilings for all the suffering which her wicked policy has engendered. It is not surprising, that, in endeavouring to force upon the mind of the nineteenth century, the ecclesiastical juggleries of the middle ages, she should have awaked a sleeping giant into conscious existence, whose terrible

cry shall be for liberty of thought and action, and whose fiercest energies will all be exercised in accomplishing her destruction as the first step in its attainment. These are facts neither new nor surprising to anyone who reads the past aright, and is alive to what must be the sure result and reaction of an authority abused to tyranny, and a rule exaggerated to oppression: but it is a new thing that men, who have looked her enormities in the face, should become her worshippers: it is a surprising thing that men, who have had leisure in the recesses of their studies to search into the history of her policy and deeds—who, by one glance from the monastic seclusion of their college life, might look abroad, and ascertain what she is when in the plenitude of her power over blind ignorance—should become fascinated by her pretensions, and yield themselves willing slaves to her bondage.

Amongst the moral phenomena of the age this is undoubtedly one of exceeding, though painful, interest. The philosophical historian of other days will find it a subject of instructive enquiry to ascertain how it was, that, whilst her growing deformity was disgusting her ancient lovers, she should yet possess sufficient attractiveness to seduce those who ought to have been the wise men of their time from their true allegiance into spiritual folly.

It may seem at first paradoxical, yet it is no doubt true, that the movement in Germany and elsewhere against Rome, and the movement Romewards in England, though having such different tendencies, may be traced to the same source; viz, a perception of evil—a desire for something better than what is actually possessed, and an impatience of authoritative restraint. Both the leading parties in these movements have started with the complaints of existing evils—Ronge, of the deep abasement of the Romish Church and the tyranny of her rule; the Tractarians, of the disunion, diversities in doctrine and practice, and want of authority in the Anglican: both have put forth their ideals, in various forms, of the better thing which they desire to have—both have been found intractable, even to so much of authority as was legitimately exercised. Ronge set at nought the paternal councils of the aged and venerable Bishop Knauer; and, with few exceptions, the Tractarians, whilst professing to acknowledge episcopal authority, have acted independently alike of its remonstrances, rebukes, or instructions.

It is useless to endeavour to account for these movements from secondary causes alone—from anything merely temporary or local in its influence. The cause is one far too deeply rooted—far too extensive in its ramifications to be seen in all the probable development of the evil by a superficial glance; nor

can any one calculate the growth that it will attain, and the fruit that it will bear, who does not fully consider, under what influences it has been brought into being, the inevitable onward tendency of man to a given end, and the amount of progress already accomplished in its attainment.

Every one confesses that the times upon which we have fallen are most extraordinary. There may be, and doubtless is, a great difference in the nature of the subjects upon which the attention is fixed—a great difference in the kind of sympathies excited, or reflections called into exercise in coming to this conclusion; but, nevertheless, it is a conclusion at which all arrive, no matter in what way. There are mourners over the evil of the days and the lot of the suffering poor, who, with all the wailing eloquence of the weeping prophet of old, plead unheeded with a scornful generation. There are gentle minds and lowly thoughts, passed by and distanced in the mad taste of the age, which are sorrowing for the past, bewildered with the present, and fearful for the future. There are Utopists, who deem the social house of man too small for his enlarged capacities, and too ruinous for repair; and these would fain pull it to the ground to erect others in its stead, wherein their several fancies may receive a full development. There are the idolaters of science who, in the Babel temple which they hope to build, stand astonished and elated at the progress which they have made. There are political theorists, utterly baffled in their calculations of remedies and results by the statistics for which they have called; statesmen worn out by the failure of their plans and despairing of the future; men of prophetic minds, who use the events of the day in foretelling what will shortly come to pass; moralists and wise men skilled to dissect the evil as it lies, and descant safely on the world's disease—some who mourn and some who rejoice—some who fold the hands in despair, and some who rise up, in all the energy of hope, to race with the swift for the prize—some who think there is nothing better to look for—some who think the golden age just nascent: yet all these, though looking upon the things that are from such different points, and with such different sympathies and feelings, however otherwise they may stand apart in their thoughts and conclusions, agree unanimously in saying that the circumstances of the times in which we live are unparalleled—all these agree in saying that one age of the world has passed, whilst the most consider that another is commencing, however differently they may understand the terms.

It is clear that no one can at all comprehend the present aspect of the world, both ecclesiastically and politically, who will

not go out of himself—who will not step beyond the narrow confines of the peculiar sphere in which he moves. Isolation, as regards the world at large, is at an end. Whoever desires to ascertain the true position of his fellow-men, how it is that they have come to occupy it, what keeps them there, or what effect it may have on the welfare of society at large, must, so to speak, *unself* himself—separate himself from his own pursuits—abstract his mind from its prejudices, however wholesome, and so stand a spectator of the passing crowd, as that, whilst he can discern the points from which they start, he may be able to ascertain there where they diverge, and whither they are severally tending. The judgment of a man of things within his own sphere, derived from what he has personally known and experienced in it, is good for all local purposes; but if he have no data of larger application than what he has gathered therein, upon which to found his estimate of his age, with all its mighty machinery and startling phœnomena, he will arrive at no conclusion commensurate with the fact, or in any way consistent with the reality. Such a remark as this, however, will soon be of little value; for, whether men will or not, the boundaries which have hitherto separated class from class, preserving each within its own sphere of sympathies, thought, and feeling, are fast giving way, and no one who thinks at all will be able, in a little while, to give any judgment upon what is passing in the world and plead ignorance as an excuse for the unsoundness or error which it may manifest. Aristocracy, for instance, is now so constituted, as that all who have the opportunity of winning wealth, and sagacity to use it, may enter its ranks; and so widely is the door of access thrown open, that they who are without may see of what it is composed. The high privileges of birth and blood are abated with the leaven of plebeian thought, in all the bold energy of its expression, on the part of those who win their way by force of gold to hitherto forbidden circles; and there is not a position in society which may not be readily attained, if desirable, by all who have strength of will and skill in action. In England, social boundaries have been longer maintained than elsewhere. Yet are they fast disappearing, and the condescensions of patrician rank to railway wealth furnish a significant hint than an element of superiority, more powerful than birth, has found its way into the social system. Nations fraternize with each other, and civilization has put into the hand of every intelligent man an exact portraiture of his foreign brother, and given him a thousand opportunities of ascertaining whether the likeness be correct.

Unhappily, however, there is in all this a precedency of the evil before the good. The bad have been quick to avail themselves of the opportunities of brotherhood; whilst the good, in mourning for the decadence of many excellent things, have been too slow to understand their own position—too slow to understand that it was their duty to unite, and lead the spirit of the age aright. Hence, for the work of destruction there is a mighty power ready for application, formed of classes who have laid their prejudices of caste or clime aside in the ready perception of a common cause and the hope of its triumph: whereas, on the part of those, who should have become wise before God in resisting the foe, there is nothing but disunion and strife—the faculty of detecting evil being indeed in its fullest exercise; but the wisdom to remedy, and the charity to cover it, being wanting. So, that, whilst the insolent hand of democracy is ready to thunder at the portals of God's house, the melancholy spectacle is afforded within of a striving household, too intent on their quarrel to mark the coming danger.

If we were to be asked to account for the ecclesiastical movements in Germany and England, we should say that they are but parts of a whole: two separate forms of developement of one spirit, accomplishing, each in its way, part of a great work—that work being the fulfilment of the purpose of God. Not that we mean to say that either the lawlessness which characterizes Ronge and his party, or the strange perversion which marks the Tractarians, are according to the mind of God: we would say no such thing; but that these will both be overruled by Him for good, and, being so overruled, will accomplish His will.

That Rome must be broken to pieces is clear, and the Germans are lending a powerful hand for its destruction: that she cannot, and will not, be built up again by the honesty of those who have recently joined her communion is equally clear to any one at all conversant with her policy, or who will just remember how necessary it is to her interest to crush all the motions of spiritual life which might affect her standing, or weaken her absolutism in rule; whilst, in the secession of so many good and excellent men, a striking lesson is taught us all in the power of Romish subtlety to pervert an honest mind, where once it is yielded to her fascinations: a still greater lesson remains to be taught to those who would follow her, if only they will wait to receive it, of that which she makes of her victim when once in her power. A broken heart or spiritual apathy—these are the alternatives that await by far the greater portion of those who are gone over to her. Be this as

it may, however, both the movements of which we are speaking prove that there is throughout the world a spirit at work, whose office it is to break up and to destroy; in the exercise of whose fearful power it is almost matter of indifference whether the household he enters be sound or unsound in the rule which it professes to follow; and from whose deadly visits nothing may hope to escape unscathed. "Judgment (it is written) must begin at the house of God;" and, though the secession of the Oxford men will not help Rome, it is doubtless doing its work in the fulfilment of His word as respects England.

There are some who consider Ronge as the Luther of the nineteenth century: there are others who can discern nothing in the movements of which he is the leader but lawlessness, infidelity, and rationalism. These opinions have, each in their way, much truth; but do not express the whole of it. Ronge has before him a work, the result of which will probably be the shaking of Rome to its very centre. In as far as this *effect* is conceived, that which he is doing may bear some resemblance to the labour of the great reformer; but there the resemblance ceases. Neither in the character nor powers of his mind, the ground he takes, nor the object he has chiefly in view, can he be compared with Luther, who, however the Romanists may seek to blacken his fame, was certainly *the great man* of his age, and moved to his work by higher and holier motives than can be discovered in anything yet put forth by Ronge. On the other hand, whilst we firmly believe that the stand which he takes is more rationalistic than religious—for it is for political and intellectual freedom, rather than for spiritual liberty, that he is contending—we are persuaded, that those who will see nothing but lawlessness and infidelity in this movement have entirely shut out from their minds the part which Rome has borne in bringing it to pass; and this, not because they have overlooked it, but because they have such a tenderness in dealing with her worst errors as amounts, in point of fact, to an adoption of them. Now, if our hatred of lawlessness hinder us from an unqualified approval of what Ronge is doing, common sense and justice demand that we pass a right judgment upon the miserable and profane policy that has prepared the way for his work. Whatever may be the nature of Ronge's reasonings in his justification, the *facts* upon which he grounds them are before all the world; and he must be blind, indeed, who does not see in them Rome unchanged and unchangeable, unscriptural and tyrannical; as grossly determined to force her lie upon poor ignorance, and make money of its folly, as ever: and here we are not speaking of any disputable dogmas, but of the jugglery

of Bishop Arnoldi and his coat, of which there are many duplicates; and which, moreover, has been clearly proved, by two professors of the University of Bonn, to be nothing more than a *stuff and manufacture of the middle ages!* We would recall to the mind of our readers, that in Boxley in Kent, there was a famous crucifix, called "the rood of grace," the figure upon which, by machinery, was made to turn its head, and move its eyes; and, when the monasteries were dissolved, the springs by which these movements were effected were discovered, and shown to the people. At Hales, in Gloucestershire, the blood of Christ was said to be contained in a phial of crystal: this the people sometimes saw, and sometimes did not. When they could not see it, they were taught that they were the subjects of God's anger; but when it was visible, of his favour. A like discovery was made—the phial was found to be opaque on one side and transparent on the other; and the blood itself, the blood of a duck renewed every week.* At a more recent period, when the French occupied Naples, the priests, in order to excite the people against the enemy, showed them the phial containing the blood of St. Januarius. The blood was, to all appearance, congealed; a proof, as the people were well taught to believe, that the anger of God and his saint was kindled against them. This coming to the ears of the French officer in command, he sent a request that the blood might liquify as usual, accompanied with a gentle hint of unpleasant consequences if it did not. It is almost needless to add that St. Januarius became propitious. Why do we recall these instances amongst the many which history records to the minds of our readers? Simply that they may know that the same dishonesty and wicked craft, which could countenance the "rood of grace" at Boxley—the deceitful phial at Hales—the false blood of St. Januarius at Naples, is as ready as ever to uphold the virtues of a detected imposture, if only there be credulity enough left to yield a fitting profit in its use. If any one deny this, we would refer him for the proof to Belgium, to Spain, to Italy, to Germany—even to France. Wherever Romanism has a stronghold may be found innumerable instances of miracle-working relics, not only of those to which time and tradition may have lent a certain show of sanctity, but of those which modern authority has, for the first time, pronounced to be real and efficacious. It is not many months ago (it was in the autumn) that the Pope sent, as a present to the Bishop of Bruges, certain bones, withdrawn from the catacombs of Rome, pronounced by

* Burnet's History of the Reformation.

him to be the bones of St. Leon, a Roman soldier, martyred in the third or fourth century. These bones were enclosed in a waxen image of the martyr, representing him as dead, with a gash in the throat. This image was clothed in the worst possible taste—in the tawdry silks and spangles that usually make up the costumes of a minor theatre—and with as little resemblance to the apparel of a Roman warrior of that period as to the court dress of Louis le Grand. It was laid on handsome cushions, enclosed in a glass case, richly ornamented with gilded carving, and thus exposed to the gaze and veneration of many thousands, who crowded, for the space of a week, to the show. Priests there were and plates for money, in course; and every aid that ecclesiastical authority could give to force the minds of the gazing crowd into a posture of worship and adoration. Many of the poor people believed that the figure which they saw was really that of the martyr, miraculously preserved, nor did any take pains to undeceive them: whilst the liberal journalist of the town poured unmeasured contempt on the whole proceeding, and desired to be informed how these bones had lasted for so many ages, and by what process the *very bones* of St. Leon had been extracted from the catacombs—how, in short, their identity had been ascertained. It is not improbable that these bones of St. Leon will become to Belgium what the relics of Ste. Philomène are at present in France—the objects of intense adoration, and possessing, in the estimation of the faithful, virtues of wonder-working efficacy. The priests, both high and low, lend all their influence in bringing their people to this relic worship; and, whatever they may say in controversy to the contrary, do, in fact, as we have seen a thousand times, countenance it in its grossest forms. What are we then to think?—that they believe the tales they teach, or suffer to be taught, their people? In this case, what hope can there be of a Church, whose ministers have not advanced in Christian intelligence one jot beyond the grossness of the darkest age? Or is it that they do not themselves believe these tales, yet use them as expedients for the maintenance of their influence? If it be so, then is their priestcraft a *craft* of the most miserable and dishonourable kind: and woe to the men, who, in these days have entered their communion, hoping to find their ideals of ecclesiastical excellency realized! Their own honesty of purpose will avail them little in the midst of a system, whose complicated, but exquisitely wrought machinery adapts itself to every possible case wherein the energy of spiritual life may break forth to crush it, if it manifest itself in any form of scriptural and Christian truth.

But though it may be granted that, in the composition of the Ronge movement, there are many elements of rationalism and lawlessness, the party which has Czerski at its head stands upon different ground, and must be differently estimated. The great offence of Czerski at the first was, that he, together with his people, whilst in the communion of the Romish Church, sought the Scriptures for themselves. The position which he now occupies is one into which he was partly forced by the tyranny of Rome, and partly led by the deep and conscientious conviction that, of all the enemies to the pure truth of God, Rome was the worst. If there is anything of good, beyond a mere destructive work to be looked for in Germany, it must be expected from him, and not from Ronge, who, with his party, is likely ultimately to prove as dangerous to the State as he is now formidable to the Church. Now there may, or there may not, have been somewhat of irregularity in the *manner* of Czerski's quitting the Romish communion: it is a nice point, and has often been argued in similar cases, but never with any conclusive result—at least as we think—in proof of the irregularity; because it is always difficult, in a case of oppression, to ascertain the exact stage in its progress where excess of tyranny renders resistance justifiable; but of this we are sure, that, if there was aught of irregularity, the measure of it was as nothing to the amount of sin which he would have incurred, had he, with the consciousness of Rome's spiritual iniquity, continued to have given a tacit consent to its existence by the maintenance of his position. It is answered—"he should have protested, yet remained." Alas! it is easy to lay down drilling lessons as to the angle at which a man should stand, and the inconvenience of looking in any direction but that which he is commanded: but there is often a noble spirit and a large heart within the said man, which such rules can only reach to crush and cramp. It is easy for those to talk of "passive protest" who know not the heavy burthen which Rome lays on her suffering children—the deafness of that ear to which it is uttered—the coolness of that heart to which it is addressed. "Protest" is with Rome rank heresy, which she washed out in days of yore with the life's blood of her victims. "Protest" was the direst of all diseases that the "holy office" had to eradicate, and she cauterized with fire, and mangled with torture, though all in vain, to cure it. "Protest" has been the bane of Rome, whenever men of spiritual intelligence have been found in her communion, and it is worth her very existence to endure it for a moment. If she listens she dies, as the thing she now is. Little then do they know of Rome—little do they know of the mighty working of scriptural truth in the spirit of

man—who counsel "protest, but remain." It is impossible. On the one hand, Rome will not hear—on the other, he who remains protesting must either sink into dogged indifference, or break his heart. Moreover, there are medicines for the sickly and restraints for the refractory, and under one or other of these categories all protesters will be classed. There are monasteries of the Trappists, where none, save the superior, knows who comes or goes—where no man looks his brother in the face—where the human voice is hardly heard, and recognition sinful and improbable: there are, in short, ecclesiastical dungeons under soft names for all offenders; and a spiritual police, with meek aspect, strong enough to quiet the complaining.*

It is a fashion with many to speak of the Reformation as a sinful act, displeasing to God, and to give the character of lawlessness, insincerity, and turbulence, to all its promoters. The love song, "Speak lightly of our Sister's Fall," has been sung in so many cadences, and with so much mistaken pathos throughout the land, that men have grown morbid with the theme, and have come to consider the harlot against God as a model of injured innocence. It is now too clear that the disposition of mind which led some into this false benevolence was but as the sign-post pointing to the highway of Rome; for they have travelled the distance, and reached the goal. There are yet many, however, remaining in the communion of the Anglican Church, who mistake unfaithfulness for charity, and think that they fulfil its precepts in dealing tenderly with the errors of Rome. The errors of a man are different from the heresies of a Church—the sins of the one, and the systematic wickedness of the other, are to be met with very different rules. It may consist with charity that we deal with tenderness where the man is only concerned: it is surely unfaithfulness to God to gloss over a sin where it is committed by ecclesiastical authority. Moreover, there is that in the very spirit of Rome which renders compromise impossible, and none can look lightly on her glaringly unscriptural doctrines, and still more unscriptural practice, without losing the integrity and sensitiveness of that spiritual apprehension which God has given to his children

* "There is in Rome a convent, called, and justly called, the *Sepolto Vivo*, in which are buried contumacious or fanatic nuns from all convents—females condemned by the Inquisition for too little or too much religion—and wives and daughters, whose husbands and fathers have the means to prove they deserve, or the interest to procure, the order for such a dreadful punishment."—*Rome, in the Nineteenth Century, printed for John Murray*, 1826. The Authoress adds, in a Note, "This convent is near the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and there were about forty unfortunate females immured in it when I was in Rome."

for their preservation. Whoever will play with the crocodile in his own waters cannot escape unscathed: whoever listened to the voice of the syren perished; and whoever looks tenderly on Rome is her victim. The Reformation was Rome's own work, forced upon the world by her own mad acts: she would hear no protest; she rioted in her spiritual insolence; she laughed to scorn the cry of her own children; and, when they became urgent, she opened no door by which they might go forth alone with their suffering and sorrow, but she prisoned them close within her stern and iron rules. There was no alternative for them but to break forth or die. They chose the former, and if in doing it the world first saw and wondered at the depth of her iniquity, and threw off her yoke, she has herself to thank for it—herself to blame, and no one else. Oh! amidst all the mockeries of this poor world, the saddest mockery of all is the puny efforts of small-minded men to give a kick to the mighty spirits of the Reformation. The very liberty we enjoy—the freedom to think for God and unto God—the power to stand before him in all the identity and glory of that manhood which the Lord himself has dignified in his incarnation and blessed work of redemption—all have been won for us by the labours of that great event; and it is no wise man's part to speak lightly of the martyr's witness and blood, by which his dearest privileges have been purchased.

If men desire to ascertain the exact importance of the movement in Germany, they must not confine their attention to that which Ronge is doing; but must look at the more orthodox Czerski, and the Church of which he is the pastor. They must, moreover, consider well the exact position which Rome is occupying in the hearts and minds of the German people: how far she has power to keep them within the prescribed limits of implicit obedience, and limited intelligence, necessary to her own existence: or what capacity of enlargement she possesses to meet the growing expansion of the popular mind? Another question must also be answered—whether, if she possess this capacity, she will use it? The truths of God are immutable: they have various forms of expression: they have a power of development calculated to meet every case; but these change nothing of their essence, nor do they present, in any one form of expression, contrary points to those seen in another. Now, it is the Church's wisdom to know this, and minister the truths which God has entrusted to her keeping, according to the necessities of the times: it is her folly, when she endeavours to force a growing and enlarged intelligence into the swaddling clothes of elementary truth. It is her place to lead the people—

it is not the place of the people to lead her. This is also true; but she can only do it by sagaciously discerning the spirit of the age and heading it—not to force it back—but to guide it aright. The Church of Rome has never understood this: her constant endeavour has been, not to fit the garment to the growing stature, but to compress the stature to the garment: and the consequence has always been, rendings such as no after-skill could mend. All that has lately taken place in Germany proves that Rome has pursued her wonted policy; and men cannot wonder, that, if she will not understand the times and seasons, so as to feed her household with the meat proper to them, that household will not hunger—will not starve—without an effort to seek their food elsewhere.

We could offer innumerable proofs, were they needed, that Rome has not advanced one step in intelligence—and we mean Christian intelligence—since the middle ages, and that her policy is to force back the intellectual manhood of these days into the childish condition of those. Her whole rule is administered with this intent. In dealing with her children, she proceeds upon the supposition that no advance has been made, or ought to have been made, in spiritual understanding or conscious intellectual strength. To this end she spares no means within her power, and adopts a teaching, both in the pulpit and by the press, the very nature of which calls for the grossest credulity, and supposes its existence. This is not so visible in England as elsewhere; because, in England, the absolute impossibility of dealing thus with men is evident even to Rome herself. Stonyhurst and Oscott are, therefore, required to furnish controversialists of a higher order, whose duty it is to win antagonistic intelligence within the limits of Romish rule. Once there, there is nothing more for them to do: the system will accomplish the rest by itself; and either coerce or weaken this intelligence down to the prescribed measure consistent with its safety. But Romanism, in and out of England, in its outward aspect, is a different thing. Abroad, no pains are spared to falsify or conceal the truth, and the highest dignitaries lend the sanction of their name and authority to the lie. Here, for instance, is a work recently published, lying before us, entitled *Dictionaire Infernal, répertoire universel des êtres, des personnages, des livres, des faits, et des choses qui tiennent a la magie: par J. Collin de Planey.* APPROUVEE PAR MONSEIGNEUR L'ARCHEVEQUE DE PARIS: an exceedingly curious work in its way, well got up, and full of research; but also, in all matters touching Rome, and her antagonists, too ridiculously false to excite our attention, if it were not that the object to mislead,

approved by authority, is so palpable. The leading reformers, for example, figure in this dictionary either as masters or subjects of the black art; and whatever matter relating in anywise to the doctrines or practice of the Romish Church is treated of, is so handled as that only the grossest ignorance in the reader is counted upon. But as the Roman Catholic population derive their knowledge of the Reformation, and the existent condition of the Church of Christ, from the teaching which the priest gives or authorizes, this is of little consequence, and does not hinder the reception of the falsehood. Now, here is what is said of Luther; it will, no doubt, be new to many of our readers, and we, therefore, transcribe it, as far as they are concerned,—only reminding them that it has received the solemn approval of an Archbishop, and is, therefore, in the estimation of the faithful, true:—

"Luther (Martin)—the most famous religious innovator of the 16th century, born in 1484, in Saxony, died in 1546. He was at the first in a miserable condition; owed his education to the charity of monks and entered the house of the Augustines, at Erfurt. Become professor of theology, his anger was excited because he was not constituted the Judas of indulgences (*de ne pas être le Judas des indulgences*)—that is to say, because he was not allowed to hold the purse, he wrote against the Pope, and preached against the Roman Church. Luther fell in love with Catherine Bore, a nun; he carried her off, together with eight other sisters, from the convent; hastened to marry her, and published a treatise, wherein he compared this snatching away of the nun to the act which Jesus Christ did the day of the passion, when he snatched souls away from the tyranny of Satan. As to his death, his enemies assure us that he was strangled by the devil; others, that he died suddenly in a water closet, like Arius, after having feasted too plentifully at supper; and that the day after his interment, his tomb being opened, his body could not be found, but that there issued from it an insupportable odour of sulphur. George Lapôtre says that he was the son of a demon and a sorceress. At the death of Luther, according to accounts the most extensively circulated, a troop of demons in mourning came out of hell to seek his soul; they had the appearance of crows; they assisted, invisibly, at his funeral; and Thyræus adds that they finally carried away the deceased far from this world into the place which it became him to inhabit. It is related, moreover, that on the day of his death all the demons that found themselves in a certain city of Brabant went out of the bodies of those whom they possessed, and returned the next day; and when they were asked where they had passed the preceding day, they answered, that by the command of their Prince, they had gone to the funeral of Luther. The servant of Luther, who was present at his death, declared, in conformity with this, that, having put his head out of the window, for air, at the moment when his master was passing away, he perceived several hideous and horrible spirits, which leaped and

danced around the house, and a flight of crows that accompanied the body in croaking as far as Wittemberg."

Such is the notable and veritable account that M. de Plancy gives to the world under archiepiscopal authority. It is very true, he does not say, that these things were positively so; but neither does he say that they were not. He plainly leaves it to be inferred, from the authority which he brings forward, that the accounts which he mentions are authentic; and that such is his intention is the more clear from the fact that, if in the course of his work he has to speak of any Romish ecclesiastic accused of magic, he carefully guards his memory from the imputation. What is said of Luther will suffice as a specimen of the manner in which the names of Bucer, Calvin, &c. are dealt with. There is also a curious article on the inquisition, to which we refer in proof of what we have said, that, when the practice of the Romish Church is treated of, it is in a way that supposes a gross amount of ignorance in the reader. On the authority of Joseph de Maistre, he denies that the inquisition was a tribunal purely ecclesiastic; treats as absurd the notion that ecclesiastics ever could, or ever did, condemn to death, on the subterfuge, as dastardly as it is intrinsically and virtually false, though true in the letter, that the death warrant itself was signed by the secular power; and he adds—it is Joseph de Maistre who is speaking—

"Gentle, tolerant, charitable, consoler in every country of the world, by what magic is it that the Government ecclesiastic could be severe in Spain in the midst of a nation eminently noble and generous? In the examination of every possible question, there is nothing so essential as to avoid a confusion of ideas. Let us, then, separate and distinguish exactly, when we reason on the inquisition, the part of the Government from that of the Church. All that this tribunal shows of the frightful and severe, especially that which pertains to the penalty of death, belongs to the Government—it is her business—it is from her, and from her alone, that an account must be demanded. All the mercy, on the contrary, which plays so large a part in the tribunal of the inquisition, is the act of the Church, who never interferes with punishments, save to suppress or to soften them. This indelible character was never varied."*

Whether is greater, the folly of this sophistry, or the wickedness of the policy, which, in compelling the State to punish, throws the odium of that act upon her, and enables the Church of Rome, after having for ever on this earth shut the door of hope upon her victims, to wipe her mouth, and say, "I have done

* Quoted from "Lettres à un Gentilhomme Russe, sur l'Inquisition Espagnole, par Joseph de Maistre."

no evil?" Will Joseph de Maistre, or any one else, point out one instance in which the inquisition was merciful? Does he not admit himself that the inquisition was composed "of a chief, named Grand Inquisitor, who was always an archbishop or a bishop, and of eight ecclesiastical councillors, of which six were always secular and two regular; and of these last, one always a Dominican?" What is this but a tribunal essentially ecclesiastical?—and which of the inquisitors, we would ask, is it that manifested this indelible characteristic of mercy of which he speaks—who "never meddled with punishments, save to suppress or soften them?" Was it the miserable wretch Torquemada, under whose administration of eighteen years no less than one hundred and five thousand, two hundred and ninety-four victims were condemned to death and to severe penance? Was it Pierre Arbues, who became so hateful and cruel that his assassination was the result? Mercy and the holy office! Thirty-one thousand, nine hundred and twelve condemned to death; seventeen thousand, six hundred and fifty-nine burnt in effigy; two hundred and ninety-one thousand, four hundred and fifty condemned to severe penance; of learned men one hundred and twenty-two; of ecclesiastics sixty-seven; of bishops twelve; of archbishops eight. Mercy and the holy office!—what a mockery!

But if the Archbishop of Paris approves of such histories, we know that they are not true. We learn from Llorente that the tribunal of the inquisition was essentially ecclesiastical; that kings were subject to its judgments; that, though originally it had only the power of inflicting spiritual punishments, yet that in the nineteenth century, referring to the powers conferred on the Church by the emperors of the third and fourth, the inquisition assumed to themselves the right of imposing punishments entirely temporal, except that of death; and that, though the *sentence* was executed by the State, yet the *judgment* itself was passed by the tribunal. The sentence of the inquisitor imposed a variety of fines and personal penalties, such as entire or partial confiscation, perpetual or a limited period of imprisonment, exile or transportation, infamy and the loss of employment or dignities. As to the punishment of death, where they wished to it to be inflicted, they handed over the victims to the State, as *relaxed*, *i. e.*, released, from their jurisdiction as being incorrigible; and it is well known that this was tantamount to a sentence of death, which the State executed, and at which execution the Church assisted.*

* "The History of the Inquisition of Spain, by D. Leon Antoine Llorente,

We are not going to write a history of the inquisition here; and have been merely led into these remarks in giving one instance, of the many which might be adduced, of the present policy of the Romish Church, and of the determined blindness with which she is driving her children to think and act for themselves.

Whilst, however, Germany and the continent are rife with secessions from the communion of Rome, in England the extraordinary spectacle is afforded of many adhesions to her faith on the part of learned and devoted men. It used to be said that England possessed more of the light of God's truth than any other land; and that, therefore, Rome found in this country her fiercest foe. She is now, in triumph, throwing the remark in the teeth of her adversaries; using it for her own purposes; and counting, from the secessions of a few, upon the ultimate conversion of the many. Whether she is really elated with what has taken place is difficult to ascertain, because her policy seems to be to treat the matter as a thing in course. The *Tablet*, however, one of the organs of the Romish Church, has not been over-courteous in its remarks on the subject: poor Mr. Ward especially, we should think, owes the editor little thanks for his inaugurative article, with which the announcement of his adhesion was accompanied: for he was therein quietly congratulated on having entered a communion where he would speedily learn that of which all his lifetime he seemed to have been ignorant—that honesty is the best policy. In England, the noiseless manner in which Rome receives her prey betrays a conviction on her part that her game is sure; but, on the continent, it is her policy to herald her success in joyous and triumphant strains, if, haply, thereby she may distract attention from the strife that is carrying on in the very centre of her household.

Many seem to think that the secessions of the Tractarians are of small moment. They reason that of a body of men amounting, probably, to some fifteen thousand, the departure of about thirty-five can hardly be of consequence. If it were a question simply of numbers it might be so; but it must be remembered that the boldness of a few is oftentimes indicative of the desire of many. The honesty of those who, in going over to Rome, have given up their positions in the English Church, and with them much that men covet, is by no means a

---

formerly Secretary of the Inquisition, composed from Original Documents of the Archives of the Supreme Council, and from those of Subordinate Tribunals of the Holy Office."

criterion by which to judge of the amount and extent of the evil. They leave behind them too many, alas! retained by a thousand ties, which they have not courage enough to break through—whose hearts Romish doctrines have fermented so thoroughly, that, though they have not sufficient strength of purpose to make a sacrifice for Rome, they have imbibed so much of her spirit as to become sorry servants of the English Church. The secession itself is certainly an unparalleled event; and it cannot be doubted, that, of those who have gone over, there were some, for whose learning and sincerity of purpose all impartial and Christian men must entertain the highest respect. So far, it is a serious matter—grave in its import and consequences—neither to be slighted on the ground of numerical insignificance, nor compensated by the flippant reflection, that "an empty house is better than a bad tenant."

This secession has not taken the Church by surprise. Thoughtful men, reflecting upon that which passed around them, have been prepared for it; and the question with them has not been, "when will it begin?" so much as, "where will it end?" The complex, intricate, and confused nature of Tractarian reasonings, as they have been set down in the writings of these seceders, have long ago betrayed a want of clear and steady perception on the part of the authors. It was manifest that they had reached a point in theology where, unless the master-truth is grasped, the feet are sure to be entangled in the meshes of scholastic subtlety. In all their flirtation with the Romish Church—in all their tender handling of its obnoxious dogmas—they have never once boldly faced the only questions which are really at issue:—Is Rome, or is she not, scriptural in her doctrine?* Does she, or does she not, in fact, place aught in intercession between God and man, save "the man Christ Jesus?" Is she, or is she not, idolatrous in her practice? These, we maintain, are questions never fairly met by the Tractarian—these are questions which constitute the vitality of the struggle between the Romish and the Anglican Churches—these are questions which must surely, some day, occur to our deceived brethren; and we can only pray, that when they do occur, they may receive grace to pursue them to their

* "*Nunquam licuit, nusquam licet, nunquam licebit,*" to write upon any place except upon the Cross of Christ. "*Hic est plena remissio peccatorum a culpâ et a pœna,*" which *popes* have ordered to be inscribed on the shrine of the negro Virgin Mary, at Einsiedeln, and many other places, through which fraud 150,000 pilgrims annually resort there and leave gifts, to increase the revenues of Rome."—*Abstract Principles of Revealed Religion: by Henry Drummond. Vide*, also, the works of Liguori, canonized by Pope Pius the Eight, *passim.*

just results, with the same recklessness of personal consequences that has distinguished the act of their secession.

Nothing can be more characteristic than the apologies put forth by Messrs. Ward and Oakeley. Casuistic, sophistical, obtuse in expression, complex in reasoning, and difficult of comprehension, they are fitting indices of the uncertain and cloudy condition of the mind and feeling of these gentlemen. Casuistry, wherever it is employed, is a sure evidence that he who defends his position thereby is either ill at ease, or but half convinced; and we have risen from the perusal of these documents with the painful conviction, that, some day or other, if the authors do not altogether lose their faith, a heavy burthen of sorrow awaits them, when time and reflection shall have broken down the flimsy defences with which they have hedged themselves in their new-found creed.

The great point which the Tractarian seceders would have us believe, that they have settled to their satisfaction and firm belief, is, that there is no priesthood in the English Church! Here we do not allude to what such foolish persons as the late curate of Bawdsey writes; but to what the leaders of this secession have asserted in their own justification. Really, this is a monstrous doctrine—not because it attacks any favourite notion, prejudice, theory, or even standing of ours—but because it is, in itself, a libel against God, and a blasphemy against His love. What does it amount to? That in England, since the Reformation, there has been no Church—no priests—no sacraments—and, consequently, no Christian life: that hundreds of thousands have called upon the name of God, and lifted up supplicating hands to him, and pleaded the merits of his Son, without right or title so to do: that they have been heathen, outcast, and alien: that, for three centuries, the land has been without a Church, and its inhabitants without God and his Christ—since none can be of Christ who are not of his body mystical, and none can be of God who are not of Christ. It may suit the present object of the Tractarian school to endeavour to make the mighty purpose of God square with their theory; but the very attempt does but betray the narrowness of their theological view, and the uncatholic sectarianism into which an excess of asceticism has driven them; for there is a higher and better thing than the Church of Rome, which is the Church of Christ, to the fulness and extent of which the Church of Rome could never measure, even were she orthodox; and the sectarianism—the deep, bitter sectarianism, of which these men have all been guilty—is in separating themselves from the Church of Christ at large, and narrowing her extent

and capacity within the miserable limits of Romish isolation, and its uncatholic excommunications.

There are heresies of many sorts. There are heresies against creeds; but there is one creed above all, which is—faith in the love of Him for all and unto all, manifested in the blessed One who took the nature of which we all are partakers, that he might die for all: and against this holy creed of the Father's love the Church of Rome has been guilty of one long heresy—the most fearful of all—from the day in which her popes thrust themselves into the rulership of God's household, and excluded, at their pleasure, whom they would, from his heritage, until now. Of this heresy we do not hesitate to say that the Tractarians of this day are guilty, when they assert that the Romish communion exhausts the terms in which the Church is spoken of in Scripture as "the fulness of Him who filleth all in all."

It skills not in answer to reduce the question to the forms of a mathematical problem, and insist upon a demonstration which shall leave no difficulty unsettled. The thing is impossible; for the subjects of God's truth are subjects of faith, and there are a thousand things which are within the grasp of her comprehension—within her ken and gaze—which can never be submitted to the test of logical or mathematical deduction. Theological creeds are good and wholesome, and necessary to the infirmity of man; but the Lord is above them all, and is not to be measured, in the capacity of his love and the largeness of his purpose, by the terms of any creed which the finite comprehension of man has of necessity framed in definite forms. We do not despise creeds—far from it—we deeply reverence them, where they are Catholic; but we will not consent to any one which would attempt to shackle God down to a necessity and obligation to restrict the manifestation of his mercy, and the order of his acting, within the limits of a certain rule, because it is a rule which ecclesiastical authority professes to prescribe. Of such creeds—whether it be in the shape of Gregory the Seventh's maxims, or the decrees of the Council of Trent—we have an utter abhorrence; and we are sure that he who signs them, no matter to what communion he is faithful, is a heretic against God.

It might suffice to answer the question concerning the priesthood of the English Church, by a reference to the fact, that Christian life has truly existed, and has most certainly been nourished, within her communion. This, of itself, supposes sacraments and a priesthood; but, if it be urged that the oft-disputed, but as the Romanists maintain, clearly shewn irregu-

larity in the order of episcopal succession in England is fatal to the standing of the English priesthood, too much will then be proved; the difficulty will be increased, and Rome itself involved in the dilemma: indeed, it might then be fairly reasoned, on such grounds, that there was no such thing as priesthood existing. Timothy and Titus received authority, by delegation from Paul, to ordain bishops; but it is not very clear, from Scripture, that they themselves had authority to delegate the power of ordination to others: yet, we believe, and believe rightly, that the priesthood succeeding them was a valid one. In the order of succession in the Romish Church, there have been, according to Malebranche, no less than thirty-two false popes at different times;* and it is notorious, that, during the schism which the council at Constance met to heal, and which lasted fifty-seven years, the papal office and authority were in the hands of no less than three popes at once, and constantly of two. All the elections were so disputable that, to this day, it is doubtful who was really pope, and who was not. Apply the rule by which the Tractarian seceders have judged the standing of the English priesthood to these false popes and this schism—follow it out to all its legitimate results—and what becomes of the boasted integrity of the Romish succession? "They who live in glass houses should not throw stones." If one doubtful consecration is fatal to the claims of the English Church, what is the authority of the Romish Church worth, the validity of whose ecclesiastical acts were, for so many years, dependent upon the true standing of dignitaries, many of whom, it is now held, were usurpers, and, consequently, ecclesiastically incompetent?

One thing which has led the Oxford men to Rome is a defective system of theology—we say it with all deference and under correction—a want of clear apprehension as to the leading principles of the Gospel. In their system, mercy occupies too small a place, and penitence and penance are exaggerated beyond their proper limits. Their contemplation is exercised, not in the fulness of grace which is in God, but in the amount of infirmity which is in man: hence fear, and not confidence, is the characteristic of their religious experience. They do not seem to understand that the ministry committed to them is one of *reconciliation*—one of mercy already obtained: they do not seem to understand that the preaching of the Gospel is this simple message—"God is at peace with man, having reconciled

* Histoire Chronologique des Papes; par Mre. P. B. M. Malebranche; Bruxelles, 1741; avec approbation.

the world unto himself by Jesus Christ:" they do not seem to understand that it is *because* pardon has already been granted that holiness of life should ensue—that it is in the faith of this, that the work of sanctification must go on; but they seem to think that holiness, in them, must be antecedent to pardon, and that of this pardon they cannot be assured on this side the grave. The natural result of this must be asceticism and continued spiritual torment; for no man can thus measure the amount of God's blessing by the amount of his own attainment, and find peace. With him, foreboding, doubt, weeping and mourning must be the rule; and joy and peace the exception. No wonder, then, that these men should sympathise with the Church of Rome, which ever shuts out the light of God's love with her dark panoply of spiritual terror and penance—no wonder that they should find a more kindred spirit in that communion, where all that pertains to death is so symbolized as to hide the glorious effulgence of the resurrection life, into the power—into the joy—into the blessedness of which we are even now called spiritually to enter; for He hath made us *now* to "sit together with him in heavenly places." The Church of Rome is verily a Church of death, delighting in skulls and cross-bones, and images of purgatory, flames and torments; and it is not surprizing that those, who so long in thought have lived amongst the tombs—who cannot, dare not, in confidence, pass beyond the grave—should find the measure of their spiritual capacity better fitted by her gloomy doctrines, macerations and self-imposed sufferings, than by the enlarged and more life-giving truths held by the English Church.

Another reason which has been given for this secession is the disunions of Protestanism—a fact deeply to be deplored; but the remedy of which no one has yet discovered—a condition not peculiar to Protestanism, but characterizing the state of the Church from the earliest ages: a condition, which will not be evaded in anywise by an entrance into Romish communion. The idea that there is unity in the Romish Church is a pure figment—one of the great shams of the day—presenting, indeed, a respectable appearance of verity in a certain show of uniformity; preserved by force of coercive discipline; but vanishing upon the slightest examination into the reality of its internal economy. There is much truth in what has been remarked by M. Bonnechose, in his Preface to "*Les Reformateurs avant la Reforme:*" he says:—

"Dans toute Eglise réputée infaillible, une apparente uniformité de pratiques cache une variété infinie de sentiment, et d'opinions, et dans les eglises séparées une grand principe d'unité peut se rencontrer sous

des différences legerès ou purement extérieures. Au sein même de la religion Romaine, l'homme ignorant, prosternè devant l'image du patron quil adore, ou le triste fanatique qui pense plaire à son Dieu, en se dechirant de sa main sang lante, sont à une distance plus grande d'un disciple de Fenelon, que ne le sont entre eux les membres éclairés des communions évangèliques les plus diverses. Enfin, malgre le nom commun de Catholiques, l'ultramontaine diffère d'avantage du Gallican, le jésuite du janséniste, un Innocent III., d'un Vincent de Paul, que le quaker du Luthèrien, le Presbytèrien, de l'Indépendant, d' un Penn d'un Wilberforce.

We quote this passage for so much only as it is worth, without at all adopting the author's estimate of what may, or may not, be a "difference legère ou purement extérieure"—the simple point for which it is quoted being the *fact*, as to whether there are divisions in the Romish communion as there are in Protestantism? Some of the heaviest blows which the Romish clergy ever received in this land, from the State, originated in their own quarrels and divisions, one with another. Between the monks and the friars there was ever mortal strife, so that in the reign of Edward I. the statutes of preceding reigns, against the increasing wealth and power of monastic bodies, were strengthened by additional acts passed at the instigation, and through the hatred, of the newly-imported friars, to the monks. There is not a Church history extant which is not full of records of war and bloodshed, bitter animosities, strife amongst the great, and misery amongst their dependants, owing to the quarrels of pope with pope, prelate with prelate, bishop with abbot—one order of ecclesiastics with another. To this day there is deadly enmity and disunion between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and that upon vital points; whilst the internal history of any Roman Catholic order or community will prove, that, notwithstanding the rigid show of uniformity without, there is little actual union within. Nay, more, the very men who have gone over to Rome carry with them, if they at all preserve their manhood and integrity, such elements as must, of necessity, constitute a condition of disunion—for the disposition to conscientious enquiry which has carried them there, if pursued to its fullest extent, cannot fail to put them speedily into the position of dissentients in spirit, though they may continue to manifest an outward uniformity.

Unity is an essential element in the constitution of the Church. It was the subject of the last and longest prayer that our Lord is recorded to have offered up, and the measure of man's resistance to the will of God is to be found in the fact, that the desire of that prayer yet remains unfulfilled; but the

sin of this is chargeable upon all, and the passing over to Rome, in order to escape it, is one of the saddest delusions of the day. Even were it granted that Rome holds some truths which the Anglican Church has lost, it is clear that she countenances some heresies, and openly practises many sins from which the Anglican Church is free. Whilst this is the case, neither can she be constituted *the only true Church*, in all the fulness of that word; nor is unity possible. The very existence of Greek, Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, Roman and Anglican Churches, in separation one from the other—reasoning on the grounds which the Tractarians have taken—is sufficient to justify the expression that there is no Church at all, and passing from the Anglican to the Romish communion will not extricate them from the difficulty; for Rome is, at the best, but a portion of *the Church:* judged, moreover, by the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, which rule she acknowledges, she is most uncatholic, and therefore sectarian, as regards the Church Catholic. The more we read of Tractarian writings, the more we see of Tractarian doings, the more are we painfully convinced that the Tractarians themselves, from whom, at the first, men looked for so much, have not sufficient spiritual discernment to comprehend the true condition of the Church, nor capacity of faith and love to minister to her exigencies. If, as they think, they have escaped from much that was lawless, by abjuring the Anglican communion, they have only varied the form of their schism by falling into what is unscripturally tyrannical and exclusive. As for any advance in Christian intelligence, or ecclesiastical standing—as for any *real* deliverance from the evils which they have bemoaned—the notion is chimerical; for, if the English Church be apostate, as they assert, the Romish is infinitely more so: if the English Church be no Church, as they argue, by parity of reasoning, the Romish is equally unchurched.

There is a disposition in the present day to regard the past through a false medium. Sentiment, and not sound sense, is the faculty that is brought to bear upon its events: the poetry of history, and not its truths, is that which engages the attention. Hence, the past becomes a romance, wherein all that can fascinate the imagination is artistically arranged, and all the realities, which disgust by their baseness or distress by their misery, are carefully excluded. Whatever is high, noble, and chivalrous, comes into strong relief: whatever is low, mean, and cruel, is kept out of sight. If suffering does appear, it is only in poetical forms: whilst blood and birth, rule and power, are so surrounded with heavenly attributes as to become so many different impersonations of virtue. Thus a very pretty picture is

constituted, whose forms of beauty may beguile the musing hours of a visionary, but whose untruthfulness will fail to teach man one single useful lesson for the realities of the present. The same eye that is blind to the follies or miseries of the past is equally blind to all the nobility in thought or action which now exists, though quick in detecting evil in its most hideous forms. A contrast is drawn with partial skill between the beauty of other days and the deformity of these; sorrow and lamentation follow over the social ruin, whose glory is departed; and the fictitious resemblance of a form, that never existed, is enshrined with solemnity for idealistic worship. By such means, a distinct school of social and religious idealists has been formed, whose disciples take their models of political and ecclesiastical excellence from the earlier or the middle ages. Mr. D'Israeli writes of a feudal aristocracy as a sort of condensed essence of excellency, and puts into print descriptions of such happy villages and contented villagers as we used to see represented on the stage, in our younger days, in charming tableaux of rural virtue decked out in ribbons. Lord John Manners, Mr. Faber, and others, in their amiable way, mourn over the departed glories of the Romish Church as a sainted martyr, and seem to have no larger idea of holiness or truth than what is to be found within her precincts. Each would impose the spirit of the past as the only remedy for the cure of present evil, political and religious. Neither seems to see that the world has attained a position from which it *cannot* retrograde, and that to strive to force it back is about as fruitless a labour as endeavouring to make the man unlearn what he has acquired by experience, and return into the condition of unknowing childhood. It has been well observed, that

"Providence works by eliciting modes of thought, not cyclical, but successive, and in which man freely acts, though without the power of controlling their evolution. No era which has once gone by can ever be brought back. Individuals are never reproduced; the creatures not merely of the last age, but of the last year, or even of the yesterday, will never more be found together; never will the same combinations recur so long as the world endures."—*Palgrave's Truth and Fiction of the Middle Ages.*

Now, it may not be amiss to remark, that the slightest attention to the facts of history will show how greatly exaggerated are the descriptions, which we are daily receiving, of the social and religious condition of other days, in the novels, poetical laments, and musings, which issue from this school. The Norman noble was at first a robber and always a tyrant, and his Saxon serf was ever his prey. Much of gallantry—much of

sheer animal courage—there was in him, but much also of brutality, coarseness, and cruelty. The amenities of chivalry did no doubt soften the rugged asperities of warrior life, and furnish noble and high-minded men—such as Dunois, du Guesclin, the Captal de Buch, Sir John Chandos, and Sir Walter Manny: but these were exceptions; and even by them manhood and its social rights seem to have been limited within the bounds of knighthood and gentle blood. The official records of those times furnish ample evidence of the lawless condition of society at large, and the despotic conduct of the barons. The king amerced and fined his nobles at pleasure, sometimes justly, sometimes unjustly. The nobles did the like by their feudatories: might was right: moral obligation was at a discount, and the feeble arm of the law often became powerless in the gauntletted grasp of the mailed warrior. A species of tyranny, exercised so late as the reign of Henry IV., by the governors of the castles that were scattered throughout the land, is pointed out in the rolls of Parliament. A petition from the Commons is there recorded, declaring

"That many of the constables or governors of these castles, who had been appointed justices of the peace, exercised their authority under various pretences, to seize and imprison persons against whom they had any quarrel, resentment, or ill will, and that they kept them till they paid a fine or ransom for their deliverance. They humbly prayed his Majesty therefore to ordain, for the future, that no constable should be a justice of peace in that county wherein his castle was situated, and that no one should be imprisoned except in the common jail of the county under a penalty to be settled by that Parliament, reserving only to the lords their ancient franchise."

Here is an expressive picture of wrong and grievance characteristic of the times! Of the tenth century, Baronius says, "It was an iron age, destitute of all goodness; a leaden age, abounding in all wickedness; and a dark age, remarkable above all others for the scarcity of writers and men of learning." Arnulph, Bishop of Orleans, thus spoke in a council held at Rheims—"O deplorable Rome, who in the days of our forefathers producedst so many burning and shining lights, thou hast brought forth, in our times, only dismal darkness, worthy of the detestation of posterity!" Of the religious condition of these days enough is also on record to show that it was not what has been so fondly imagined and poetically described. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the luxury of the priests was excessive; their usual habits were of the richest silks, with agrafes of gold, red and green boots, as the councils testify.

St. Francis d'Assise, in speaking of the condition of monastic and conventual life, said—"I fear that when God took away our wives, the devil gave us sisters." An abbot of the Benedictines, named Peter, thus writes:—

"Our brethren despise God, and, being past shame, eat flesh all the days of the week except Friday, not only in secret but in public, also, boasting of their sin like Sodom. They run here and there, and, as kites and vultures, fly with great swiftness where the smoke of the kitchen is, or where they smell the best roast and boiled. Those that will not do as the rest, they mark and treat as hypocrites and profane. Bacon, cheese, eggs, and even flesh itself, can no more please their nice palates: they only relish the flesh-pots of Egypt, pieces of boiled and roasted pork, good fat veal, otters, and hares, the best geese and pullets, and, in a word, all sorts of flesh and food do now cover the tables of our holy monks. But what do I tell?—these things are now grown too common: they are cloyed with them; they must have something more delicate: they would have got for them kids, harts, boars, and wild bears. One must for them beat the bushes with a great number of hunters, and by help of birds of prey chase the pheasants, and partridges, and ring doves, for fear the servants of God (who are good monks) should perish for hunger."

This is a curious piece, not only as proving in what the standard of holiness consisted, at least in the abbot's estimation, but as showing, on the part of the good man himself, in the minute and savoury manner in which he enumerates their sin, almost as much envy of their licence as horror of their guilt. Whilst on this point, we may mention, that in the statutes and ordinances of Lanfranc (for the Benedictines) there are some curious and somewhat mysterious rules, which occupy a whole chapter, concerning the letting of blood. Batteley, in his addition to "Somner's Canterbury," asserts, that the necessity for this blood-letting was occasioned by riotous living and excess; and, he adds, that "when the Lord High Steward had with his retinue, according to his office, attended at the enthronization of an archbishop, it was one branch of his accustomed right and fee, which he claimed at going away, to stop three days at one of the nearest manors of the archbishop to diminish his blood; *i. e.*, to have a vein opened; or, more properly, to cool his blood, which had been heated by high feeding and drinking at the feast." Burnet says that, at the visitation of the monasteries made by order of Henry VIII., "The visitors went over England, and found, in many places, monstrous disorder, sins which cannot be named; great faction and barbarous cruelties were in others, and in some were found tools for coining. The report, in short, contained many abominable things that were

not fit to be mentioned." Vile as was the conduct of the tyrant who ordered this visitation—open as may be the report of the visitors to the suspicion of exaggeration—yet that the report itself had too much truth for its foundation, may be gathered from the fact that they pleaded hard, though without success, for the maintenance of one nunnery, Godstow, in Oxfordshire, where there was great strictness of life. This fact certainly proves, by the exception, the general rule; and that, when such exception came before their notice, they were not insensible to its merit.

But there is another kind of evidence on this subject, which is not to be despised, and that is, what may be found in the description of contemporary poets. Chaucer's portraiture of the mendicant friar is too life-like not to have been taken from a reality: whilst Robert Langland, or whoever wrote the "Vision of Piers Plowman,"* furnishes us with such delineations of the condition of his times, both social and religious, as coming from a contemporary at such a period cannot be gainsayed. The supposition is that he was himself an ecclesiastic, and that his poem was written at least two centuries before the names of *Reformer* or *Protestant* were heard. It is an allegory, wherein the abuses of religion, the demoralization of society, the dissoluteness of priests, friars, and nuns are vividly exposed and severely lashed. Piers Plowman is an impersonation of the Christian life, who receives from Grace four strong men, Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John, to plough up the field of divine truth. He has afterwards four vigorous bullocks to harrow up the field already ploughed, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome. This form of construction enables the author to pursue his theme with great effect. His testimony is valuable, as being that of one who never for a moment doubted the doctrine of the Romish Church, though in every line which he writes ample proof is yielded of her deep abasement in practice. The witness of Sir David Lindsay is somewhat more questionable, being that of a man who lived nearly two centuries later, and who saw the first beginnings of the Reformation: yet there must be some truth in what he says. His description of a confession is curious, and with it we will close these extracts, which we fear we have already extended too far:—

> "He me absolvit for ane plak,
> Thocht he na pryce with me wald mak;
> And mekil Latyne he did mummill
> I hard na thing but hummill bummill.

* There has been a recent reprint of this poem, edited by T. Wright, Esq.

He schew me nocht of Goddis word,
Quhilk scharper is than ony sword;
He counsalit me noch till abstene
And lead ane holy life and clene:
Of Christe's blude na thing he knew
Nor of his promissis fuil trew,
That safis all that will beleve
That Satan sall us never greve.
He techit me nocht for till traist
The comfort of the Haly Ghaist;
He bad me nocht to Christ be kynd;
To keip his law with hart and mynd,
And lufe and thank his greit mercie
Fra sin and hell that savit me;
And luve my nichtboure as my sell:
Of this, nathing he could me tell."

Kitter's Confession.

Far be it from us to deny to the earlier and middle ages the merit that belongs to them. We know full well that they had their great and learned men—luminous exceptions to the general darkness of the moral atmosphere in which the multitudes lived: nor is it to be denied that the Church knew how to use whatever of energy, talent, or genius the times produced, to her earthly glory and aggrandizement. We have, yet remaining, many glorious monuments of skill in design, and power in execution, not to be surpassed by men of modern days; and every lover of the beautiful in outward form—every one who honours the high and holy associations that may *legitimately* be associated with them—must deeply deplore the ignorance and barbarity which supposed that a moral regeneration could only be effected by the complete clearing away of all that had belonged to the estate from which escape was sought. Thus, much that was really true and beautiful perished, involved in the destruction of what was certainly false and debasing. It always has been so, and always will be so, in great social revolutions. When men feel strongly, they do not stop to make nice or even correct distinctions, and if the avenging weapon fall ruthlessly in its fell descent upon much that is noble and good, as well as upon much that is evil, surely they, who, by their misdoings, have furnished and sharpened the sword, are as guilty as those who use it.

The great struggle of this day is between the idealistic and the material—the imaginative and the useful—between whatever pertains to the spiritual attributes of man and demonstrative science, with its powers of steam and iron wonders; and, in so far as the struggle is between what is of faith, and what is

not, we have deep sympathy with those who look and long for some deliverance from the manifold forms of materialism in which men think and act: we have deep sympathy with those who can see a greater good than the systems of Utilitarian philosophy can offer them—wherein the *summum bonum* seems to be, as regards the social systems, masses of humanity acted upon by a statistical machinery, which is to be worked with unerring precision, and produce unvarying results; and, as regards the Church, a corporation, having a marketable commodity, which is only to be valued according to the given amount of morality which it produces. For something better and higher than this, poor humanity has longed and sighed for ages. Whether in the agony of the suffering, the cry of the oppressed, the dream of the recluse, or the vision of the thoughtful and prophetic, it becomes evident, in many forms of expression, that there is a capacity in man which no condition of things has yet filled—a place in the mind and heart for the realization of an estate which has often been the subject of idealistic vision, but never of experience in fact. He who looks back upon the world's past history, from the heights which Christian intelligence has enabled him to attain, will seek in vain for any one spot upon which the eye may rest with unalloyed pleasure. It is to the leading of holy hope that he must again commit himself, in pursuing his onward journey, lest he sink by the way. To that consolation, which she alone can give him—to an unshaken confidence in the true promises of God—must he trust for the fulfilment of those aspirations after something better than what he has, which can fill the hearts of the good and wise—which do not arise from discontent with what is, but from an intelligent perception of what ought to be. This excellency is not to be found in the past—it is not to be found in the present—but it shall be revealed in the future. It is not to be met with in separation—it is not exclusively in the Greek—it is not in the Anglican—least of all is it in the Romish Church; but it shall be found in the day when the purposes of God in Christ Jesus are complete—when the Church, the body of Christ, shall be "*edified*"—when all her members shall have "*come in the unity of the faith and of knowledge of the Son of God into a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature* (or age) *of the fulness of Christ*"—when the "*new song shall be sung before the throne*," and the whole creation, delivered from its condition of bondage, shall "*rejoice together before the Lord, when He cometh to judge the earth, for with righteousness shall He judge the world, and the people with equity.*"

It is to "the hasting of this day" that the Church is ex-

horted. Rome walks the earth as though it had arrived, calling herself queen and mistress of the world, and, in her mad assumption, daily falsifies the prayers she utters, "Thy kingdom come." There is in the English Church, whatever her faults may be, a vital energy of truth which cannot be found in the Romish: a power of Christian strength, and a freedom in its exercise, which do not exist in the shackles of Roman bondage. Much there may be to grieve over and mourn for, but much to lay hold of and rejoice in. The Tractarians, in going back to Rome, have fallen behind their age: they have made no advance—they have entered no higher region of truth—they have, on the contrary, shut themselves up in a section of the Church, where their powers of spiritual vision will be more limited then ever. They have exchanged, for a certain show of order and a meagre spiritual diet, the power of gazing over the broad expanse of the spiritual heavens, and breathing its healthful air. Many would say, and we believe them to be right, that they have become the slaves of an idolatrous and heretical system. They owe their fall, as we believe, amongst other causes, to that exaggerated admiration of a fictitious past, which is perverting the perception of so many able men, and an allowed ignorance of what Rome really is.

Many have thought that there is a great prospect of good for the Church at large in this secession. It is asserted that the spirit of honest investigation, and scrupulous conscientiousness, which these men carry with them into the bosom of Rome, must work a happy result. It is argued that, sooner or later, they will be led to resist the duplicity of Romish policy; that they will endeavour, in course, to maintain the integrity of that interpretation of Romish doctrine which they now hold; and that, in so doing, they must come into antagonism with the authorized practices of the Romish Church. It is said that Rome will surely listen to these men in the expression of their conscientious scruples, and that, thus, a door would be open to the admission of that truth, which, wherever it enters, cleanses and vivifies. This is a delusion dangerous to the amiable men who entertain it: for Rome cannot tolerate, and will not hear, the slightest whisper against her authority. It is necessary to her existence that she maintain her infallibility; and it is necessary to her infallibility that she stand by all that is believed and done on the warrant of her authority, however false in doctrine and monstrous in practice; and those whose excess of tolerance for her errors leads them to any other estimate of her real standing are in danger of so near an approach to her heresy, through sheer want of watchfulness, as

shall precipitate them into the pitfall which she prepares, where the depths of her apostacy are covered and hidden by a show of truth. An able letter has recently appeared in *The Tablet*, bearing internal evidence of being written by one in authority, in which it is distinctly declared that Rome is unchanged and unchangeable—that what she has always been, she is and will continue to be. In this letter conciliation and concession in anywise are treated as utter impossibilities, and the contest between her and her adversaries is spoken of as one between positive truth, in all its completeness, and positive error, in all its extent. Full well we know it—Rome altered or alterable! The very idea is one of the most chimerical of the many chimeras of the day. Give her but space, power, and opportunity, and what she was in the darkest days of her cruel policy—what she was in the plenitude of her rule and tyranny—that will she be again. The late quarrel between the university and the clergy in France (though we have no abstract sympathy with the *philosophes*), has brought to light authorized doctrines and teachings, the nature of which ought to make every honest man within her communion hang down his head for shame. Young priests, prepared for the confessional, by a course of instruction wherein the mind and heart must be continually defiled, made to pass years of spiritual and fleshly torture in learning secrets of a wretched obscenity, unknown even to hoary libertines, and then sent forth with all this miserable furniture of the imagination to deal with guileless girls and modest women; bishops, who write these books of wickedness, and publish them for the use of their young clergy; heresies concerning the virgin; heresies concerning the saints; relic worship; gross superstition, and positive idolatry; and not one jot to be condemned, nor to be conceded, nor to be amended, lest the infallibility of the Romish Church become questionable! Truly, Rome is what she always was. She still, in the paintings of the Sala Borgia, the ante-hall of the Sistine Chapel, honours the policy of Hildebrand, and rejoices in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's-day. She, still, by her narrow legislation, crushes all commercial enterprize in her states. She still pursues the same cruel rule with any who offend her; and of late, the continental powers have been compelled to interfere to soften her severities in the legations. She is still what she ever was—narrow and dark; exclusive and uncatholic; uncompromising and intolerant, with all that wears the aspect of intellectual, civil, or religious liberty. Her state, a singular compound of the ecclesiastical with the regal!—her prince-cardinals, at once prelates, and ministers of police and finance!—her priests, political agents!

—her professed humility and positive pomp!—her claim to be God's holy ambassador upon earth—and her cuirassiers, are as monstrous an anomaly in the social condition of nations as they are a libel on the purity of Scriptural truth. Look at her in her daily practice, collecting, from the houses of the poor, week by week, the scanty pittance, that masses may be said for them when they are dead: listen to all the horrid doctrine which she teaches about purgatory: strive to learn the secrets of that alchemy by which she is ever able to extract the *liard* from suffering poverty; and ask her how it is that, whilst the rich man's relatives find comfort in the conviction that his departed soul is speedily delivered from purgatory, because of the many masses that are said, the kindred of the poor have no such consolation, deriving but little hope from the love of that Church, which will not pray the soul out of torment that is not paid for. Rome is what she ever was—she will always be what she is: and it becomes the English Church to know that the contest must be between positive truth and positive error—God's word and the devil's lie. No such delusion has befallen these days as the looking to Rome for truth; and no one has yielded to this delusion, in the slightest degree, without hurt and damage to his soul.

ART. V.—*The Doctrine of Imposition of Hands; or, Confirmation the Ordained and Ordinary Means for Conveying the Gift of the Holy Ghost.* By JOHN FRERE, M.A., Rector of Cottenham, in the diocese of Ely. London: Rivingtons. 1845.

THE author of this little treatise very candidly avows, at the outset of his work, that, upon receiving it from a learned friend who had been requested to peruse it, and whose opinion, as he admits, was entitled to the highest respect, it was not unaccompanied with disapproval as to certain points, and this to such an extent as to make him desirous to revise it. This intention was not, however, carried into effect, as he feared that in doing so he should damage his main argument; and hence it appears as it was originally written with the addition only of some preliminary observations, calculated to obviate misapprehension. We wish that he had acted otherwise, as it is not in his power to plead inadvertence to the points objected to, nor in ours to support the doctrine promulgated by him. We can only say that his opinions are expressed in elegant and temperate language, and that they appear to have been published with the best intention: more

we cannot say, consistently with our reverence for the Church of England, and our firm conviction of the wisdom of the course that has been adopted by her with regard to the subject treated of by him.

The object of the treatise is to prove that confirmation is the ordinary and effectual means for conveying the promised gift of the Holy Ghost by imposition of the bishop's hands with prayer (p. 9). The objections to the argument are, that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration seemed to be, in some places, almost obscured by the prominence given to this position, and that by it the author claimed for the rite of confirmation almost the place and dignity of a sacrament, while the connexion between that rite and baptism was not sufficiently set forth (p. iii.) He disclaims, however, any intention of denying the truth of baptismal regeneration, declaring that, when he maintains that the Holy Ghost is given in confirmation and not in holy baptism, he means by that term, "not the regenerating power or vivifying germ of the spiritual life, by virtue of which, being born again, we become children of grace; but the Holy Ghost, as promised by our blessed Lord to his disciples, and sent down from heaven, according to that promise, on the day of Pentecost, when their faith had reached some degree of establishment" (pp. vii. viii.); and he justifies the poverty of his allusions to the connexion between confirmation and baptism by the assertion, that that connexion is sufficiently known from the teaching of the Church; while a *more important view* of confirmation appeared to be kept in abeyance, which he would gladly advance to its proper place (p. v.)

It has been observed by an eminent prelate (Archbishop Whately), that, "as our Church repeatedly and earnestly inculcates, as a fundamental principle, that nothing is to be insisted on as an essential point of faith that is not taught in Scripture, any member of our Church, who should make essentials of points confessedly not found in Scripture, and who should consequently make it a point of necessary faith to *believe* that these *are* essentials, must unavoidably be pronouncing condemnation, either on himself or on the very Church he belongs to, and whose claims he is professing to fortify;" and it would have been well if our author had reflected on this truth, before he determined on publication. For, not only are his views unsupported by the offices of the Church, but such of his arguments as he has drawn from Scripture will be found, upon examination, to be nothing worth; and he comes, therefore, within the compass of the observation which we have quoted.

Mr. Frere may not, indeed, confess that his hypothesis is not borne out by Scripture; but that has little to do with the matter. Should he fail to prove that it is supported thereby, and the most careful examination of it by others should fail to convince them that it has such support, they must, however reluctantly, pronounce him in error. We will go then into an examination of his treatise with a view to the solution of this point, begging only of our readers their most patient attention.

Scripture appears to Mr. Frere to warrant the following conclusions:—

"First, that there is a promise of the Holy Ghost peculiar to the Christian covenant, and first bestowed on the day of Pentecost.

"Secondly, that this gift is personal, bestowed upon each member of the Church, but not at baptism.

"Thirdly, that at the first this gift was bestowed miraculously; but afterward by a settled instrumentality, which, in the apostles' times, consisted in prayer and the laying on of hands" (p. 46).

Of these propositions we readily assent to as much as declares that there is a promise of the Holy Ghost peculiar to the Christian covenant, and that it is of a personal nature, being given to every member of the Church. But we can find nothing which amounts to an authority for the supposition that that gift was first bestowed through the peculiar incidents of the day of Pentecost, or that a settled conveyance was found for it through the imposition of the hands of the apostles, accompanied by prayer. It is a question of fact, which can be solved only by reference to the inspired volume; and to that we appeal without fear of contradiction.

Upon the day of Pentecost, as we find in Acts ii., the Holy Ghost was first manifested to those who had gone to Jerusalem from various parts of the earth, for the solemnization of that holy festival—the apostles then being filled with the Holy Ghost, and the miraculous appearances which attended the communication of the Spirit to them being noised abroad, so as to cause the multitude to come together. But there is not one word throughout the whole of the account, which has been handed down to us, to make us suppose that the peculiar gifts of the Spirit, which were to lead men to salvation, were then communicated. The apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost; there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and the Spirit sat upon each of them; and the consequence was, that they began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. It is true, indeed, that antecedently to the removal of our blessed Lord from amongst his disciples, he promised that he would send them the Holy

Ghost, to lead them into all truth, and, by spiritual graces, to prepare them for salvation; that that Holy Spirit should abide with them, to comfort them, and be unto them as a well of water springing up into everlasting life; but there is nothing in the account of the descent of the HOLY GHOST upon the disciples of our Lord, on the day of Pentecost, to make us think that the Holy Ghost was then given for this purpose. If we turn to that account, we shall find St. Peter declaring to the astonished multitude that the manifestation they saw was the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, which declared that, in the last days, God should pour out of his Spirit, to enable his chosen people to prophecy (Act. ii. 16-20); and when, upon the preaching of St. Peter, they, who were assembled, were pricked in their hearts, and besought of the apostle what they should do, we do not find him recommending them to seek a like influence as they had received; but exhorting them to repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ (v. 38). We find, then, a purpose assigned to the descent of the Holy Ghost, which is different from that which is supposed by Mr. Frere to have been answered at that time; and, also, a different channel pointed out for the conveyance of the Spirit, as an abiding Comforter—namely, the sacrament of baptism ordained by our Lord.

The explanation and instruction thus given by the apostle appear reasonable enough, if we suppose that the Holy Ghost was not then given for other than miraculous and extraordinary purposes; but, if we suppose that Holy Spirit to have been then given for ordinary and continuing purposes, as an abiding Comforter, it is absolutely inexplicable. Is it conceivable that St. Peter should have gone into an explanation of the circumstances they witnessed, and have confined his explanation of them to the gift of prophecy and other analogous gifts, if it had been true that the Holy Spirit was thus given for the purpose of conveying the lasting influences of the Gospel covenant? Or is it conceivable that, upon being appealed to by those he addressed as to what they should do, he should have pointed to baptism, and said nothing of the conveyance of the Holy Spirit, for the purposes of salvation by imposition of hands and prayer, had that Holy Spirit been communicated to the apostles themselves at that moment, and it were ordained that it should be so transmitted? It is true that he speaks of the promise being to them and to their children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the LORD OUR GOD shall call, which promise is undoubtedly the promise of the abiding influence of the HOLY SPIRIT. But he does not use this lan-

guage in explanation of what they then witnessed, but in answer to their enquiry what they should do, and in furtherance of the injunction of baptism. "Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: for the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the LORD OUR GOD shall call." And with many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, "Save yourselves from this untoward generation" (Acts ii. 38-40). This was an exhortation in a separate discourse from the former, and only incidentally connected with it, calling upon the house of Israel to come to God: that was the explanation of the occurrence that they witnessed, which was declared to be the communication of the spirit of prophecy, which was to mark the last days, in which it had been promised, that all, who should call on the name of the Lord should be saved (v. 21). That time being come, he preached unto them Jesus as the Lord, who also he declared shed forth that which they saw and heard (verse 33); and, declaring him to be the Lord, on application made by them, he directed them to be baptized in His name that they might be saved, adding that they should, thereupon, receive the necessary gift of the Holy Spirit.

Looking to the 13th chapter of St. John, we find our Lord declaring that his disciples were all clean. This was when he washed their feet. But it was said of them in a spiritual sense, for he added, "but not all"—and this saying is immediately referred to his knowledge of the person who should betray him. If he washed his disciples' feet, and Judas was a disciple, how was it that he used this language, but as to spiritual cleanness? —and with what could his knowledge of the future conduct of Judas be connected, but with that spiritual uncleanness from which his sin proceeded? Again, in the 15th chapter, he tells his disciples:—"Now ye are clean through the Word which I have spoken to you" (verse 3). Further on he says:—"I have chosen and ordained you that you should bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain" (verse 16). In the 17th chapter, when our Lord prayed to his Father to glorify him, he said, "Glorify thy son, that thy son also may glorify thee, as thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him" (verses 1-2). "I have glorified thee on earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do" (verse 4). "I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world—thine they were, and thou gavest them to me; and they have kept thy word (verse 6): and all mine are thine, and thine are

mine; and I am glorified in them" (verse 10). Further on he prays for their preservation from evil, and for their sanctification, and for that also of those who should believe on him, through them, on his sending them forth to the world. This was just before his betrayal. Upon his resurrection, he appeared to his disciples, and said unto them, "Peace be unto you, as my Father sent me, so send I you; and when he had said this he breathed on them, and saith unto them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained" (John xx. 21-23).

From the foregoing passages, it is abundantly plain that the apostles were called and commended to God by our Lord himself, and that, being sanctified through his prayer, they were continued in his favour. Further, also, it is plain that they received a commission from Him to go out into the vineyard, and both this commission and personal grace were bestowed on them previous to the day of Pentecost; and, therefore, it can hardly be supposed that on that day they received first of the Spirit for the purpose of salvation; for they may be said to have been completed in the Lord by his special calling and sanctifying prayer, and confirmed in their calling in that they were sent also by him to others as his ministers: but, as in the case of the people of God, it had been ordained that they should know, by the gift of miraculous powers, when the dispensation was to begin, in which whosoever should call upon God should be saved—so, also, did it please the Almighty to place a mark upon the commencement of the ministry of those who were to preach salvation through Christ; and, until the time pre-ordained should arrive, the apostles were not to attempt anything. Until that time, also, it had been ordained that they should not be endowed with the fulness of power; for, though they received their commission from our Lord, previously to his departure, they were to tarry in Jerusalem until they were endued with power from on high (Luke xxiv. 49: Acts i. 4); and that power was to be communicated by the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which was not to give them those gifts of the Spirit which are generally necessary to salvation, but those gifts which were necessary to the extraordinary ministry to which they were called: and this is evident from what follows immediately after the publication of this injunction, in the first chapter of the Acts: for it is added:—"When they, therefore, were come together, they asked of him, saying, 'Lord wilt thou, at this time, restore again the kingdom to Israel: and he said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or

the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power: but ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth" (Acts i. 6-8).

The powers, then, given to the apostles, by the baptism of the Holy Ghost, were such as were necessary to their office as witnesses of Christ, whose dispensation, as it was new, upon the analogy of other dispensations, required authentication by miracles. When, then, they received the gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, they began to speak with other tongues, and their speaking thus in a language which was foreign to them was the earnest to those that heard them that they must have come from God: for, though some of them mocked (Acts ii. 13), many of them were, on the preaching of St. Peter, resolved of their doubts, so that there were added unto the Church on that day about three thousand souls (Acts ii. 41). God authenticated the claim of the apostles to teach by granting them so to speak that every man, though the multitude came from almost every quarter of the earth, should hear, in his own tongue wherein he was born, the wonderful works of God (verses 8-12). The apostles themselves declared that it was the fulfilment of the prophecy of God as to the bestowal of miraculous powers in these last days; and the people were baptized, in order that they might partake of the covenant which was thus authenticated; but there is no mention of anything to favour the notion that these outward gifts were connected with the ordinary influences of the Spirit, and it is contrary to analogy to suppose it. As in the baptism ordained of Christ, and administered by his disciples, water was set apart, through which to convey spiritual grace—so, in the case of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, fire was appointed as the channel through which miraculous powers were bestowed upon the apostles; and it is no more reasonable to look for other and different effects in the baptism of the apostles by the Holy Ghost, than it is to expect other and different effects in the ordinary baptisms of Christians. The two parts in both are sufficiently plain, and clearly exclude the addition of any other.

If, then, the ordinary graces of the Spirit were not first given to the apostles on the day of Pentecost, but only miraculous powers, it must be obvious, that, from the descent of the Holy Ghost, as then manifested, those ordinary graces are not derived; and, if they be not derived from thence, it may fairly be asked, what reason there is to suppose that they should flow

through a channel analogous to that through which the graces, then bestowed, were conveyed. Mr. Frere does not pretend that miraculous powers are now given by the imposition of the bishop's hands in confirmation, however accompanied by prayer; but that the ordinary graces, which are promised to all Christians, are so conveyed, being derived from the descent of the Holy Ghost, on the day of Pentecost, and transmitted through that channel of old; and that our confirmation is identical with the confirmation of the apostles in all but the extraordinary effects. The argument we have adduced would appear to dispose of this supposition; but we will examine the confirmation of the first Christians, to see whether there is anything to modify the view we have advocated, taking the doctrine of Mr. Frere as a point from whence to start, and comparing it with Scripture.

After some preliminary observations, which abundantly prove that Mr. Frere did not intend to deny a spiritual efficacy to baptism, he goes on to say:—

"Notwithstanding, then, all that may be truly said of baptismal sanctification, it *may* be equally true that the Holy Ghost, the great promise of the Christian covenant, in the sense in which that blessed gift was promised by our Lord to His Church, is not bestowed upon us at baptism, but afterwards; and that this is so I shall now endeavour to show.

"If the first examples may be taken for any guide (and why should they not be taken for a sure guide in such a matter?), we have reason sufficient from the Acts of the Apostles to believe, that upon all who were baptized the apostles afterwards laid their hands with prayer, and that by this means, and not by baptism, the gift of the Holy Ghost was conveyed. St. Peter and St. John seemed to have confirmed the whole city of the Samaritans, both men and women, and to have thus given them the Holy Ghost (Acts viii. 14-17); for we are expressly informed that previously he was "fallen upon none of them, only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus."

"Again, St. Paul finds certain disciples at Ephesus, to whom he puts this question—'Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?' (Acts xix. 2.)—that is (as is made evident by the apostle's subsequent enquiry), since ye professed the Christian faith in baptism. From the question in this instance two things are apparent: first, that the receiving of the Holy Ghost was a common privilege, to which all became entitled at their baptism; and, secondly, that baptism did not convey that privilege. In modern words, the enquiry of the apostle might stand thus, 'Have ye been confirmed since ye were baptized?' For, of their baptism St. Paul makes no doubt or question, though it afterwards appeared that they had not been made partakers even of this initiatory rite. From the whole transaction, as detailed in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, it may be inferred that many persons

were in those times baptized, as the Samaritans had been, without the presence of the apostles, whom the apostles in their circuits visited and confirmed, if that rite had not yet been administered to them, and thus conveyed to them the Holy Ghost. Hence, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul reminds them that the Gospel had been *confirmed* among them by the bestowal of supernatural powers; which confirmation was in order to their final acceptance by the Lord Jesus, who 'should also confirm them unto the end.' (1 Cor. i. 6-8). Hence, too, he appeals to the personal knowledge of the whole Church of the Galatians, and rests the truth of his mission and preaching among them upon this, as an experienced fact, that under and by it they had received the Holy Ghost. In like manner he reminds the Ephesians (Eph. i. 13) that after they believed (that is, had been baptized) they were sealed with the Holy Spirit of Promise (that is, the promised Holy Spirit had been consigned to them in confirmation), whence the rite of confirmation, in ages immediately consequent, went commonly by the name of 'the Seal.' To which may be added the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians; where, desirous of impressing upon them the sacredness of that tie which bound them and himself together in the common relationship of pastor and people, he reminds them of their confirmation (2 Cor. i. 21, 22), when the one Spirit, the basis and origin of unity, had been given to dwell within them. It is God that *confirmed* us together with you (βεβαιῶν ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν) in Christ, having anointed (χρίσας) us by the unction of the Holy Ghost; who sealed (σφραγισάμενος) us, pouring into our heart the earnest of the Spirit. As far, then, as Scripture guides us in this matter, we are fully justified in concluding that, in the very earliest ages of the Church, all who believed were baptized, and not by baptism, but afterwards, and by prayer and imposition of hands, received the gift of the Holy Ghost." (pp. 34-39).

Beginning with the first of our author's quotations, and proceeding with them in the order in which they occur, we shall go about to show that there is no more authority for supposing that the abiding influence of the Holy Spirit, which is said to be personal to us all, was conveyed by the imposition of the apostles' hands, than there is for supposing that to the apostles themselves that blessed gift was conveyed by the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost.

The first of the quotations relied upon by Mr. Frere, for the proof of his argument, is that from Acts viii., which runs as follows:—

"Now when the apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John, who, when they were come down, prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost (for as yet He was fallen upon none of them; only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.) Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost." (verses 14-17.)

Here, undoubtedly, it is said that the Holy Ghost had not fallen upon the converts, nothwithstanding their baptism; and that on the imposition of the apostle's hands, with prayer, they received the Holy Ghost. Our author, throughout his treatise, protests against the too literal interpretation of those phrases, which would, without comparison with others, seem to imply that the Holy Ghost had not been imparted, in any sense, previously to the imposition of hands, with prayer; and, therefore, we need not go into any argument to shew that we must not infer that the Holy Ghost had not, in any sense, been received by the Samaritans, previously to the visit of Peter and John. But we will call his attention to the phraseology of the passage he refers to, and go on afterwards with such observations as the context seems to require. It is said, that, as yet, the Holy Ghost was fallen upon none of them (*οὔπω ἦν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ αυτῶν*)—*ἐπιπεπτωκός*). How does this agree with the promise of our Lord, that the Spirit should be in them (*παρ' ὑμῖν μενεί* present with them at the moment he spoke: *καὶ ἐν ὑμ ῖν ἔσαι* was to be *in* them at the time he spoke of. (John xiv. 17.) *Upon* is not *in*; neither can any ingenuity make it so. And, when afterwards it is said that they received the Holy Ghost (*ἔλάμβανον Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*), it is simply predicated that they received that blessed gift, without any mention of the extent of the reception. There is nothing to make us think it internal. But let us look at the context. What is it which immediately follows? "And when Simon saw that, through laying on of the apostles' hands, the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, 'give me also this power,' that on whomsoever I lay my hands he may receive the Holy Ghost." But Peter said unto him, "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent, therefore, of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if, perhaps, the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee; for I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity!" Then answered Simon, and said—"Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things come upon me"—(verses 18-24). This is a remarkable conversation; and from it we learn that Simon was guilty of sin—of great sin—in seeking the gift of the Holy Spirit by money. But, if the hypothesis of Mr. Frere be true, is it not strange, that the apostle, in reproaching him, should not have made any allusion to the internal conveyance of the Spirit into the souls of men, by the imposition of hands, with prayer? Would it not have been likely, that, in calling him to repent of

his sin, he would have explained to him the whole of his error; not only that he was wrong in supposing that the gift of God was to be purchased with money, but that he was wrong also in confining his observation to the outward manifestation of the Spirit; when, in truth, it was but the sign of an inward and spiritual grace, which was, as a means of salvation, of the greater consequence? This, we say, would have probably been his course, were Mr. Frere's theory correct; but we find nothing amounting to this throughont the whole conversation: why there should be nothing of the sort appears inexplicable, unless we discard the notion that is sought to be fixed upon us.

There is one expression which may require a few words. It is said that Simon saw that, through the laying on of the apostles' hands, the Holy Ghost was given. From this it may be thought that the point we contend for, viz:—that the peculiar presence of the Holy Ghost, which we are taught to suppose shall be in us and abide with us, and through which He is said to come to us as a Comforter, was not given by the imposition of the apostles' hands, with prayer, is settled against us. Mr. Frere, at any rate, will not be so hasty; he is too well acquainted with the language of Scripture to be so easily led away. His words so fully show the error of such a conclusion that we cannot refrain from giving them;—

"The Scriptures, speaking of the Holy Ghost, include under that name all his manifold gifts and wonderful manifestations; the outward and inward gifts are all, and each of them, named by the name of the Spirit. For (as Bishop Jeremy Taylor observes) 'as man's soul, in proportion to the several operations of life, obtains several appellations (it is vegetative and nutritive, sensitive and intellective, according as it operates), so is the Spirit of God. He is the Spirit of regeneration in baptism, of renovation in repentance; the Spirit of love and the Spirit of holy fear; the Searcher of hearts and the Spirit of prayer; in one mystery he illuminates, and in another he feeds us; he begins in one, and finishes and perfects in another. It is the same Spirit working divers operations.' In scriptural language, therefore, the *Spirit may be said to be bestowed, not once only, but frequently—even as often as any of his gifts are given or renewed.*" (pp. 28-29.)

There are no italics in the original; but we have put into that character such of the author's words as touch upon the point we would have noticed—namely, that, though the Holy Ghost be said to be given, that expression must be taken with some qualification, unless we would be said to misinterpret Scripture.

The next instance which we have to examine is taken from Acts. xix. 1-7. The following is the narrative given in that

chapter:—"And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus: and finding certain disciples, he said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied. And all the men were about twelve." From this passage we learn, that, after baptism, and when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came upon these twelve persons. But here again it is not *into* but *upon* them that the Spirit is said to have come; and the only consequence of the Spirit's coming upon them was, so far as we can gather from the words of St. Luke, that they spake with tongues and prophesied (*καὶ ἐπιθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Παύλου τὰς χεῖρας, ἦλθε το Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτους ελάλουν τε γλώσσαις καὶ προεφήτευον*). An account is given of what was the effect of the imposition of hands, in which there is no allusion to the collation of the Holy Ghost for the purpose of indwelling in their persons; and what we would ask is—what right have we to make any addition to that account so as to make it support such an hypothesis?

The remaining part of the argument, addressed by our author to the proof of his point, refers not to instances of confirmation by the apostles, but to expressions that are supposed to allude to the confirmation given by their hands. The first of these is taken from the first chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. St Paul's words are as follows:—"I thank my God, always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ; that in every thing ye are enriched by him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge; even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you: so that ye come behind in no gift; waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord." (v. 4-9). In this passage, St. Paul thanks God that the Corinthians came behind in no gift, so that they might well wait for the coming of our Lord; and he urges upon them this assurance, in that the testimony of Christ

was confirmed in them, and he takes occasion from this to press upon them the faithfulness of God, who had called them unto the fellowship of his Son; but he nowhere says that the testimony of Christ, which was confirmed in them, was that which was to convey to them the inward and abiding presence of the Spirit. We know that the Spirit was to testify of Christ; and we know that, when, by the imposition of the apostles' hands with prayer, the Spirit enabled the newly made Christians to do that which, otherwise, they could not have done, he did testify in the most palpable manner to him. For men were not baptized but upon the command of Christ, and when the apostles conveyed to them the power alluded to, as a privilege attendant on their embracing the religion of Christ, it must be obvious, that the Holy Ghost did testify of him to them. For, as Nicodemus said to our Lord (John iii. 2)—"No man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him"—so, assuredly, the converts to Christianity must have known that, as they received the miraculous gifts that were imparted to them, through the agency of the apostle, and in consequence of their baptism, God must be with them, and must be testifying also to the truth of the faith which they had embraced: for why, otherwise, did they receive the gifts which were bestowed on them? We know, we say, this; and, therefore, see the propriety of the language of St. Paul, in appealing to their confirmation as an earnest of the will of God that they should be saved; but we cannot see in this anything beyond this—nothing, certainly, which amounts to evidence in support of Mr. Frere's theory. There is no expression which can, for a moment, warrant the conlcusion that by the imposition of the apostles' hands with prayer, the Holy Ghost was given in that sense which points to his indwelling in the disciples of Christ, to cause more spiritual influences to spring up, which shall lead us to everlasting life. Nay, St. Paul himself speaks of God as He who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ (ὅς καὶ βεβαιώσει ὑμᾶς ἕως τέλους) who shall *also* confirm you—not who *shall* confirm you—but who *shall also* confirm you unto the end (ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρισοῦ), that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ; or, who shall also confirm you in blamelessness until the day of our Lord, which is the end of your trial. Who shall *also* do it!—therefore, is it something different from what was *then* done. Who shall do what, but that which the Spirit by his abiding power was to do—enlighten and preserve them, even as he had then borne witness, by his miraculous gifts, he was willing to do, which gifts

were an earnest to them: as though he had said, God has called you by baptism; he has witnessed to you, that it is his call that you have listened to, by the miraculous gifts you have received at our hands; and God will also enlighten and preserve you to the end, when, being fully strengthened, you shall be ushered into the joys that are promised you at the coming of Christ.

After the passage which has just been examined, we come to one which asserts that the apostle, in defending his mission to the Galatians, appeals to their personal knowledge, that, under and by it, they had received the Holy Ghost. It is very plain that under the mission of St. Paul they might have received the Holy Ghost, and that in the sense of a personal indwelling, without its being necessary that they should have received that gift at the hands of the apostle, by the peculiar ministration alluded to by Mr. Frere; but there is nothing in the whole epistle which alludes to the imposition of hands as conveying such gifts. The very fullest expression which we can find in it is the following —"He, therefore, that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" (iii. 5)—which question the apostle puts to them, after an argument intended to shew that they received the Spirit, not from the Mosaic covenant, but from the covenant of faith; and, in connecting the question with ministration, he meant to point out to them, that what they could receive from the ministration of the apostles could not be mixed up with Mozaic rites, so as to induce them not to hang upon the law, but upon faith; and, though reference may be supposed to be made to the imposition of hands, there is nothing in this expression to explain the nature of that which was communicated by that rite. But, while there is nothing of that sort, the very chapter, from which this passage is quoted, is not allowed to close without the following language—"Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ . . . . . and if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise"—(verses 26, 27, 29)—which would seem to say, especially in the absence of all allusion to the imposition of hands, that by baptism men were entitled to all the benefits of the new covenant, without any such imposition of hands for the conveyance of grace, provided only, of course, that they walked according to the terms of the covenant.

There are but two more passages for us to examine, and we will be as brief in their examination as possible. The first passage is taken from Ephesians i., in the 13th and 14th verses of

which chapter, we find that St. Paul, speaking of the Ephesians, after they believed (that is, were baptized) "being sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which he also says is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession unto the praise of his glory." But what is there in this to support Mr. Frere? Granting the allusion made to refer to the imposition of hands—for that we do not deny—what is there to imply an inward gift? The sealing was external, and shewn by the miraculous power given them; and that sealing was the earnest that was to encourage them, until the day of the redemption of the Church, until that time when Christ should come to claim his Church (*εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως*) until the redemption of that which was purchased or acquired,—the Church purchased with Christ's blood (*ἐκκλησίαν του Θεοῦ ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*) Acts xx. 28. The earnest of their inheritance, surely, was to be something which they could refer to, such as the miraculous powers they had received: how could they refer to an inward and spiritual grace, which could not be sensibly perceived? The second of these passages is taken from 2 Corinthians i., where St. Paul is found saying:—"Now he which establisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God, who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts" (21, 22). In this passage, is, perhaps, the nearest approach to the doctrine maintained by Mr. Frere; because the earnest of the Spirit is said to be given *in their hearts.* But yet is there in this nothing to his purpose; for it is not said that the earnest or first fruits was given when the apostles laid their hands on the converts to Christianity; and the construction of the passage seems against that supposition.

These are all of Mr. Frere's authorities for this portion of his argument; but they are not all that he might have touched upon: there is one, in particular, which he would do well to consider. We speak of Romans i., 11, in which St. Paul says that he longed to see them, that he might impart to them some spiritual gift, to the end that they may be established. This is generally referred, as probably Mr. Frere well knows, to that imposition of hands of which he is treating. Why should St. Paul say *some* spiritual gift, and not *the* spiritual gift? In the original, the difference between this language and that of St. Peter, on the day of Pentecost, is more strongly marked than in our translation. St. Paul's words are—*ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικὸν, εἰς το ςηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶς.* St. Peter's are,—*λήψεσθε την δωρεαν νου αγίου Πνεύματος* (Acts ii., 38). Why we ask is this difference, but that St. Paul knew that he should only impart to them, by the imposition of his hands, those miraculous powers

which were intended to seal the truth of their calling, and that the gift of the Holy Spirit, in the most emphatic sense of that term, had already been bestowed upon them, contrary to the supposition of our author, in BAPTISM?

It was necessary, for the sustentation of Mr. Frere's theory, that he should deny, that, in the Sacrament of Baptism, the Holy Spirit is given in that sense in which our Lord promised He should dwell in his disciples; because he had taken up the idea that, in the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost upon them on the day of Pentecost, that presence of the Spirit was vouchsafed; and that, by an instrumentality derived thence, and of a nature analogous to it, it was afterwards conveyed, so that, by the imposition of the apostles' hands, the Holy Ghost should be given to the converts of that day, after that prayer should have been addressed to the Almighty to bless the ministration of his servants. The examination that has been bestowed upon the evidence that has been brought forward to support this hypothesis has abundantly shewn that there is really nothing which amounts to an authority for the main positions taken up. We must be satisfied, from the account of the descent of the Holy Ghost, on the day of Pentecost, that there is nothing to make us believe, that, in the peculiar manifestations of that eventful day, the Holy Ghost was given in that sense which Mr. Frere supposes; and it is equally true, that, in the imposition of the hands of the apostles, no conveyance of that peculiar gift is traceable. Why, then, should any other part of his theory be true? If the main position be unfounded, the presumption is against the remainder. But we will offer a few observations to shew that it cannot, consistently with that reverence which is due to Scripture, be denied that the peculiar presence required is given in baptism.

Our author does not deny that the operation of the Spirit in the sacrament of baptism is clearly asserted in more than one passage of Holy Writ (p. 9). But then it is never said, *totidem verbis*, that the *Holy Ghost is given in baptism* (p. 9); and so he imagines he may deny it. On the other hand, he finds it so said of the apostolic rite of confirmation; and, therefore, to that he determines to assign it. Admitting, however, as he does (p. 28 already, quoted) that the Scriptures, speaking of the Holy Ghost, include under that name all his manifold gifts, and wonderful manifestations—and, therefore, that without something of an explanatory nature, the use of that expression might have been ambiguous—it was his duty to have inquired into its meaning more narrowly than he appears to have done: and, had he done so, we do not doubt but that he would have come to an

opposite conclusion. To support this assertion, we will shew why we assign the peculiar gift under consideration to baptism, though we do not find it asserted, *totidem verbis*, instead of to the apostolic rite of imposition of hands—though we do find the expressions relied upon by him connected therewith.

Our Lord, surely, instituted the sacrament of baptism for some good end, and not merely for the purpose of admitting those who might embrace Christianity into the new society: had that been all, any ceremony that might have been declaratory of admission would have been sufficient. The end that appears to have been provided for was spiritual regeneration. Our authority for this is to be found in Scripture. In the conversation held by our Lord with Nicodemus (John iii.), we find the following:—"Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (v. 33); and, upon Nicodemus expressing astonishment at these words, he added—"Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born again." Here was an intimation that a new birth was necessary, and that it would, in some way, be connected with water. Not only were men to be born of the Spirit, but of water and the Spirit. On turning to the institution of the sacrament of baptism, we find it accompanied with a promise of blessing—"Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20). In St. Mark's account of the institution, it is said—"He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned" (xvi. 16): that is, if a man believed, he would be baptized as a sign of his belief, and thereby be brought into a state of salvation; but he would not be brought into that state were his belief is not so expressed: so that losses of the most serious description attended the neglect of this sacrament. By the promise, then, of blessing, and the threat of serious loss, this baptism or washing of water was sanctioned by our Lord. Can we doubt, then, that this was the peculiar ordinance which should vouchsafe the birth of the Spirit, connected, as that birth had been, with water in the conversation with Nicodemus?—or can we wonder that the apostles should administer it with a view to the communication of that blessing? If we doubt this, the words of St. Peter, on the first occasion of the administration of baptism, must dispel our doubts:—"Repent, and be bap-

tized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost" (Acts ii. 38), which connects, as plainly as words can connect, the gift of the Spirit with baptism, or the washing of water.

But Mr. Frere may say—all this is true; but this is not the particular gift of the Spirit of which I am speaking. I deny not that the germ of life is given, out of which the whole may be said to proceed; but it is not by this ordinance that the peculiar presence of the Spirit is vouchsafed, by which He was said to dwell in the first converts to Christianity (pp. 31, 32). It will, therefore, be our business to show that that peculiar gift *was* then given.

Turning to the 14th chapter of St. John, we find our Lord declaring that he was going away to prepare a place for his disciples (verse 2); that he would not, however, leave them comfortless, but that he would come to them (verse 18), and not only that he would come, but another Comforter should come to them (verse 16) after his departure (John xvi. 7); and that he was to abide with them for ever (xiv. 16). This was the Spirit of truth, and he was to be in them (verse 17), and was to guide them into all truth (xvi. 13). When he prayed for his disciples (chap. xvii.), he prayed that God would sanctify them through his truth (verse 17); and he prayed not for them alone, but for them also which should believe on him through their word (verse 20). So that not only they were to be blessed but all after them that through them should be brought to Christ; and they were to be sanctified through the truth of God, of which the Holy Ghost is the Spirit. Now, if we turn again to the Acts of the Apostles, we shall find that all this is referred to by St. Peter: for, no sooner had he called upon them to be baptized in the name of our Lord, and promised them the Spirit, than he added:—"For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."

Now, the question is, what was the promise alluded to? We say it was the indwelling of the Spirit: Mr. Frere would imply that it is not. To decide on this point, we appeal to the words of St. Peter. The promise, whatever it was, was one that was given, not only to them and to their children, but to all that were afar off, even as many as the Lord our God should call. The prophecy of Joel, that God would, in the last days, pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh, and that the sons of His people and their daughters should prophesy—their old men dream dreams, and their young men see visions—and that even upon the servants and handmaids in those days he would pour out

his spirit (Joel ii. 28-29), will not satisfy the description of the apostle: for, not only to them was the promise he alluded to declared to be given—not only to the Gentiles, who are spoken of as afar off—but unto all, even as many as the Lord our God should call; and, assuredly, of those whom God has in his mercy called there are many that do not prophecy—that do not dream dreams (in the spiritual sense of that expression)—that do not see visions. That, therefore, could not have been the promise alluded to. The promise is one in which all, who may come to Christ, are to participate; and such a promise was made in the passages which we have already examined, which speak of the coming of the Spirit to abide in our Lord's disciples, extended by his prayer that not only they, but all that through them should believe in him, should be sanctified through God's truth. Unless we would throw doubt upon the efficacy of our Lord's prayer, or upon the authenticity of the narrative which contains it, we must think that the sanctification spoken of was intended for all that, through the ministration of our Lord's disciples, should come to him; and, what is more, see the promise that is implied in the account given us: and, as we cannot find any other promise that will satisfy the requirements of the language used by St. Peter, in connexion with baptism, on the day of Pentecost, we must conclude that that was the particular promise alluded to; and that the indwelling of the Spirit, for the purpose of sanctification, was that which was to be given, and, in fact, was given by the administration of that sacrament.

We think, then, that we may say, not only that Mr. Frere is in error, in fancying that the peculiar presence by which the Holy Spirit was to dwell in the disciples of our Lord, and sanctify them, was given through the miraculous manifestations of the day of Pentecost, and afterwards conveyed by the imposition of the apostles' hands with prayer; but that there is evidence sufficient to prove that it was given by that ordinance, which he supposes not to be charged with its transmission—the sacrament of baptism. We look upon the miraculous manifestations of that awful moment as the note of the commencement of that dispensation, in which it should come to pass that whosoever should call upon the name of the Lord should be saved; and as the communication, not of the commission of the apostles (for that had been bestowed before), but of the peculiar gifts which were necessary for the fulfilment of their office among people, who would, in a special degree, require to be convinced that they came from God: and we rely upon the tendency of the prophecy quoted in the address of St. Peter

for the justification of the supposition that the manifestations in question were directed to this end. When, however, we come to point out the conveyance of the Holy Spirit for the purpose of the sanctification of our Lord's disciples, we turn to baptism; because, we find other promises alluded to in the reply of St. Peter, to the question of those who were pricked in their hearts by his address, which promises we can nowhere discover but in the passages which speak of sanctification, and because these promises were connected by the apostle himself with that sacrament. The internal evidence of the narrative seems to forbid that we should come to any other conclusion than that the extraordinary manifestations of that moment were exclusively addressed to its extraordinary purposes, and that the ordinary wants of Christians were to be provided for by the ordinary and continuing means of baptism.

But, then, is confirmation nothing? God forbid that we should be thought so to speak. It is, though it be not legitimate to rank it with sacraments, an ordinance full of comfort and assurance to the pious Christian. By it, is it that they, who were baptized in infancy, take upon themselves the vows that were made in their behalf at baptism. By it, is it that they, who are baptized at maturer age, redouble the vows they make in their own persons. By it is it, therefore, that, whether we were baptized sooner or later, most solemn promises of faithful service are made to God; and we cannot believe that such promises can go unblessed, when seriously made, when, moreover, in connexion therewith, blessing is prayed for by the congregation present, and not only by the congregation, but by the highest of Christ's ministers—the bishops. Upon the principle, that to him who hath more shall be given, all discharges of Christian duty must bring down upon us blessing from the Giver of all good gifts. But here is an avowal of service to God—an avowal of the most solemn nature—made after grace given in baptism, in confirmation of vows then made, and for the performance of which vows the grace of baptism was given; an avowal, therefore, which is, in so far as it is sincerely made, a declaration and evidence of the right use of the grace which has been shed upon us; and shall it be without effect in procuring blessing, recommended, moreover, as it is, to the merciful attention of the Almighty by the most solemn prayer? Surely, when we draw nigh unto God, God shall draw nigh unto us: surely, He shall not draw nigh unto us without blessing. Confirmation, then, is no useless ceremony; but a rite which, under any circumstances, has been wisely imposed upon us by the Church. But, when we come to consider

the peculiar circumstances of most of us, it will be found to be not only expedient, but necessary, to observe it.

We have almost all of us been baptized in infancy; and, until confirmation, had no opportunity of openly and solemnly taking upon us the vows that were made for us at baptism. The tenderness of our years prevented our discharging the necessary duty of promising obedience to Christ, when Christ, on his part, promised by his ministers that which was necessary for our sanctification; and, though it was under those circumstances sufficient that others should make this promise for us, we must ratify it, when we are of age, to understand it. We can no longer say that we are unable to do it for ourselves; neither is it, any longer, reasonable that we should be sheltered by that which was done by others. It would be to be ashamed of Christ, to avoid doing it; and the end of this, we know from Scripture, is, that Christ shall be ashamed of us at his future coming. They, then, who would be saved, will discharge this duty—not only will, but must.

Mr. Frere is not insensible to this argument; but then there is something in his mind which impedes the acknowledgment of its sufficiency. He expresses himself in the following language:—

"I can understand a sense in which confirmation, *in the case of persons baptized in infancy*, may be considered as the completion of their baptism; because, if such persons, when arrived at years of discretion, refuse to take upon themselves their vows, or neglect the means which the Church has appointed for that purpose, they must be supposed to forfeit the benefit of the covenant: though, even in that case, it would by no means follow that the sacrament would be nullified, and become of no effect. But, I apprehend, that this only applies to confirmation as practised in the case of persons baptized in infancy, and has nothing to do with that holy rite in its first institution, and in its proper nature" (pp. v. vi.)

As we have no account of the first institution of confirmation, we can from that argue nothing: and the enquiry that has already been made into the proper nature of the rite, as administered by the apostles, forbids our admission of the hypothesis of our author: we then see no reason to be dissatisfied with the statement we have given. We cannot, however, conclude without offering a few observations to Mr. Frere, on the method pursued by him in the examination of his subject, to which, perhaps, more than to anything else, is his error to be attributed.

He has confessedly taken the ordinance of confirmation out of the place which it occupies in the economy of the Church (p. iv.). This he should not have done, as a member of the

Church of England, much more as its minister: he should have supposed that there was reason for the connexion maintained by the Church, unless he could have proved the contrary. He had no right to suppose that there was anything in abeyance (p. v); nor to have brought forward any such supposed matter, in the face of the silence of the Church, without the most ample evidence—evidence such as he has not found. What is he doing in endeavouring to advance his view (p. v), to the place which, he apprehends, it ought properly to occupy (p. v), but condemning the Church? What right has he to its ministrations under such circumstances?

Mr. Frere may have been desirous to show that confirmation was an apostolic institution (p. 47), and not of mere ecclesiastical ordination, and so to elevate it in general estimation. And we know well enough there are too many who think lightly of it, as a mere imitative ceremony; but then the language of our Church is too plain to admit of the supposition, that it was of other than ecclesiastical origin, founded, though it be, upon apostolic practice; and he should have paused before he advanced a contrary theory. Let our author turn to the service of confirmation, and he will find our words amply borne out.

The order of confirmation sets forth, in the preface, that ratification of the baptismal vows for which we have contended; and the bishop, after the reading of that preface, most solemnly questions those who come to be confirmed upon that subject. After the short sentences which follow, the bishop prays thus:

"Almighty and everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins; strengthen them, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness; and fill them, O Lord, with the spirit of thy holy fear, now and for ever. Amen."—*Confirmation Service.*

When he lays his hands upon them, he uses these words:—

"Defend, O Lord, this thy child, (*or this thy servant*), with thy heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for ever; and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until *he* come unto thy everlasting kingdom. Amen."—*Confirmation Service.*

After the Lord's Prayer is ended, the following collect occurs:

"Almighty and everlasting God, who makest us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable unto thy Divine majesty; we make our humble supplications unto thee for these thy servants, upon whom (after the example of thy holy apostles) we have now

laid our hands, to certify them (by this sign) of thy favour and gracious goodness toward them. Let thy fatherly hand, we beseech thee, ever be over them; let thy Holy Spirit ever be with them; and so lead them in the knowledge and obedience of thy word, that in the end they may obtain everlasting life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with thee, and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. Amen."—*Confirmation Service.*

And there is nothing more to be found but what is of a general character.

Now, we shall observe that there is in this a direct admission that the rite is observed—(not in obedience to the institution of Christ or his apostles, but)—after the example of the latter; and this is all which is of a positive nature. Prayer is offered up by the bishop that God would strengthen those who come to him with the Holy Spirit; but he does not say that the Holy Spirit is then given: neither before nor after is any such intimation to be found. Let us compare this with the sacrament of baptism. In the service appointed for that purpose, we find the priest declaring, at the outset, the necessity of regeneration, and praying that God would vouchsafe baptism to the child for that purpose. After that, in his address to the godfathers and godmothers, we find him alluding to the promise of Christ, that he would receive the child brought—release him from his sins—sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, and give him the kingdom of heaven and everlasting life. Before the administration of the sacrament, we find him praying that the gifts of the Spirit may be bestowed on him in connexion with its administration, and declaring that Christ had commanded its use; and, after the rite has been performed, we find him declaring the child *regenerate.* Here is the declaration of a promise given and of a command—obedience to the command, and an intimation that such obedience was effectual; but we see nothing of this in confirmation. There is no promise recorded in that service—no institution—no intimation, before the imposition of hands, to make us suppose that the Holy Ghost should be so conveyed—nor any declaration, after the imposition, to make us believe that that presence was then given; and this striking difference between the services must convince us that confirmation is, in the view of our Church, an imitative rite, serviceable for the purpose avowed in the order for its administration; that it is not administered in compliance with any institution of our Lord, or of his apostles; and that, not being ordained as a channel, and, therefore, not set apart for the communication of any spiritual gift, it cannot be used for the collation of the Holy Ghost, as contended for by our author.

The voice of the Church is against Mr. Frere; had he listened to it, and sought out the evidence there is to support it, he never for a moment could have committed himself to the inadmissible theory which has fallen under observation.

ART. VI.—*Le Chateau de Rambouillet.* PAR LEON GOZLAN. One Vol. 8vo. Bruxelles: Melines, Cans, et Compagnie, 1844.

"THEY order these things better in France," is a saying or a sentiment which may be applied to more subjects than that which elicited the remark from our celebrated Yorick. It is especially applicable to that department of literature which serves to illustrate local history—applicable to the French, not only as compared with ourselves, but when put in contrast with the whole republic of letters. To claim pre-eminence for our lively neighbours as historians would, doubtless, excite the surprise of our readers, as it would indubitably be very wide from the truth. In this light their magnificence of phrase is only equalled by their mendacity of spirit. More unprincipled writers of history never have existed—we may add, never can exist. This want of principle is especially manifest in those French authors who compare their own national annals, with the annals of other countries, or falsify them in order to give greater glory to their own. With a few honourable exceptions this may be said of the entire body of French historians. We would as soon pin our faith upon the venerable Munchausen as upon the majority of these historical fiction-weavers; and we can fancy that, when old Sir Robert Walpole told his auscultant Horace that he loved to read history because it was not true, the witty minister was thinking of the "Memoires pour Servir" of his own day—works which, exuberantly fanciful as they were, were also less mendacious than the republican histories, and annals of the consulate, which have been deliberately forged in these our more purified times. An historian has no more business with prejudices than an operating surgeon has with timidity of feeling. As, in the latter case, the professor may possibly kill his patient and injure his own reputation, so in the former he is sure to spoil his subject, and bruise his own character. How many subjects have been marred, and characters tarnished, in historical works and historical authors over the channel, we are not called upon here, either to enquire into, or enumerate. The fact itself cannot be disputed. We may not be immaculate

in England; but we are not so desperately regardless of the unities as our good brethren of France: we have not their majestic contempt for propriety and decency; nor do we so contemptuously plant our heel upon probability, and crush it, for the sake of perverting the truth. And strange to say, we are the more honourable writers, because less jealous and quick of honour. We are not ashamed to record our few-and-far-between defeats, nor anxious to sing of our triumphs in the vein of King Cambyses. Like Antony, we "only speak right on;" and, in detailing the dread glories of Waterloo, Trafalgar, or the Nile, why, to parody the great triumvir's phrase "we tell the French that which they well do know." The point of honour with the latter, however, is to exalt their nation at all hazards. Thus, their defeats are invariably converted into triumphs, and their triumphs rendered doubtful or irrecognizable by exaggeration. Of honest Glendower's recommendation to his fiery cousin, to "tell truth and shame the devil," they know nothing. Rather than stoutly confess to a defeat they will deliberately perpetrate a falsehood—their national honour is so dear to them that they will preserve it by a lie. Thus, in striving to defend one treasure, they lose something more precious still—they cast away the honour that was their own, without being able to hide the mischances, not to say the disgraces, of their country—in short, they write huge political pamphlets to foster prejudices, and not grave histories to illustrate philosophy teaching by example. In the mean time, they vaunt of their laborious research after facts, as proof of their anxiety for truth. It was in much the same fashion that the good old Scotch lady went abroad and stole a Bible, in her anxiety to become religious. The French with their facts, and our anile friend with her book, are in much the same predicament—they set out in a mistaken spirit to seek that which is valuable, and which, when acquired, they know not how to employ.

But it is in a department of history, and a class of historical works peculiar to France, that the writers of that country exhibit an unsurpassable degree of amusing talent. If they are unequal to sum up historical evidence with the grace and skill of judges, they are inimitable in deposing as witnesses. To show motives rather than trace them backward from their consequences—to give graphic sketches of causes rather than eloquent descriptions of effects—to write dramatic scenes rather than historical chapters: all this is the *forte* of French authors; and it is exactly in this department that our countrymen fail, or, at least, never soar beyond a respectable mediocrity. Our

neighbours have been for some time occupied in writing histories of all their royal residences, and we have no doubt that they will be followed by similar works upon episcopal palaces. Such works, in the hands of any of our own authors, would be one of two things, neither of which is worth much—viz.: mere, inoffensive, unsatisfactory guide books—or romances, in which truth and fiction are brayed together in one mortar to the confusion of both. The illustrators on the other side of the channel effect a magic of quite another nature. They take their particular palace as a text, and their discourse, therefore, is one of the most exquisitely entertaining and instructive lectures imaginable: for, what is their process? They leave the laborious trifles that make up the sum of guide-book descriptions to be sought for elsewhere. They eschew mere measurements of galleries, heights of walls, depths of fosses, and lengths of terraces to those who may choose to make them. They give over cataloguing chairs to the upholders, and abandon silver candlesticks to those who follow the profession of Moliére's *Monsieur Josse:* but, in return for the sacrifice of these dull details, they reward you with ample compensation. They plant their edifice grand and immoveable before the mind's eye of their intelligent readers. By the waving of a wand, as it were, the mental vision is conscious at a glance of external effect and internal arrangement. A few paragraphs, in which every sentence has the worth of a chapter, are uttered by way of symphony, while we contemplate the scene, and the stage is yet unpeopled; and then ensues the diversified drama to a harmonious prologue. The history of the structure becomes then the mirror of the time of its existence: the races who have inhabited it are reproduced in scenes of thrilling interest. They have no genealogical tables, but we know their descent through our own sympathies with them; and their shields of arms are registered in the mental heraldry of the brain. The clouds that have lowered above their house—the sunshine that has made its walls glad—the deeds that have damned it to immortal infamy, or blessed it with immortal fame—the storms that have threatened it, and the shocks that it has withstood—the stern rule of its sons, and the soft influences of its daughters—are all woven into one narrative with such rare skill as to leave an impression that in a single volume, we have not only perused a very charming *resumé* of the history of France, but that we have had that history made intelligible where it before was dark, and that, in a few anecdotical scenes, we have solved half the riddles that have perplexed us in scores of heavy volumes. In this way, an entire, and a novel, course of

French history may be had in the unpretending *brochures* devoted to descriptions of French palaces. At first, indeed, the study of these attractive *tomes* may appear somewhat desultory, and partaking of the nature of light reading; but let no man be dismayed at the facilities that invite him to grow rich in knowledge. Every pearl is worth its price, however scattered they may be among the old palaces of France. It is far from Versailles to Compeigne, Fontainbleau, Chambord, Rambouillet, Chantilly, and the other strongholds erect, or shattered, of living or defunct greatness. But in these pages we travel as enchanted princes are wont to do in eastern story, and he who is content to do so may, at small cost, and equally small outlay of time, become familiar with nearly all that is worth knowing of feudal times, baronial power, royal magnificence, revolutions, restorations, intrigues, exploits, the crown, the aristocracy, the people, and the Church of *la belle France.*

We need not ask if we have anything resembling this in English literature? We have not; but we are fertile in subjects, and rich in the class of men, who could fittingly illustrate them, if they would. What *has* been done towards such illustration is a disgraceful caricature. The Tower, St. James's Palace, and Windsor Castle have each had their well-known pictorial historian. Mr. Ainsworth, however, merely gives a single episode from history, wraps it up in fiction, and circulates it, with the aid of George Cruikshank, among literary societies and novelist reading clubs. We do not know whether it be an advantage to the author; but it is certain that none of Mr. Ainsworth's stories ever keep their hold upon the reader's memory. They are therefore always new, but then they are always worthless also. We feel no interest in his personages, and gain no knowledge of any value from being told of their whereabout. How should it be otherwise? His very nobles of the olden time are but *Jack Sheppard* in trunk hose: while a little powder on the nose, and a clerical wig upon the bullet-head of the redoubted *Blueskin*, converts the murdering burglar into a decent archbishop!

It would be a noble and a national work to illustrate, fittingly, the royal residences of England—whether those which have crumbled into dust over the graves of their ancient proprietors, or those which yet stand, and, as far as our memories will aid us, connect us who live now with a long line of by-gone ancestry and past events; making our deeds the sequences of ancient precedents; and enabling us to extend our hand into the deep obscurity where dwell the myriads, who, in Purcell's phrase, otherwise applied, have been "down among the dead men," centuries ago.

The ruined fragments of royal castles, which lie scattered about the land, are at present little better than sealed books, wherein repose a world of mysteries revealed, if we had but the courage to study them. Properly treated, these ruins might be made to explain whole years of actions, of which we know that such actions *were*, but know not wherefore. Half a dozen authors, who now derive tolerably handsome incomes by writing elegant trifles in monthly magazines, would suffice, with application, patient research, and good intentions, to give a new light to half the obscurities of history. Mere popular sketches, founded upon authorities which exist in public offices, private families, and national museums, would give eloquence to a host of frowning ruins, whose gloominess may be well imagined to arise from the weight of secrets which they have upon their minds, and from which they would leap with joy to be delivered. It is true that works, however brief, requiring time, toil, and courage to bring to perfection, must necessarily, in their authors, be commensurately rewarded; but the outlay would enjoy a recompence of manifold return; for who would not purchase the autobiographies of walls behind which deeds have been done that have moved an universe?

It may be objected by some that they are already acquainted with the actions which have conferred a notoriety, diversely hard, upon such places as "bloody Pomfret," devastated Nottingham, fallen Fotheringay, tottering Newark, and retiring Clarendon. But it is nothing to know, that the ill-fated Plantaganet perished in one castle, and that she who has been christened the She-wolf of France, dallied with the gentle Mortimer in another; that Lackland, with poison in his throat, fever in his blood, and madness in his brain, fell struggling with faint ferocity against Death at Newark; that Mary was murdered at Fotheringay, and that the famous "Constitutions" were framed at Clarendon. All these are but simple incidents in respective works, which, if they were executed like that of Mr. Leon Gozlan, now before us, would be complete histories, as far as they went, of feudal times, baronial power, royal magnificence, revolutions, restorations, intrigues, exploits, the crown, the aristocracy, the people, and the Church in "Merrie England."

We need not remind our readers of the brilliant outline of history that might be drawn, were a skilful hand to attempt the portraiture of the Tower of London or Windsor Castle. An author's success would be ensured by patience of research, clearness of intellect to arrange, and promptness of judgment to decide. What episodes, what autobiographies, what a re-

vealing of hitherto hidden secrets, would offer themselves to one capable of availing himself of the treasures now undiscovered in a mine, for the mere want of working! Every such work would be a new chapter in English history—a clearing away of old errors—giving meaning to old incomprehensibilities—and an establishing of new but incontrovertible truths. The real history of England has yet to be written; and the materials for it lie, not among the mere public records, which every writer pillages in his turn, and colours according to his prejudices, but among the masses of private papers which encumber the iron chests of many a nobleman's record room. The springs of history are not to be found in the lives of its heroes alone, but in the sufferings of its victims also.

And if general history would profit by such a method of illustration, so equally would ecclesiastical history, could a man of courage and capacity be found to undertake the task. We have a dry and not altogether useless series of episcopal biographies, arranged under the respective dioceses; but these are little more than mere records of dates and strings of incidents, nine-tenths of which are valueless. They mark a birth, fix the transitions from home to a public school, from a public school to the university, and from *alma mater* to the bishop's examining chaplain. They tell of a curacy obtained, a private tutorship "following hard upon;" a living succeeded to in consequence, and the episcopacy finally reached through various gradations of deaneries or archdiaconates. Then, perhaps, ensues a chronicle the very antipodes of the graphic and merry one of Jocelin de Brekilond, who, to our great edification and intense amusement, wisely and gaily, in the twelfth century, as he himself says, took "in hand to record those things which in our days have come to pass in the church of St. Edmund, even from that year when the Flemings were taken without the town, at which time I took upon me the religious habit; being the same year wherein Hugh the prior was deposed, and Robert made prior in his stead. I have mingled in my narration some evil things, to serve as a warning; and some good things, for the sake of experience." Far different from this, in spirit and design, are the few episcopal chronicles of latter years, and at which our literature may rather be sorrowful, than of them loudly boast. In those of which we have knowledge, or touching which our memories will serve us, the space between the two inductions to the mitre and the grave is filled up with magnified nothings, of no value, as the advertisements say, to any but the owner: they are certainly worthless to the public.

Our episcopal residences, and the records connected with them, furnish, or could be made to furnish, fine materials

towards the ecclesiastical history of England. If Windsor and the Tower are capable of furnishing a new reading to many pages of our national annals, so are Lambeth and York of giving fresh lustre to our Church records; and this not so much in the mere lives of the archbishops, as in a description of their residences—a new peopling of the old walls with the crowds who have passed behind them in innocency or guilt, and whose presence there has had some influence, transitory or permanent, on the fate and fortunes of the Church. Even some of our streets, discreetly walked and closely studied, with all proper means and appliances to boot, are rich in details that but await classification to acquire value. In Aldersgate-street, for instance, the very stones may be said to be vocal with the resounding memories of the nobles in the State and the dignified in the Church who once made it their *Sirmio*. Still more eloquent is the Strand. From one extremity to the other—from "Charing vyllage" to St. Clement's Danes—it is continually offering rich fragments, each an epitome of a chapter in the Church history of bygone times. Here Northumberland-house reminds one that it stands where it does, through wrong done to the hospital and chapel of St. Mary Roncevalle; and its opposite neighbour, St. Martin's, can tell volumes of anecdotes of the hard words and hard blows which used to pass between the abbot and convent of St. Peter's, Westminster, and the corporate officers of London, touching the jurisdiction of the Church. The title-deeds of Hungerford-market would, we doubt not, give a clue to a world of interesting matter concerning the old "inne of the Byschoffe of Norwyche," which once occupied a portion of its site. York-buildings, in their erection, have not annihilated the old records of Heath, Archbishop of York, who, in Queen Mary's fearful days, had his palace here, which Toby Matthew, an archbishop of James's peaceful reign, exchanged with the crown, for divers fertile manors in its stead. The very history of the ground occupied by the episcopal mansion and gardens is a reflection of that of the nation at large. When the law was chief of all professions, the heads of legality, the Chancellors Egerton and Bacon, resided here. When favouritism infested the court and ruined England, the property was given to the first of favourites, Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. When royal favourites fell before the passion for popular idols, then we find the "Croysado general," Fairfax, inheritor of this classid ground—the man whom Cleveland distinguishes as a "babe of grace in his politic capacity, regenerated *ab extra* by the zeal of the house he sat in, as chickens are hatched at Grand Cairo, by the adoption of an oven." When crown and populace become reconciled, the marriage of Fairfax's daughter with George

Villiers caused a restoration, in miniature, not unlike that which had taken place, on a more extended scale, of the crown and kingdom. The then present proprietor was all in character with the times; for when profligacy was rampant, and a moral plague smote the people more heavily than the physical scourge that had preceded it, then he, the prince of profligates—a man eminent for being "gentlemanlike in his vices"—here held his court, and maintained a state whose history is familiar to most general readers. Lastly, with the revolution at large occurred a revolution in the Strand. James II. abdicated his crown, and Buckingham alienated his territory. The former fell to those who knew how to maintain its dignity; and the latter, including the trim gardens, where archbishops were once used to seek leisure, learned chancellors to find relaxation, and *blasé* nobles to rest from debauchery, is now divided between those distinct classes of her Majesty's liege subjects who spend their little and troubled days in *George*-street, *Villiers*-street, *Duke*-street, *Of*-alley, and *Buckingham*-street. In all these apparently trifling details there is a rough but rich ore, out of which clever men, like the annalist of Rambouillet, would coin the sterling and current money of history.

And so would the same ingenious person form a rich chapter even out of that once unsavoury locality of the Strand, called Durham-yard. And well he might; for what stern and stirring memories cling to the now desecrated ground where the ancient patriarch of Jerusalem, in the first Edward's days, raised a mansion for the houseless Bishops of Durham; where, on its conversion to a royal palace, the Princess Elizabeth stumbled over Greek, strummed her harpsichord, and calmly contemplated the greatness which was awaiting her from afar; where tournaments were held which made the universal world's tongue wag with excitement; and where the ambitious Seymour, in founding a private mint whereby to reach the throne, mistook his way, and reached the scaffold—failing to endure the inflictions of a crown, and suffering in himself the ignoble death of a coiner. In short, Durham-yard, and its co-locality of the Adelphi, would give matter to pages of rich moral illustration, had it no other souvenir to boast of than that of the magnificent and mad melancholy of the triple marriage which was celebrated here on the same day—namely, the great Northumberland's son, Lord Guildford Dudley, with Lady Jane Grey; Lady Jane's sister, Catherine, with Lord Herbert, heir to the Pembrokes; and Northumberland's youngest daughter, Catherine Dudley, with Lord Hastings, son to the Earl of Huntingdon. Out of these memories, and the further one, that Walter Raleigh lived, moved, and had his

being within the same walls, many an elucidation of dark points in history might be obtained by an unwearied searcher. The memories of what had been acted might lead a patient writer of historical episodes to the very materials for the perfect treating of them. Where such materials are to be found we have already intimated.

But we must not weary our readers with tracing out the fertility of the Strand in historical matters bearing upon our Church and general history. We are compelled to direct their attention to other matters, and of other lands; yet, ere we finally pass over to the reminiscences of Rambouillet, be it permitted to us to briefly notice, in conclusion, of the Strand, that the Bishops of Carlisle had originally a town house on the site of the present Beaufort-buildings. The mansion, which was pulled down by one of the Dukes of Beaufort, in order to erect the present edifices, had been previously the residence of the great Clarendon, and continued so till his removal to a more splendid residence, which extended from the top of St. James's-street to the yet existing Clarendon Hotel. The great earl is said to have paid for his mansion in the Strand, the then exorbitantly-extravagant sum of five hundred pounds a-year! Lord Castlereagh gave as much monthly for his lodgings in Vienna, during the congress. We believe we do no wrong to either statesman by adding, that, extravagant as was the outlay, the peculiar services rendered by each, in difficult and different circumstances, were so liberally rewarded as to very well enable them to pay after what is more jocosely than correctly called the fashion of princes.

To these fast-perishing memories of the past we direct the attention of our popular writers. The best of them are now occupied in teaching the lower classes to suspect, hate, and finally rise against the aristocracy. We could name many a favourite fiction, whose moral inculcates the advantages to be derived from a social rebellion; but to do so would only be to aid in rendering notorious that which acquires an increase of mischievous vigour in exact proportion as it becomes more extensively read, and universally known. We prefer hinting to the authors of these pseudo-sentimental volumes that their talents are misapplied, and that they might learn, from Mr. Leon Gozlan's example, to become, from dangerous though seductive story-tellers, highly useful and still more attractive "historiette-graphers."

To the particular production of the author we have just named, and the title of which we have placed at the head of this paper, we must now turn, in order to gain for it from our readers

that share of interest which it pre-eminently merits. We have already intimated that the author has so arranged his scattered records of Rambouillet as, out of them, to produce something very like a genuine history of France. We certainly know many a ponderous history that might be perused with both less profit and less patience. We have not space to reproduce what we fain *would* do—a diminished sketch of the great original. We have room but to produce portions whereby a judgment may be formed of the whole. We may just explain generally in what way Rambouillet can be made to reflect the nation's history. It commenced by being a feudal residence, rose to be royal, sank into a republican possession, and stands humbly now the property of a citizen. This is, in fact, an outline of the annals of France, whose nobles were once her kings, whose kings strangled nobility and concentrated the tyrannical sins and ignorances of many beneath the crown of one, who endured the deadly pressure of a republican proprietorship, and who is now subdued to the uncrowned governance of a "citizen Ulysses." In all the great political changes of the nation, Rambouillet greatly participated; in all its social transitions it was the source of changes—the stage where the great minds that tuned the popular voice both rehearsed and represented their parts. If it has been fatal to French royalty it has been the exact contrary to the French language: for the *Precieuses*, the euphuists of English history, here met, and stripped their mother tongue of its barbarisms, albeit with a mixture of folly in their wisdom, which brought down upon them an avalanche of ridicule from the satirical genius of Molière.

The feudal story of Rambouillet is, it must be confessed, of little interest compared with its records of royal and imperial sovereignty. There is something especially sombre in its souvenirs of monarchy. It has been, by turns, the refuge, prison, and the death-bed of kings. A king's foot never touched its threshold but misfortune trod at his side; its royal annals commence their melancholy memorials with the story of a dying monarch; and they close the gloomy line with that of a deposed one; and many a tale of regal suffering marks the intervening pages of a volume which so opens and so concludes. Here Francis I. died like a dog, and hence Charles X. was driven with something of the scanty ceremony which is a dog's award. Some of the scenes connected with these passages in royal lives are full of interest and instruction. That of the death-bed of Francis (who was brought there by a disease, over the well-known origin of which no periphrase of expression could cast a veil) is especially interesting; but, with its minute details of

ceremonies attendant on the now living, now dying, and now defunct sovereign, it is too long for extract. A few of its details, however, may be novel to the majority of our readers. The following extraordinary ceremony will, we have no doubt, be entirely new to them:—

"In front of the bed was erected an altar covered with an embroidered cloth, on which stood two gold candlesticks, each bearing two lights of white wax. The cardinals, prelates, lords, gentlemen and officers, whose duty it was to keep watch, were stationed around the *catafalque*, seated on chairs of cloth of gold. During the eleven days that the ceremony lasted, the strictest etiquette of service was observed about the king, as if he had become a living monarch in the presence of his court. His table was regularly laid out for dinner by the side of his bed; a cardinal blessed the food; a gentleman in waiting presented the ewer to the figure of the dead king; another offered him the cup mantling with wine; a third wiped his lips and fingers. These functions, with many others, took place by the solemn and subdued light of the funeral torches."

The after part of the ceremony was conducted with a much increased splendour, until the royal body was transported from Rambouillet to Notre-Dame, where the funeral obsequies were performed with a magnificence, the mere reading of which has dazzled our mental vision. Its gorgeousness we cannot attempt to describe; but one curious circumstance attended it that is not undeserving of notice. The ambassadors of the pope and the emperor, and also those from England, Scotland, Venice, Ferrara, and Mantua, were present in the procession, each conducted by a prelate on horseback. The expression is rather ambiguous; but, if the bishop of Macon (from whom M. Gozlan borrows the details) means thereby that the ambassadors were on foot (as we believe), and the priests on horseback, it will look less like the Romish Church doing honours to the lay dignitaries of Romish states, than the representatives of popish kings humbly walking by the stirrup-leathers of Popish prelates!

The ceremony, of course, did not terminate without a panegyric. Nay, it did not terminate without two. Pierre du Chatel, the bishop to whom we have just alluded, was commissioned by the court to go through the duties of public orator. From what he said, we may in some sort judge of the immense distance between the preachers of the sixteenth and those of the seventeenth century; between du Chatel, bishop of Macon, and Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. Among many fragments of this funeral sermon, we will quote the passage in which Francis I. is judged by the panegyrist as the restorer of letters in France;—

"Oh letters!—let me address myself a little to you; for it is yours to acknowledge the great benefits and the great honours that you received from him. Yea, if by all sorts of writing he be not perpetually celebrated and exalted, what will be said of you who are the mistresses and preceptresses of honest and liberal life, but that you must be henceforward esteemed as villainous and ungrateful? From his liberality accrued vast adornment and increase of riches to his kingdom. For he caused to be cast, purchased, and sought after all the excellent works of ancient statues and images through which the memory of antiquity is yet preserved. He did the same for the most exquisite pictures, and he was, in his own kingdom, the restorer of statuary, sculpture, and painting. Such an affection had he for study, and such a desire for knowledge, that from his early youth upwards he never ceased from having the Scriptures read to him, from having histories translated, and from maintaining controversies at his table, when drinking and eating, or at his bed-side, morning and evening, upon subjects connected with the most difficult portions of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew erudition. In the first place, he knew and spoke the French language better than any man living in his dominions—better than any man with whom he ever held converse did he know the chorography and the cosmography of the world in general, and his own kingdom in particular. So much did he know of philosophy, whether disputative, moral, political, or natural, that the most learned man in the universe did not know a jot more than he. In mathematics, his judgment was so great, in the fit selection of localities for their points of sight, and the perspective—in the structure of buildings, in the fortifying of places, and in the construction of all sorts of machines and engines of artillery—that there never breathed a man who could be compared with him. His eloquence was so miraculous that there never was in his own time, nor will there be, I should imagine, in ours, any one who could approach him. From what he has left in manuscript of French poetry, you may assure yourselves that for richness and grandeur of invention, for gravity and magnificence of style, for dignity and majesty of utterance, we have nothing, nor can Greece or Rome produce anything that can surpass it."

Such is a specimen of the clerical oratory of the "piping times" of Francis I. We regret that we cannot give in equal detail an account of the unparalleled splendour that marked the occasion on which this very smooth and flattering speech was delivered. Two centuries and a half did the gallant but dissolute monarch rest undisturbed in the royal vault at St. Denis; but at last the hour came when he and his kin were torn from it by rude hands, and tossed into a common trench—left to rot, upon an equality with the remains of all that was royal and heroic in France—condemned to suffer the same indignity. The myrmidons of the republican butchers, when they desecrated, despoiled, and devastated the ancient and royal cathedral, had immense difficulty in discovering the vault where

the bones of the dead king were immured. Their fixed determination, however, to succeed, no doubt secured the result they desired; and, after days of research, the pickaxes of the burglars suddenly split open the entrance into the narrow mansion of departed royalty. By the side of the hero of Pavia slept five other tranquil figures of once-breathing greatness, viz.: Louise of Savoy, the king's mother; his young wife, Claude; his youthful son, the Dauphin, and his sister and brother, Charlotte and Charles of Orleans. It is not our task here to speak of the unworthy treatment to which all that was mortal of those who had been in their day all powerful was subjected; the conduct of Shakespeare's grave-diggers to the skull of the king's jester was profound reverence compared with the fanaticism of the revolutionary resurrectionists towards the bodies of even their most popular monarchs. Nor is this the only contrast we could point out. Considering the pains which had been taken to preserve the bodies of those exalted personages from the ravages of corruption, the result did little credit to the cunning of the embalmers. The whole of these bodies, we are told by a contemporary writer, were in a state of decomposition amounting to liquid putrefaction, from which arose a most insupportable stench. Whilst they were being conveyed to the cemetery of Valois, the coffins dripped a fetid, black liquid, which exuded from the lead. It was remarked, on this occasion, that the body of Francis was of an extraordinary size and strength of structure; one of the femoral bones, we are assured, measured twenty inches from the condyles to the summit of the bone; and yet strong, stout, and stalwart as was the monarch, one of his "pleasant vices" was strong enough to be the weapon that should, and did, break down the constitution that, humanly speaking, possessed enough of natural vigour, ere it was abused, to have bidden defiance to time for another half century.

To return to Rambouillet—there were two events of immense importance to France which, at the interval of 1588 and 1830, cast their shadows over the locality ominous to kings. M. de Gozlan well says that, in reading of the revolution of 1588, in its connection with Rambouillet, it will be well if the reader do not forget that he has before him a passage in the history of Henry III., and not one in that of the last Bourbon of the the elder branch.

And in good truth there does exist an almost marvellous resemblance in the incidents of the two epochs. It was on a May evening of the former year, that Henry III. in a miserable vehicle, and attended by a suite more miserable still, knocked

at the gates of Jean d'Angennes, Seigneur de Rambouillet. It was a summons intimating that the summoner was no longer King of France. If we were to enter into a full detail of what brought him there, the scenes that preceded his fall, and followed him, as he hawked his powerless royalty about from one great town to another, we should greatly extend the space we are allowed thus humbly to employ: suffice it to say, that the revolt which drove him from Paris was the very model for that which forced Charles X. to the same refuge sought by the third Henry. The former king set out, we believe, without making any public manifestation of his feelings—the latter, however, could not so well conceal his sufferings: he did not leave Paris without giving it a farewell look, like the glance cast by the flying Moor over the Grenada which he had lost for ever. It was in the gardens of the Tuilleries that this explosion of sentiment occured; there the king burst into tears, and, apostrophizing Paris, exclaimed, "Oh, ungrateful city, I loved you better than my own wife!"—which was unquestionably true.

The state of parties at this period is briefly but lucidly described by our author. To make it intelligible, it is only necessary to remind our readers that the Duc de Guise was in Paris, at the head of a great portion of the nobility, the whole of the citizens, and the braver part of the army. "What was the Duke's intention?" enquires Mr. Gozlan: and thus replies to his own question:—

"Apparently, his intention was to revenge his father, and, in concert with his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, exterminate such Protestants as had survived the Saint Bartholomew. In reality, however, his design was to reign in the place of Henry III., and he might have done so, if his will had not failed him at the period of the King's flight to Chartres, and up to the assembling of the states at Amboise. Without this ambition, too lofty for an ordinary partizan chief, but natural to a Guise, the member of a sovereign house, it is impossible to divine the motive of his actions, however largely it may be declared to have partaken of religious fanaticism; for after all, and notwithstanding his monstrous libertine excesses, Henry was as Catholic, apostolic, and Roman as the Duc de Guise himself. If, at the commencement of his reign, he distributed liberty wholesale to the Protestants, he subsequently knew how to withdraw it from them by retail, and in such a fashion, too, as to bring down curses on his first generosity; and to satisfy his cousin De Guise upon his good intentions towards the Catholics. The fact is that religion was not the foundation of their hatred. The Guises wished to reign in France, and the Valois were well aware of it. The two parties played a comedy which gradually assumed a melodramatic form."

The author might have added that it concluded after the

manner of tragedy, seeing that both the Duke and the Cardinal were assassinated before the expiration of the year which had seen Henry a fugitive at Rambouillet, laughing and crying at his own distresses, and ridiculing the appearance of the mounted noblemen in his suite; one of whom, D'Espagne, is recorded as riding a rosinante, with a single wooden peg in his boot, and which had been hurriedly cut for him, to do the service of a spur, by Madame de Fréluc, a few minutes before the general flight from the Tuilleries.

After the lapse of hard upon two centuries and a half, Rambouillet received another legitimate king, whose ignorance robbed him of a crown, and whose precipitancy stripped him of the chance of ever recovering it. At eight o'clock in the evening of the last of the three glorious days, the Prince de Polignac, the cause of all the evil, rushed into the palace, pale, weary and dying of exhaustion. A glass of water and a crust of bread were a ll thathe could obtain, fortified but poorly with which he rushed forth again, fleeing to the seashores of France which he was destined not to leave until he had passed through the ordeal of capture, judgment, and a dungeon. In less than two brief hours after his departure Charles X., an affrighted king, with a terrified suite, sought a resting-place and food under the same roof. The horrible memories of the first revolution were knocking loudly at the old monarch's heart, and it is matter of little surprise that, after riding hard to escape the sons of the butchers who had slain his own kinsmen, we see him in the halls of Rambouillet covered with dust, dropping tears like rain, and humbly begging food for the two "Children of France," the son and daughter of his own beloved child the Duc de Berry. It was with immense difficulty that the humble monarch could be satisfied; many of the soldiers, who had remained faithful to their flag, and continued to follow the last of the Bourbons, were compelled to desertion through hunger, before which loyalty fainted. To preserve his own family and himself from perishing, the King of France, in one of his own palaces, was driven to sell his service of plate ere he could obtain bread!

Twelve thousand men, however, still remained, a rampart of unavailable fidelity, to protect the last wrecks of a long line of kings. The force was quite sufficient to have changed the fortunes of the adverse parties, had there been decision, promptitude, and energy on the royal side, instead of doubt, wavering, and weakness. But the king's fears were craftily worked upon by the commissioners of the provisional government in Paris who terrified him with insinuations against the fidelity of his

own guard, who menaced him with a visitation from eighty thousand of the Paris mob, which was then declared to be on their road from the capital, for purposes of not less atrocity than that evinced by their fathers, when they dragged Louis XV. from Versailles, and escorted him to the metropolis under a body of pike bearers, each of whom carried the gory head of one of the king's guard at the end of his weapon. Under the influence of outward threats and inward fears, the royal family yielded to a pressure they could not resist. The king abdicated, and the dauphin renounced the crown in favour of the Duke of Bordeaux, whose inheritance was not made the more secure on that account; and thus, in one day, three kings may be said to have lost their crown, without daring, even for an instant, to dispute the victory with a popular phantom, which would have been annihilated, had the feeblest portion of the formidable means of resistance at their disposal been called into action by the friends of the monarchy. The boasted mob of one hundred and fifty thousand did not, in reality, exceed twelve hundred; among whom were an immense number of children; and of the whole not one tenth part were armed. But the object of the revolutionisers was obtained; and the fugitive Bourbons, with their attendants, occupying six carriages, passed, for the last time, beneath the gates of Rambouillet, with all the melancholy solemnity of a funeral procession. So had departed Henry III. —so, in 1814, had passed, in sorrow, Marie Louise and the King of Rome—so had crossed from greatness to exile, in 1815, the modern Cæsar, Napoleon. M. Gozlan very aptly remarks that the Palace of Rambouillet may be considered as a funereal triumphal arch, beneath which the overthrown monarchies of France are compelled to take their way. It is (says he) the first quarters of a royal progress into exile. Of the imperial episode, we cannot forbear from making the following extracts, the greater portion of which will, doubtless, be novel to our readers. The whole narrative forms a fine illustration of the maxim, that "Man proposes, but God disposes." So Napoleon proposed to found an empire that should be more extensive than that of Charlemagne—more gorgeous than the Eastern Caliphate—more despotic than that of long invincible Rome. Even so he proposed, but the breath of God passed through the clouds of Russia—dissolved the visionary fabric to leave no trace behind—save, perhaps, in the brain of some mad republican, or insane Bonapartist, eager to resume the old dream of first subjugating England, and, through England, the world.

M. Gozlan informs us that imagination would have difficulty in realizing the fright, tumult, and confusion that accompanied

the passage of the Empress Marie Louise and the little King of Rome, that youthful monarch of shreds and patches, on their flight from the Tuilleries to Rambouillet, on the 27th March, 1814. Amid a thousand currents of hostile fire, it was the sole and narrow road, pallisaded by soldiers, by which, in royal carriages, hackney coaches, and carts, a democratic and short-lived dynasty could totter from Paris to expire at Blois. From the 27th to the 30th, the daughter of the Cæsars, the Empress Regent, sojourned with her royal son within this ancient domain. During those three inglorious days, what anguish must have fixed itself in the heart of the consort of Napoleon! How closely must she have pressed her boy to that heart, while she bent her ear to the rumbling of the tempest that threatened from a distance! How anxiously must she have stood with outstretched neck to assure herself that she was yet secure from the attack of the wild lancers of the Ukraine, or the soldiers of her own father. The whole affair, remarks the author, resembled a revolution of ancient times. The superb incidents of the catastrophe shadowed forth the fall of a Cæsar—a King of Rome flying in his mother's arms, in order to escape falling into the power of a grandsire who was in the field against his father! Who would not have sympathised with that imperial mother? Who *would*, when they are informed that during the entire three days she was actually engaged in angling for carp? In a few days more she was carried by Joseph Bonaparte to Blois; and on the 12th of April, the epoch of Napoleon's abdication, she returned in the centre of a detachment of Cossacks—not Empress of the French, as she had departed—but a mere and a powerless Archduchess of Austria. The following would form an excellent subject for a picture:—

"On the 16th, the Emperor of Austria repaired to Rambouillet, excited, no doubt, by an eagerness which subdued the pride of a conqueror to the affection of a parent. He ran rather than gravely ascended the steps, on the summit of which he perceived his grandson and the ex-empress awaiting for him, and opening their arms to receive him. For a long time they remained locked in a mutual embrace, reflecting upon the circumstances of their meeting, and how many men and how many empires had fallen ere that joy might be purchased for them. At length, the victor took in his arms the son of the vanquished, and, covering him with kisses, carried him from room to room; he who was destined to bury him living, and entomb him when dead! The entire evening, nay, nearly the whole night, was consumed in conversation maintained between the imperial father and daughter, upon the subject of the infant King of Rome. ....." No mention was made either of invasion or war; the engrossing subject touched on the precocious qualities of the child-king—on the number of his teeth, the quality of

his slumbers, his gaiety, his disposition, and his graces. And while they talked, ten thousand six hundred Austrian soldiers kept their watch around the walls of the palace."

But we must leave these imperial and royal reminiscences, and, indeed, the consideration of Rambouillet itself. And yet it is difficult to part from a spot so full of great and varied recollections. We even now behold, through M. Gozlan's glorious prism, the old prior of Epernon doing service for this ancient fief, by presenting to the authorities, a war-horse fully equipped, a bottle of wine, a couple of tarts, and a pair of kid gloves. Our mind's eye yet sees Madame de Rambouillet, that Queen of euphuists, with her court of literary men, who, in spite of what Moliere may affirm to the contrary, in his *Precieuses Ridicules*, or Sir Walter Scott insinuate, under the guise of Sir Percie Shafton, purified their corrupted mother-tongue, and deserve the gratitude of their own country, at least, for being the founders of the yet flourishing French Academy. The euphuists have been accused of looseness of morals, but the fact is otherwise: if they offended, it was by an excess in another direction—an example of which we have in the case of Voiture, whom they were on the point of expelling from their society for his boldness in offering to kiss the hand of the celebrated Julia d'Angennes. It was in honour of the virtues of this lady euphuist, that eighteen of the noble wits of France composed that far-famed and gorgeous little volume of poems, known by the title of "La Guirlande de Julie"—a volume still existing, and so esteemed, that, a few years ago, it was purchased by Madame de Chatillon at the cost of 14,510 francs. It was the virtuous courage of the same lady, in shutting herself up for weeks, with a beloved brother, smitten with a disgusting and pestiferous disease, that gained for her the affection of the great Marquis de Montausier. To his solicitations for her hand, however, the lady was, by virtue of her euphuism, too coy to submit, till the wooer had spent fourteen years in suspiration of his gentle prayers. By that time the fair one herself had reached her fortieth year; but even then she did not yield until the marquis had embraced Romanism, and the Queen Mother, Cardinal Mazarin, and the entire court petitioned the mature beauty to surrender a consenting sigh to enduring fidelity and tried valour. In his later and widowed years, the marquis was appointed, by Louis XIV., tutor to the dauphin. It was at *his* suggestion that Bossuet, who taught under him, penned the well-known "Discours Universelle sur l'Histoire;" and to him we owe that edition of the classics, which, even in its modern dress, bears in its various title-pages the explanatory epigraph, "In Usum

Delphini." Would that we had space to quote from M. Goslan's narrative of the system of education adopted by this noble master of a royal pupil! We are compelled, however, to pass it over, with a recommendation of its perusal to the right reverend tutor of England's imperial heir, Albert, Prince of Wales!

Equally to our regret are we forced to do little more than barely glance at the graphic picture of a half-brother of the dauphin, who was subsequently proprietor of the domain of Rambouillet. We allude to the Count of Toulouse, one of the legitimized sons of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan. At the age of five years, this base-born prince was created grand admiral of France, the honour of which title he supported but once in action—an action, be it said, which M. Gozlan treats after the manner of French writers, who give to their own nation the victories of the Nile and Trafalgar, and who speak of us as defeated and disgraced by the wild and stormy steep of Elsinore. *Ex. gr :—*

"In a grand naval engagement, which took place on the 24th August, 1704, before Malaga, and in which the squadrons of France, England, and Holland were concerned, the Count of Toulouse valiantly supported the contest against the combined fleets for full ten hours. He dismasted the English admiral's vessel, sunk that of the Dutch admiral, killed three thousand men, and neither lost a ship of his own, nor suffered injury, even in a mast."

This is, certainly, about as much as even a French officer can say for a prince who, in reality, destroyed no vessels at all—was not engaged with a Dutch fleet—and, consequently, could not have sunk a Dutch admiral, and who, after fighting well enough, finally ran away! The fleet which defeated this illegitimate vanquisher was that under the command of Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and which had just won for itself immortal fame by capturing Gibraltar :—

"The English fleet (says Hume) consisted of three-and-fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates; but they were inferior to the French in their numbers of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and altogether unprovided of galleys, from which the enemy received great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning, the battle began with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way; nevertheless, the fight was sustained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifting before morning, the French gained the weather gage, but they made no use of this advantage; for two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the Count de Toulouse declined, and *at last he disappeared.* The loss was pretty equal on both sides, though not a

single ship was taken *or destroyed* by either. Over and above the disadvantages we have enumerated, the bottoms of the British fleet were foul, and several large ships had expended all their shot long before the battle ceased; yet the enemy were so roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the whole war."

Louis XIV. claimed the victory in terms as inflated as they were false, and at this day M. Gozlan makes the same claim with bold breath. But the truth is, as Hume has written it, the triumph was with the British, for their foe ran away; or, as the English historian modestly and delicately renders it, "at last he disappeared." Whither he repaired, records fail to tell. M. de St. Simon, however (another bombastic claimer of triumphs unwon), intimates that the grand admiral of France was more than half inclined to retake Gibraltar. We are only surprised that that gossiping teller of tales does not gravely affirm that the half inclination was wholly realized. M. Gozlan is more modest on this point: he doubts the inclination then, as he pronounces the impossibility now: he voluntarily confesses that Gibraltar is a Polyphemus of cannon, which will never be taken but when it has fallen asleep. The French will have long to wait ere they catch our monster napping!

Before we finally close the pages of the interesting work which we have been recommending to our readers, our eyes fall upon a title which has long been extinct in the royal family of France, but which has just been revived by Louis Philippe in the person of the infant son of that copper admiral the Prince de Joinville. The royal child born in November last was created, by the King, Duc de Penthievre—a title dear to Rambouillet and to France, and particularly dear to the reigning family, though it connects them by the female line with the illegitimate offspring of Louis XIV. The Duc de Penthievre, whose name still echoes a melancholy melody within the walls and beneath the woods of Rambouillet, was the son of the Count of Toulouse of whom we have previously remarked that he was the offspring of the *Grand Monarque* and Madame de Montespan. The daughter of the duke was the mother of Louis Philippe, and thus the son of the Prince de Joinville inherits the title of his great great grandfather, whose immense wealth, falling to the Orleans family, has long made them illustrious as the golden princes of modern times.

To the Duc de Penthievre, M. Gozlan devotes fifty closely printed pages—the most instructive, interesting, and touching of any in his entire admirable work. The life there sketched is a tale of splendid sorrow, with a burning moral at the end of it. It teaches the worthlessness of the vain treasures of the earth—the inestimable value of those held out to our acceptance by

heaven. It demonstrates not only the futility of putting our trust in princes, but also in the people; and, even while confessing some of the virtues of humanity, it shows that they are of worth only when they spring from a divinely planted impulse. In short, it proves that man is but a vain and uncertain shadow, and that the assurance of hope resides alone within the tabernacle of God.

We can give, we fear, but a faint outline of the prince whose title has been revived in a descendant who, we trust, will inherit his ancestor's virtues, and be spared his bitter trials. A time, however, seems hanging over France in which the possible virtues of her rulers may stand them nothing in presence of the Juggernaut of republicanism which delights in the immolation of all that is virtuous and noble. They little availed the last Duc de Penthievre, in presence of man; they little availed his angelic daughter-in-law, the Princess de Lamballe, who was hacked to pieces by a civilized (!) mob of Parisian male and female monsters, and whose remains may yet be said to be scattered among the sewers and the gutters of the city of refinement! We can never look on a Frenchman without seeing the blood of this unhappy princess sticking to his teeth! The French mob tore her heart out, and devoured it!!!

The duke was born in 1725, and from the time he could speak until his last hour he was the personification of charity and modesty. The famous Abbé Quenel was his principal tutor. At the age of twelve years, and on the death of his father, he succeeded to the rank of grand admiral of France. It was only when thus placed at the head of the navy that he began to study his profession, and, as he was too young to be trusted at sea, the sea was brought to *him*. A mimic fleet was launched on the microscopic ocean of Rambouillet, and three sailors from Brest taught him to hand, reef, and steer—box the compass, and splice the mainbrace.

While man instructed him in the infernal art of war, a better teacher implanted within his heart an affection for peace, and an inexhaustible love for the poor and the destitute. At the call of his country he aided in increasing its warlike triumphs, and when others gloried *he* wept at the miseries by which they had been purchased. He even hurried from the nuptial altar to do a soldier's duty on the bloody day of Fontenoy—that day of many glories and a million griefs!—a day which commenced with prayers and the administration of the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper—a day marked by the gallant courtesies of the adverse commanders, each of whom begged his almost reluctant foe to have the honour of opening the destroying fire which was to mutilate so many thousands of men created in the

image of God—a day glorious even to the defeated, for they suffered no humiliation—a day in which the already vanquished recovered the crown from the victors, and, by taking advantage of a moment's error, converted the shouts of the English guards, who had upheld the honour of their flag from early morn to dewy eve, into a wail of defeat: finally, a day after which the duke withdrew from pursuing the bubble reputation, and devoted himself to the cherishing rather than to the destruction of his kind. At Rambouillet he became the father of six children; and when the life of the last of these destroyed that of the mother who bore her, the duke retired for a season to La Trappe, and for a shorter space to Rome, returning to his native country, in order to be present at the marriage of his only son, who conferred a share in his fatal title of Prince de Lamballe on Marie de Carignan, that charming flower, half Italian half French, and which was yet so fresh, so fair, so divinely beautiful, when hewed down by the popular scythe at the commencement of the great revolutionary harvest. The narrative of the duke's life from this period to its closing hour is admirably told by M. Gozlan: we see a quiet, serious, happy, religious man, with a thousand duties, and fulfilling them all; enduring the selfish cruelty of Louis XV., and not refusing hospitality even to Louis XV.'s mistresses. It is true that in all his works, and in all his trials, he had a friendly rival at his side. This counterpart of himself had commenced life as a page—wasted a great portion of it as a captain of dragoons under the prince—and finally was installed as that prince's friend, fulfilling in the semi-royal household functions analogous to those of private secretary. This individual was no other than our ancient school acquaintance the gentle Florian; and, as long as they remained together, their lives were passed in seeking out those who stood in need of succour from wealth or influence. Florian sought out subjects for the duke's charity: the duke also hunted after the same game for himself; and it was a merry hour when both met at dinner, each eagerly numbering his successes, and each desirous of claiming the triumph of having done most that day in behalf of the poor ones of the earth.

We must hasten to a conclusion: when the duke was driven from Rambouillet, by the compelled transfer of the property to the crown, he actually took with him the bodies of nine members of his family. The father, worn down by the memory of his old and his new sorrows, accompanied six of his sons, his father, his mother, and his wife, to their new resting place. The whole population of a village followed the mournful procession till another village was reached, and fresh mourners took

place of the old. In this way the prayers for the dead, and torrents of tears, ceased not for a moment on the whole line of road between Rambouillet and Dreux.

The storm of the revolution which soon burst forth spared in its fury nothing that was good or great. When the murder of the Prncess de Lamballe became known to the duke his strength was prostrated, but his soul was lifted to heaven, as he exclaimed, "I *had* thought that the people, who have always testified their affection for me, would have had some regard for my child. They have had none. Let *us* respect and reverence the inscrutable decrees of God!" From that moment he declined, and when, a few months subsequently, repentant hundreds assembled beneath the room of the dying prince to ask his blessing, he fell dead in the arms of those who supported him while he pronounced the benediction. It was Saint Louis pardoning Robespierre!

We have no space left for a concluding summary of M. Gozlan's excellencies as a writer of local history. We can only hold him up to the emulation of those who may yet be tempted, we hope, to record the annals of our own royal and episcopal palaces. He is an example worth following, save in one instance, where jealousy of national honour has made him somewhat oblivious of imperishable truth; and, with the reserve of this one exception, we may fittingly apply to him the Shakspearian words of the royal Katherine to her faithful maiden, and say that—

> "After our death we wish no other herald,
> No other speaker of our living actions,
> To keep our honour from corruption,
> But such an honest chronicler as Griffith."

ART. VII.—*The Studies of Oxford Vindicated*, in a Sermon preached before the University on Act Sunday, June 29, 1845: by FRANCIS JEUNE, D.C.L., Master of Pembroke College, and late Dean of Jersey. Oxford: Vincent. 1845.

2. "*Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?*" a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on Sunday, October 19, 1845: by the Rev. PIERS C. CLAUGHTON, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of University College. Oxford: Vincent. 1845.

3. "*Let every man take heed how he buildeth:*" a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on Sunday,

October 26, 1845: by FRANCIS JEUNE, D.C.L., Master of Pembroke College. Oxford: Vincent. London: Hatchards. 1845.

4. *The Plea of Conscience for Seceding from the Catholic Church to the Romish Schism in England:* a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, November 5, 1845: by W. SEWELL, B.D., Fellow of Exeter College, and late Professor of Moral Philosophy. To which is prefixed, an Essay on the Process of Conscience. Oxford: Parker. 1845.

5. *Christian Liberty, and Christian Trust:* two Sermons preached before the University of Oxford: the one on Sunday, November 16, 1845; the other on Sunday, February 23, 1840: by PHILIP WYNTER, D.D., President of St. John's College. Oxford: Vincent. London: Hatchards. 1845.

AT a time when the confidence of the public in the University of Oxford has been much shaken by the perverse conduct of several of her sons, and when, in consequence, doubts have arisen as to the support she is entitled to, anything which may amount to evidence, as to the feelings of those who bear rule within her walls, will be acceptable to all who are desirous of coming to a fair conclusion upon the subject; because, upon their feelings must the issue of the academical system chiefly depend, whether it be for good or evil. The motive which is assigned for the withdrawal of confidence from the University is confessedly founded on the position that she has, through her accredited agents, thrown doubts upon the religion of our country, or, at least, been neglectful of the preservation of theological truth; and the evidence that must be brought to bear upon these points, must be sought for in such of the acts of the University as are conversant with theological subjects, and are at once acknowledged by the University, and of a continuous nature. Less would hardly seem to meet the requirements of the case, whether we look to the satisfaction of the public mind, or to that fairness of trial which is due to the University as the accused party. Now, there is nothing, upon points like these, which can, for a moment, be supposed so fairly to represent the feelings of the authorities of the University, as the manner in which the pulpit of the University is filled from Sunday to Sunday; and, as the circumstances of the time seem to require, there is a total absence of all secresy on this subject: nay, it is probable that, at no former period, have single sermons been published in such numbers as at present, or the succession in

which they have appeared been so close. We would ask for these sermons the candid examination of our readers; and we are confident, that in proportion to its bestowal, will there result that more kindly feeling which was wont to exist between the University and the public: for, if there is any one principle that is more prominent than another, throughout the sermons now brought under notice, it is that which has been the glory of our country—the principle of Protestantism—fidelity to the written word of God, joined to the advocacy of individual liberty, without which, as men would not be responsible, they can hardly be said to be truly religious.

The first sermon in the order of time (and in that order we have quoted their titles so far as it was possible to do it), is that of Dr. Jeune. He is a man who requires no praise at our hands. He has been before the public in various situations, and his talents and merits are well known. In point of character, none worthier could have been selected by the University. He had to preach upon a peculiar occasion, and, perhaps, it is not too much to say, that, considering the particular situation of the University, no better sermon could have been addressed to his congregation. There is no shrinking from the difficulties of his position—no denial of facts—no mystification. Everything is fair, open, and able. Points that a less experienced person would have touched upon only to fail, have been handled by him with that exactness of justice which contributes more than anything to success. Whether for or against the University, the arguments of all are duly considered—all is candour and truth; and we doubt not but that such of our readers as will give his pages their attention will rise up from their perusal not only highly satisfied with the writer, but in a better humour with the University of which he is an ornament. At all events, they will have something more through which to arrive at a solution of the question of confidence than mere reports—something of the actual system of the University, and the reasons for it—something of the feelings of her rulers.

After speaking of the movement which has agitated the Church, and the motives which gave it its origin, and touching upon the end in which it has resulted, he goes on to say:—

"Of those who have adopted the errors of that Church (the Romish), some have followed a course which, at least, commands our respect. Others have retained their position among us, and find it necessary to justify conduct which it is impossible to justify with solid and ingenuous reasoning; and have, accordingly, been forced to recur to the weapons which the arsenals of dialectic assuredly supply for the defence of bad causes,

"It is a mistake, however, to attribute to the studies of this place in general, or to those specially incriminated, the sophistry which has been so copiously used. The case really is, that powers here acquired have been perverted for the promotion of ends determined by human passions. As to the argument from analogy, so admirable as a means of silencing unfair opponents, or of preparing doubtful minds for the reception of direct evidence, it must continue to be studied, and studied in its greatest master, though it may be used illegitimately to establish positive conclusions. It is sufficient to say of dialectic what was said in reply to a similar objection long ago, that it must be cultivated to set us on our guard against sophistry, and to enable us to appreciate justly argument in contingent matter. There are, doubtless, powerful resources which can be used for evil as for good; but the common sense and the moral instincts of mankind readily detect bad arts, and revolt against them. A party which uses them is self-condemned, and must fall under the crushing weight of public indignation, in a country like this.

"But though our confidence in the system here pursued be not shaken by recent events, our confidence in the unassisted powers of man undoubtedly must be. It is very alarming to those of ordinary capacity and limited acquirements to discover that the best education, and great natural ability, and diligent study, even when conjoined with what appears to us, who cannot search the heart, exemplary piety, and self-denial, and zeal for religion, do not guarantee men against deplorable errors in creed, and, sometimes, in conduct. Do not the facts to which allusion has been made read us a lesson of humility far more impressively than the general considerations which might be urged on this occasion? Do they not make us feel deeply our need of Divine assistance, and of that lowliness of spirit to which Divine assistance is promised?

"We have all solemnly declared, before God and man, our belief that Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of the faith. If we honestly hold, and apply in practice this fundamental and characteristic doctrine of the Church of England, we shall assuredly teach no error, even if we shall thus fail of declaring the whole counsel of God, as Romanists maintain. But if we feel dissatisfied with this criterium of Divine truth—if we set up any other, whether patristic consent, or tradition, or the decrees of councils, or the authority of the present Church, and yet retain the advantages and influence of our position, we are assuredly in danger of being left to our own imagination; for we are guilty of fearful prevarication, whether we be right or wrong in our view of the rule of faith. Let us but be persuaded to swerve from integrity of subscription, in the least degree, and we may soon find ourselves in a position which we now think very lamentable.

"But the Church of England is not wrong in its view of the rule of faith. Holy Scripture is as capable now, as in the days when Paul wrote to Timothy, of making the man of God wise unto salvation, perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works. We must not despair

of finding and holding fast the truth, however much others may err from the faith. The text which commands us to study rightly to divide the word of truth implies a promise that honest study will not be fruitless. Only let us come to that word without interested ends to serve —without fond theories to maintain—without personal vanity to gratify—content to follow whithersoever it leads—to remain in ignorance where it is silent—in doubt where it is obscure—and to acquiesce in a system apparently incomplete and inharmonious" (pp. 18-21).

We give this extract as a specimen of the style of Dr. Jeune, his method of treating his subject, and of his principles; but we would recommend the whole to the serious attention of our readers; and, under the hope that we shall not do so in vain, we will go on to the consideration of the other sermons whose titles appear at the head of this article.

Mr. Claughton's sermon, which is next on our list, as not being addressed to any particular subject such as Dr. Jeune's, is of that practical character which general sermons ought chiefly to preserve. It is addressed especially to the young, and is admirably adapted for circulation in such families as have junior members just emerging from youth and entering upon life. It starts out with the assertion that "there is no difficulty, no temptation against which Scripture, rightly used, will not adequately fortify those who seek its aid;" and, throughout, maintains the practical sufficiency of the Scriptures. It is not, however, without its allusions to present circumstances; and the movement that has filled the land with consternation is spoken of as proceeding from a spirit which has gone far to put out of sight the very principle of our Church's resistance, as a witness and keeper of holy writ, and a faithful steward of the oracles of God, and the following just remarks are immediately added:—

"That it has so tended, and that such was the secret of its pernicious tendency, the event has strikingly proved. They who set out with the unconscious depreciation of God's word, have arrived at the point of actual departure from it in certain particulars, and a surrender of its authority to man. Not contented to walk by its separate precepts, which met them here and there, making their *daily* path clear before them (as David saith, 'Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path'), they sought to satisfy doubts which were to constitute their trial, and thus 'looked for a sign,' and there was 'no sign given them.' The painful lesson is too important to be passed over in silence; the fact we may once for all lay to heart, and profit by its warning. Even in this day of light and extended knowledge, in the full possession of the Scriptures, we have seen the most subtle intellects ensnared by mere sophistry of argument, and inextricably involved in their own theoretical dreams, until they could not discern what was plain to far inferior minds, and stumbled in noon-day as in

the night. Be it ours, with all charity, and in the deepest humility, to mark and avoid their dangerous error, whilst we compassionate their fall!" (pp. 4, 5).

Mr. Claughton observes that, in a former sermon, he had attempted to show that there is no form of error in existence which does not lie in the obvious misapprehension or absolute omission of some principle of Scripture, and that it was intended to counteract the dangerous spirit that has been alluded to. Should the present sermon come to a second edition, which is highly probable from its excellence, we trust that it will be accompanied, on its republication, by the sermon to which allusion is made. It will render the publication more complete and serviceable.

Dr. Jeune's second sermon is next in order to Mr. Claughton's, and good as was the one we have already alluded to, this is, in our estimation, preferable. It is a sermon that ought to be put into the hands of every young man that may be preparing for orders, and may be read with much profit by many who have been now for some time ordained, and are in doubt as to their position. The remarks upon the interpretation of the difficulties of the text by the fathers, on the anomalous position of those masters in Israel who think of deserting their communion, and on the general responsibilities of the clergy, are beyond all praise. The allusions to the circumstances of the times, no less than the general observations, are excellent. We sincerely trust that we shall have more of Dr. Jeune's able sermons to speak of, and that they will come to us from the pulpit of the University—the most appropriate theatre for their production.

We come now to Mr. Sewell's very elaborate and eloquent sermon, which has, indeed, the peculiar value of proceeding from one, who, while he speaks in terms of the most earnest remonstrance to those who are constantly wavering between England and Rome, and spares not the specious plea of conscience which has been recorded by those who have deserted the Church of their fathers, is not unmindful of the connexion which has existed between himself and some of the leaders of that party, and who is not unwilling to turn that connexion to account, for the purpose of arresting the evil that has, confessedly, sprung up in the University. It is an argument of a highly intellectual character, forcibly put, yet full of the deepest feeling of charity: such, indeed, as the most fastidious waverer cannot quarrel with—and such as the least attentive cannot, if they but once read it, ever forget. Mr. Sewell's notions are as high as

they possibly can be, to be consistent with the principles of the Church of England, but in no way exceed them; and he is, therefore, eminently qualified to argue with men, whose primary object was to restore the principles of the Church to that eminence which for some time they had lost, but whose misfortune has been to run into conclusions against which our Church protests; and in coming forward with his argument on the particular day upon which he had to preach, and with so marked a reference to passing events, he has done the Church eminent service. We are aware that there are some expressions which have been remarked upon unfavourably; but we do not think that a careful perusal of the sermon will bear out the construction that has been put upon them. We would rather say that the fear of speaking too highly of those who are obviously schismatical has been carried too far by those who have censured the passages alluded to, and that some little of the charitable feeling of Mr. Sewell might have been caught up with profit; and we would add that much as some are disposed to quarrel with this trait of Mr. Sewell's character, his lightest censure, accompanied even by the passages that are spoken against, will fall with more force, and be productive of more good, than all their most earnest remonstrances, directed though they be by unquestioned zeal, and addressed though they be to undoubted ends of piety. God forbid that we should forget charity in our controversies, or the value of parenthetical kindness in the season of complaint and rebuke!

We do not say that there are no passages which are open to misconstruction, or none of which we disapprove; but we would have our readers take Mr. Sewell's sermon, and the essay prefixed to it, as a whole, and we do not doubt but that, if they will do so, they will arise from its perusal with the same feeling of gratitude that we ourselves entertain towards him for the very great contribution he has made to the defence of the Church, in this her moment of difficulty. As a continuous argument, requiring more than usual attention to its different parts, we feel that we should be doing Mr. Sewell injustice by quoting particular passages, and we therefore must deny our readers that gratification, which, under other circumstances, we should have been glad to have given them.

The last publication that we have to notice, in connexion with our present subject, is that of Dr. Wynter, the very highly and justly esteemed president of St. John's College. And we are unwilling to approach any of the most casual publications he could put forth, without first rendering to him our most humble yet hearty tribute of commendation, for the very noble

and self-denying efforts he has made, in his situation, as head of a house, and vice-chancellor of the University, for the defence of the pure and apostolical branch of the Catholic Church in these realms. A more able and honourable man, or sounder divine, is not to be found among the many lights which the University still nourishes in her bosom. Neither is there one who has, in the discharge of his duties, been forced to encounter (we say it not in disparagement of him, as though he were loth to encounter) so much of obloquy. Through it he has borne his course, steadily and unreservedly; and now, that he has yielded to others the supreme government of the University, on the expiration of his term of office, he has the gratifying reflection to compensate him for the annoyances he was subjected to during its continuance, that in the University, and with the friends of the University, no name stands higher than his own. Others may have reaped, sooner than himself, the solid temporal advantages that follow upon the successful discharge of onerous duties—others may occupy those places of distinction, which are the objects of professional ambition; but there is no one who has done the Church better service than Dr. Wynter, or whose service will be half so readily acknowledged as will his. To the last moment of the memorial of the trouble of the Church and University, his name will be gratefully remembered by every true friend of the Church—a tribute will be given him less perishable and more acceptable to him than mere honours.

Dr. Wynter's publication embraces two sermons, on the subject of "Christian Liberty, and Christian Trust," and they are full of the characteristics of the man: sound views of theology, devotion to Christ and his Church, and the most fervent zeal for the promotion of truth; firm in tone, but generous; liberal, yet discreet. No one can sit down to them without rising up informed and improved; nor put them aside without wishing that they had been extended to far greater length: even controversy assumes in his hands a more attractive shape, and lends something to the general interest. To go into an illustration of his position, would compel us to extract passage upon passage; but the concluding paragraphs of the sermon last preached, though first in the order of publication, are so full of eloquence that we cannot refrain from quoting them at length:—

"But whilst we resolutely vindicate for ourselves, and others, a sound and legitimate freedom from unnecessary and burthensome additions to the worship and discipline of our Church, let it not be forgotten that we have to rejoice in, and maintain unimpaired, a far more precious freedom—a release from the fetters of sin and guilt, forged for our first parents by the spirit of evil, and snapped asunder

by the sufferings and death of our blessed Redeemer on the cross. He beheld satan as lightning fall from heaven; his malice defeated, his might overthrown. Such was the immediate result of the miraculous powers conferred upon Christ's disciples; and, though it be comfort to know that as miracles have long since ceased in the Church, so those bodily possessions by satan, which called forth some of the most remarkable of them, have ceased also—still every one among us, in his daily course of life, cannot fail to feel the secret workings of that subtle enemy; and, if he would retain the freedom which Christ purchased for him with his blood, he must be ever on his guard against his devices.

"And here his greatest danger will be found, not in the more important acts of his life: these, to one who has been carefully educated, and fortified with the ordinary safeguards of Christian perfectness, will be regulated in most instances without difficulty or hesitation, in accordance with the will of God: but, in the minor details of conduct, in the privacy of domestic life, or the unrestrained freedom of social intercourse, there is continual hazard lest we yield to the temptations of the evil one, and by thought, word, or deed, profane the sanctity, sully the purity, or violate the charity of the Christian character. In all these things our truest freedom will be in an unreserved submission of the heart, the soul, the intellect, the whole being, to the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, sought for in humble and persevering prayer.

"Manifold are the modes in which this most consoling duty may be discharged: in the retirement of the chamber—in the courts of the Lord's house—in the household circle—in the prompt and unpremeditated ejaculation of a grateful, a pious, a confiding thought to Him who heareth in secret. Of these, perhaps, it cannot be questioned, that to unite regularly and fervently with a congregation of fellow-Christians in the house of God is that mode of discharging the duty which will be most acceptable in His sight. His blessed Son has promised that 'where two or three are gathered together in His name, there is He in the midst of them.' His apostle has enjoined us to bear one another's burthens, to rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep; and our Church has provided us with a daily opportunity of realizing the comfort and blessing of this devotional exercise. To this constant safeguard against the tyranny of satan, let us humbly and faithfully have recourse, not attributing to the mere outward act of worship any the slightest value in the sight of God, unless it be accompanied with a glowing piety—an intelligent and hearty participation in the thoughts as well as the words of our liturgical services—and, above all, a resolute determination, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, to recognize as the objects of our worship, of our confessions and prayers*—not Mary the Virgin, though blessed above women, still only a woman—not Michael the Archangel—not John the Baptist—not the holy apostles, Peter and Paul—not all the saints;—but whilst

* See the Confiteor, quoted by Dr. Wynter, from the Doway Catechism, in note to p. 31.

we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man, to adore in the undivided essence of the Godhead three distinct persons—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, uncreated, incomprehensible, and eternal." (pp. 28-31.)

In conclusion, we will only say, that, as in times of controversy it is commonly the case that facts are exaggerated, and reports that have no foundation are invested with the influence of facts, so, in the present instance, this has been the case against Oxford; and we ask it of the candour of our readers that they will take these sermons in their hands; consider that before publication they were preached in the University pulpit; and that, therefore, they must be, in some degree, representatives of the feelings of her rulers. We ask them to weigh them as nicely as they will, but in all fairness; and we do not doubt but that the result will be that the University must have the confidence of the public, notwithstanding the painful circumstances that have formed the topic of conversation in religious circles, and have given occasion to such as are not religious to blaspheme.

ART. VIII.—*The Railways of Great Britain.* By F. WISHAW. 4to. London: Weale. 1842.

2. *Ensamples of Railways.* 8vo. London: Weale. 1843.

WE can easily imagine that the man of leisure in the country, or of pleasure in the town, may often have cast an envious thought on the merchant in his counting-house, even while he affected to despise him. The endless excitement and interest of business, added to its immense return, were enough to raise regrets in the bosom of many an idle and needy gentleman, who too frequently had nothing in his pockets but his hands. Unfortunately, business of this kind required a long apprenticeship and a large capital. The hopelessness of the case may have caused the squire to forget, in his retirement, that he had nothing to do, and little to spend. All at once, that retirement was invaded by a tremendous din. Men in waterproof wrappers, and with telescope in their hands, knocked at his door. He was told that he might have all the excitement of business without the apprenticeship—all the return without the capital. He was asked to take part in the great moral revolution of the age. Without the labour of previous acquirement, he might engage in undertakings to which the greatest mercantile operations were as nothing. No one asked him for any outlay—like the

pilgrim of old, he might take the scrip without the purse. What wonder if he listened to such enticing words? Men, who never thought before, began to study locomotives and gradients. Men, who had spent in thoughtless profusion every penny as they got it, began to deny themselves common necessaries, that they might pay their deposits in the Grand Junction Railway: and thus it has been, since the commencement of these gigantic schemes, that our leading merchants and traders have never taken the prominent part in them which we should at first have expected. They had other things to do, to which they were better accustomed. Thus it is that the journal, which now particularly represents the interests of the mercantile body, has grumbled and growled as one railway succeeded another, till its attitude has almost the appearance of direct hostility.

That there is much which gives us pleasure in the infusion of life, energy and activity into the more idle classes of the community, we cannot but confess. We would trust, too, that the drawback to this pleasure may not prove a serious one, which consists in the danger of the spread of a gambling spirit throughout the country. We would fain hope that this spirit is confined to those who, if railroads had never existed, would have gambled in something else; and that it cannot well reach where the want of system and organization must effectually prevent this species of gambling from being carried to any great extent.

But we confess a still greater pleasure in the alteration which the railroads are producing in certain classes of the lower orders. We have followed, for scientific objects, the course of some of the railroads from the commencement of their formation. They often passed through sequestered districts, scarcely conscious of the village lane. It seemed almost profanation to scare the fauns and dryads from places whose whole aspect breathed nothing but the air of quietude and retirement. The bumpkins at first looked on the whole concern with an eye of stolid wonderment, or very often never looked at all. If you asked them a question about it, they scarcely knew how to find an answer. But, presently, they began to open, first one eye, and then the other, till, in a year's time, these very men had become enquirers, and were actually excited about the new and strange machinery which passed every day before their eyes. The railway labourers, too, from the difficulties of many of their operations—the knowledge and skill required in conducting them—and the caution required in avoiding the attendant dangers, began gradually to acquire an elevated tone. Those who had occasion to question them respecting their proceedings could

not fail to remark this. Many of them were from the very dregs of the nation; and they all had to contend against the spread of bad habits consequent upon working in gangs—yet they improved.

But the advantage to the lower orders of the establishment of railways is far greater and less mitigated in other quarters. Every one who travelled by the old stage-coach must have felt that the persons attendant upon it were too often the most degraded of mankind—men with whom it was the proper thing to be as vile and bestial as possible. Even the coachman, respectable as he sometimes was, in many instances looked a very sorry being; and, we fear, was no better than he looked. What a change, the well-regulated policeman, whose business it is to be sober, from the ostler that changed the horses on the road, who would have lost caste if he had behaved with common decency—not that we would make our observations too general—but who can deny that the hangers-on of the coaches often seemed to pique themselves on an assumed recklessness, and defiance of decorum?

But further, there existed among the humbler classes of society, at a distance from the manufacturing towns, great want of objects which could properly excite them to education or discipline. The prizes for superiority were so few—the duties entrusted to them involved so small a responsibility, and required so little carefulness or forethought, that they learned nothing but simple obedience, and were totally at a loss if, by any chance, they had to act for themselves. Now there will exist on every side, for the lower orders, a profession which will be to them what the literary or commercial professions are to the upper—an inducement to activity—a means for calling their energies into action—and of drawing from the herd those who are most capable of benefiting the rest. We cannot conceive a greater *moral* advantage to the community than this. It had long been an evil amongst us, that the peasantry of our country, less trusted than those of the continent, had lost the habit of using their intellects, till they had almost lost the power. Moral degradation had followed intellectual degradation, till the foreigner, whenever we asserted our national superiority, could always point at the peasant. We hail one means, at least, for his recovery.

We enter, therefore, upon the examination of the more interesting of railway details, with a strong desire to find occasion for approval of the past, and for hope respecting the future. In works like these, we recognize man in his most advanced social position—in the requirement which needs them

—in the feeling which appreciates them—in the knowledge, energy, and ingenuity which execute them. A savage might learn to admire our architectural enterprises—he might understand the fidelity, perhaps even the grace, of a painting or a statue; but would he ever comprehend a railroad? His first question might be what we wanted in moving so fast: his next remark, that there was nothing in our cuttings and embankments—his own cliffs were far more grand. As for the engine, he could not conceive for what purpose an object so unsightly could have been constructed. In the history of mankind, we might say that the real and certain greatness of a nation may be measured by its roads—was not the Appian way constructed under the Cæsars?

We propose to examine, first, the requirements of the country which have led to our adoption of railroads; then, the circumstances which have attended the formation of those established; and, lastly, the objects which should be borne in mind with reference to those whose construction is yet undetermined.

Long ago, a comparison of the population of our large towns with those of France gave a clear proof of the tendencies of our own country. With a population on the whole far less than our neighbours, the inhabitants of the towns have for a long time been much more numerous. In consequence, our country has been studded with small commercial republics, unknown in France, except at Lyons—each with its peculiar studies, arts, and habits—each dependent on the other both for custom and supply. From 1831 to 1841, the rate of increase somewhat lessened, but was very large notwithstanding. Thus the increase, in the ten years last mentioned, was for Manchester thirty per cent; for Liverpool thirty-nine per cent; for Birmingham twenty-nine; for Wolverhamtpon forty-seven; for Bradford, in Yorkshire, forty-eight; for Merthyr Tydvil fifty; while for Suffolk the rate per cent was little more than six; for Buckingham the same; for Norfolk about five and a half; for Cumberland not five; for Hereford and Westmoreland scarcely two and a half. The mean of the whole was somewhere about fourteen—the rate of increase in the metropolis itself. The whirl of business, like the whirl of matter, gathered the moving particles round their separate nuclei; and the centripetal force, which found us a hundred and fifty years ago in a nebular state of dissipation and uniformity, has gathered us at last into a multitude of systems—each moving in its own orbit with planetary regularity. Caused as all this has been by the wants of mutual convenience, like the division of labour—the need of individual com-

munication increasing on the one hand, while local isolation progressed on the other—the necessities of rapid and easy transit were felt amongst us to a degree unknown in any time or country.

Already had the speed of former conveyances arrived at its maximum. The horse could go no faster. We had levelled our roads, and made our vehicles as light as they could be. The ostler was ready with his cattle long before the appointed time—not a moment was lost in changing them. The animals themselves were driven through the whole of the distance they had to traverse at their utmost speed. They lasted but two years—at the best they were worn out in four. The philanthropist we were going to say, the *philotherist*, was shocked—he exclaimed at our barbarity; but his murmurs were as loud as those of other people, if the coach was behind its time. We had reached our limit, and nature herself seemed to have put a bar to our further progress both in motion and circumstances—to have arrested the complete development of our singular career. She put up a bar on one side, but she took it down on another.

That the lumbering engine, creaking and growling at the mouths of our mines, should not at once have exhibited all the capabilities which the skill of Watt himself required years to bring to perfection, we can easily understand. But when those capabilities were once known, and the stationary engine had reached almost its present perfection, it seems truly strange that its capacities for locomotion should have been found so slowly. The paddlewheel only was necessary to permit the application of the principle of the steam-pump to the packet, and the paddlewheel was known to the ancients.

Many years before the formation of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, an enterprising engineer, Mr. William James, had surveyed some hundred miles of the very country now traversed by our present undertakings. He was too soon, and died poor and neglected—the planet in advance is but an unlucky one. More serious attention was afterwards paid to his ideas, as the necessities for them increased. But the greatest prejudice prevailed against the possibility of locomotion by land. The wheels of the steam engine (it was said) would never bite on the iron tramroad—at all events, they never could surmount the smallest inclination. They began, in consequence, to lay down railroads with incisions for toothed wheels—they reduced all their measurings to dead levels. How could roads thus constructed be practicable in most places, or answer in any? It took some time to prove that what was imagined to be defect in

the principle of the locomotive steam engine was but deficiency in the construction—that what had been attributed to the nature of the thing should have been attributed to its weakness—that the engine would bite on any rail—and that, if you gave it power enough, it would ascend Olympus.

The practicability of the railroad was established; but people began to doubt its feasibility. It could be made, doubtless, and worked afterwards—but would it pay? Sensible men had declared that the whole population of the island must be in constant motion, to make good the calculations of the director and engineer. Yet no one as yet dreamt of any other than the mail lines. The first secretary of our greatest and most flourishing undertaking has often mentioned to us the extreme difficulty which he had in getting the shareholders to pay their calls—a difficulty which made the situation almost too irksome to bear—and this, when the deposits had been paid, the works of the railroad were in operation, and no disappointment whatever had occurred.

The railroads were begun—finished—paid for. It was found that the calculations of the projectors, respecting the use which the public would make of these roads, were under the mark. Enterprises, which had been stopped by the limit of horse conveyance which the last few years had reached, began afresh. The former ideas of distance were at an end, and men assumed new habits. The country had sufficient sense to see that we had arrived at the limit, not only of the speed, but of the management of the horse; we were but at the outset of both in the steam-engine. The experience of ages could never enable the driver to prevent the horse from running away; but the experience of years gave the engineer a command over his engine which had no limit—every accident increased his knowledge—and he must end by acquiring over his noble instrument the most perfect and complete control.

During all this, the difficulties encountered suggested a series of contrivances and inventions, which form a splendid addition to the achievements of science. The ingenuity of some of these was aided by good fortune. On the works of one of our lines was a deficiency of material for ballast, and an equally troublesome superfluity of clay from the cuttings. An immense quantity of labour was consumed in fetching the one, and carrying the other away. At last some one suggested the idea that the clay might be burnt into ballast—the plan was found to answer admirably; the clay, instead of a troublesome load, became the means of supplying the chief deficiency of the works.

Thus proved—their practicability first, and their feasibility afterwards—the stock of the great railroads doubled in value. Then began the present times. The ardour with which the new schemes were undertaken, now that all difficulties had vanished before experience, was aided materially by circumstances. An unexpected opening for the employment of capital occurred at a time when profitable investment was an affair of great difficulty; and trustees were actually prosecuted by their wards for leaving trust-money in the funds. Thus combined novelty, excitement, enterprize, interest, necessity—every man, in some of his various relations, hopeful of benefit—who can wonder at the vast number of schemes which we have witnessed lately? Amidst the turmoil was found, as might be expected, some folly and some fraud; but both gave way before any mischief was done, excepting to a few rash or fraudulent speculators, whom one feels little inclined to pity. A stream so rapid could not fail of producing a few bubbles, soon seen by the many watchful eyes on the banks; and we could wish that all bubbles had burst as innocently. Meanwhile the great body of the stream runs steadily on as the main current of the river, which never fails in its course, though the ruffling of the wind may give the appearance of backward motion to its surface.

The work which stands at the head of this article forms a lucid and able history of all our earliest railways—the great lines, which must always occupy the first rank among their fellows—and the details of whose formation present all the doubts and difficulties against which skill and enterprise had to balance the want of experience. The value of such a history no subsequent improvements can destroy—it belongs to time—neither can the history of after-projects ever possess the same interest: they are as the copyist to the original. Mr. Wishaw has been unsparing in his information: the mode and expense of constructing each separate railway—the arrangements and working of its affairs after completion—the nature of the locomotives—the plan of its carriages—all are set down, as derived from the most authentic sources.

We look on such a history with pride, as of one of the greatest of our national monuments; but we are still more willing to praise its utility, in the publicity given to the arrangements of each separate company. Every one conversant with the old roads knows well the slovenly manner in which many of them were got up; the frequent incompetence of their managers; while the transit department was left to anybody, subject to the risk and carelessness of the first comer. The public never heard either of the engineering mistakes nor coaching inconvenience;

the traveller at his inn may have grumbled at the one, and the practical man on the top of the coach may have noted the other—and there the matter rested. We are really tempted to quote, as an instance of the instinctive excellence of British arrangements, the general good working of a system so irregular, undisciplined, and multifarious. But in the railroad, from its earliest birth, every step is subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny—not of its company merely—but of the public at large. It is impossible for any mistake or mismanagement to pass unnoticed: the energy of private enterprise is combined with the openness and consideration of public undertakings. The errors of the first projects are given unhesitatingly in Mr. Wishaw's book, and we cannot but observe with satisfaction that they should be so few and so unimportant. The violent opposition which these projects had to encounter at starting—the prejudices of one man—the fears of another—the interest of a third—the hesitation with which almost every man received ideas so new and untried—all these conspired to render the projectors to the last degree careful and considerate. When the first bill for the Great Western itself was rejected in Parliament, we may calculate on the scrutiny and difficulties then attendant on the establishment of a railroad. But by this the company and the public have alike benefited—little has been done wrong from haste or carelessness. If we were disposed to quote either, we should instance the too early opening of one or two of our lines, before the works were altogether safe. Some accidents, and much prejudice, were the effects, at the time, of this injudicious hurry. The anxiety, too, to place the lines in travelling condition at the earliest period was the cause of some mistakes; the earthworks of the embankments were laid down in the wet, and the line sank accordingly; in one instance almost the whole matter of the first embankment had been squeezed out by the constant addition of new material, before the embankment became absolutely sound. And not only have the errors of the past been avoided by the public scrutiny, but we are safe from any gross mismanagement of the future. Some people talk of the monopoly of the great companies—why do they not talk of the monopoly of the government? It is only the small monopolists that we have to fear—the great companies are themselves public, in the first place; and liable, in the second, to the most rigorous investigation from the public throughout their proceedings.

Monopoly, it must be allowed, the railroads have succeeded in establishing, as far as regards other means of conveyance. Coach after coach has made its appearance from time to time

in the districts they occupy—has dragged its slow length along for a time—and then disappeared as quickly as it arose. Even the waggon—long the survivor of the rivalry of the coach—has succumbed at last—it is but the auxiliary of the railway. Messrs. Pickford and Co. have become railway carriers, and Mr. Chaplin has become a railway director, and we trust, with equal success.

We may cite one instance, as shewing how the whole carrying business of the districts through which it passes must ultimately find its way to the railroad. In former days, the transit of much of the heavy goods to and from the west of England passed by the Kennet and Avon Canal. When the Great Western Railway was first in agitation, the proprietors of the canal were alarmed from all opposition; they were told that the railroad was only fitted for light goods—that it never would interfere with the canal business—that, in fact, it would rather be of service to it, by materially increasing the traffic of the district. The railroad was completed. As it passed through the stone districts, it began to carry stone to mend its own bridges: this was natural. As it came from a coal country, it carried coal to its own depôts: this was natural likewise. By and bye, it began to add to the carriage of its own stone and coal the carriage of a little of other people's. Its luggage trains were extended and improved, till it ended by carrying everything for everybody. The only chance the canal had of competing with its gigantic rival was by materially reducing its charges. By so doing the proprietors preserved their traffic in its former extent; for the canal itself is an excellent one, and all its arrangements of a high order. But, of course, they reduced their profits precisely in the same ratio that they reduced their fares. Now they are wisely following the torrent, and turning their canal into a railroad. It passes through districts where a railroad is much needed, and to which such an establishment will be a great boon.

The following was the increase of the carrying traffic on the Great Western, between the years 1841 and 1843, after the opening of the line to Exeter, and great part of that to Cheltenham:—

1841,	July 1 to	December 30,	tons 39,639
1842,	1	30,	„ 58,476
1842,	January 1 to	June 30,	„ 48,212
1843,	„	30,	„ 52,706

It so happened that on many of the great lines there was a striking decrease in the goods traffic between these two years.

Necessarily, in the strictly commercial districts, where immense bales of goods are every day conveyed from one town to

another, the water traffic will not diminish in the same proportion; yet, even in the north of England, the canal will give place to the rail, in one or other of its forms.

The question of the expence of railroads requires a twofold consideration—as a matter of expediency, where the line pays notwithstanding the expense—and as a matter of necessity, where a line constructed on expensive principles could never yield a profitable return.

Long ago, when the works of the Great Western were in course of construction, the engineer was blamed for an unnecessary outlay of capital. He answered that the first outlay was the best; and he might have said, besides, that the public, at least, had no right to complain, because he was making for them too good a railway. The shares of the company now pay eight per cent.; and the railway itself stands forth as one of the most magnificent structures in the world, and forms an epoch in engineering history. Notwithstanding, we were told then, and what is yet more strange we are told still, that all this unnecessary outlay diverted capital from useful objects, and prevented the completion of useful schemes. Now, really, we cannot admit this in the face of the advertisements of the day, where every possible contrivance is to be found for the employment of surplus capital—when the wildest schemes are attempted to be done, because there are those who have the money to do them. Who can be ignorant that, not the capitalist alone, but the trustee, the heir, the widow, have as much anxiety and trouble in investing their money as they often have in procuring it? There is little danger of a scheme failing for want of capital, while the three per cents. are nearly at par; and neither can it be questioned that the country is so much the richer for having a perfect railroad, rather than an imperfect one. So far from the first railway absorbing our spare capital, it was the abundance of our spare capital which has called so many other schemes into existence, after the success of the first experiment.

Undoubtedly, many excellent plans could not now be carried out, if they required the eight millions of the Great Western Railroad. But such is the course of things. The grand lines were formed first, when inexperience caused, often unnecessary, but then unavoidable expenses. These lines, possessing the great proportion of the traffic of the kingdom, could afford the loss. They paid for the experience by which others have profitted, and they were able to pay for it. How disproportionate and enormous would have been the profit of our main lines, if they had not had to buy experience in the first instance?—and if they could have constructed their works on the economical principles now at the disposal of the minor companies. Acting

on the experience of the lines between the metropolis and the great towns, or between the towns of the first class themselves, we are able to extend our operations one degree lower without difficulty or hazard, and construct lines on the ordinary plan between the towns of the first class and those of the second. It might have astonished the projectors of the Great Western, whose plan once was to undertake only a portion of the distance, leaving the rest to be traversed by the coach, lest the expense should be too much for them—it might well have astonished them could they have known that the time would come when there would be three competing lines between Bristol and Dover. So much, of late years, has been done contrary to all expectations, that one is afraid to say anything respecting the probabilities of the future; the safest prophet is he who predicts that everything will be accomplished in time. Still, circumstances must be very different from what they are before a regular railroad can *generally* be profitably constructed between the secondary towns, where there is no extension of one of the greater lines. Here arises the real question of expense, and of the means of avoiding it.

It has been proposed, in the first instance, to lay down rails upon the common roads, and very ingenious contrivances have been made for securing the rails, and the tube, if the plan adopted be the atmospheric. The engine might travel at a pace comparatively slow, and leave sufficient time for other vehicles to get out of the way.

But the plan is open to great objections. The trustees of the roads are a changeable body, who have no right to bind their successors by any act of their own; and a multitude of small acts of Parliament would be necessary, inconvenient, and expensive. People would be always afraid of an engine which might exceed its proper speed, and could never get out of the way. The great use of the plan would be in level districts, where the expense of a regular railroad would not be great. The rails must run by the side of the road, to the great danger of dung-carts, stone-breakers, and waggons of hay. If the road be widened, so as to allow the rail to be fenced off, why the rail might just as well have a road of its own.

This, then, is the real question to be considered, and one in which we have the example of other countries to aid us in our consideration. The great lines of America, many hundred miles in length, and running through the thin population of a new country, could never have been carried into effect in the manner we have adopted for small distances, and through a dense mass of men and things. What they have done in the beginning we

probably must do in the end. The modern system of road-making admits of few gradients which an atmospheric engine cannot surmount; and the train must be drawn by the ropes of stationary engines where high eminences cannot be avoided. Even if the expenses of making the best common road were double, to decrease still further the gradients, we might expect that such expense would be well repaid. We might expect, too, that where the present site of the roads afford the only opportunity of a site for the rail, the road would be abandoned to its new purchaser, and a new one formed in the vicinity for the usual travelling. The coach would, of course, be wanted no longer, and a somewhat steeper hill offers no great difficulty for the waggon. The population, doubly benefited by one part of the plan, would scarcely complain of the slight inconvenience of the other. Already we have the proprietors of the canals in the field, offering their property to the railroads, or changing it into railroads themselves. It may not be long before we see their example followed by the trustees of such roads, as the position renders it worth while to apply to Parliament for the authority to sell them.

The Americans have given us the example of the cheapest lines. These lines are usually single, and carried across the long swamps of the Ohio and Mississippi by the system of piling, and by adopting, where necessary, wooden bridges, the construction of which has given rise to many ingenious contrivances. All its longer railways are constructed on the principle of plate rails on timber strings. Rail timbers, about eight inches square, are first laid down: on these are placed oak ribbons, generally three inches by one and a fourth in section, and averaging twenty feet in length. Iron plates are next laid down upon the ribbons, of small thickness compared to our rails, two and a-half inches broad, by three-fourths thick. In this manner the line is carried on piles across the marshes; and in the hilly districts none but the most necessary cuttings are made; and the trains are drawn up hills by stationary engines. Thus the three longest lines in the United States—the South Carolina, carried almost entirely on piles—of one hundred and thirty-five miles in length; the Central, one hundred and ninety-three miles; and the Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, one hundred and fifty-six miles, have been constructed—the first at an average cost of 2,600*l.* per mile—the second of 2,400*l.*, and the last of 3,200*l.* On the other hand, in the same country, on the Alleghany Portage, a double line, where the plan chosen has been that of parallel rails on stone blocks, the cost has averaged 14,700*l.* through the thirty-six miles of the railway, and on the single line of the

Boston and Lovell, where stone blocks have also been adopted, the average cost per mile has been 12,000*l.* The Attica and Buffalo railway, constructed on the principle first described, of plate rail, or timber strings, has cost but 1,600*l.* for each of its thirty miles.

It has been proposed for some parts of the colonies, more especially for Australia, simply to fasten logs of wood into the earth, and lay rails upon them. A locomotive could travel at a moderate pace on such a railroad without difficulty. The level districts of New Holland offer many facilities for such a plan, and a transit thus improved would alter the whole circumstances of the colony, where almost all the struggles of the settler arise from the distance and difficulty of communication. The whole thing would cost but little, where wood is to be had on the spot for the cutting: even the piling of the swamps could there be easily effected. It would also afford an admirable opportunity for employing the convicts, doing a national service, and avoiding, *pro tanto*, the evils of the present system of assignment. Such a work should be done under the auspices, and with the money, of Government; no company should undertake the risk; and, from the peculiar circumstances of the colony, the formation and establishment of the line should be under Government control. The project really deserves serious consideration.

Although, from the high price of land in England, apart from any other consideration, we could never hope to rival the cheapness of the transatlantic estimates, still it is startling to compare with the one or two thousand pounds per mile of the American lines the expense of some of our own. We will put aside the 170,000*l.* per mile of the Greenwich railway, as spent under peculiar circumstances, and such as are not likely to occur again. But the works of the Croydon railway, carried through a district tolerably level, cost above *seventy thousand pounds* per mile. The expense of the bridges alone, for a distance of ten miles, was nearly 45,000*l.* The original estimate for the Brighton railway, made by most competent judges, and examined by Mr. Locke, was somewhat above 23,000*l.* per mile. The railway ended by costing 40,000*l.* The excess of the expenditure of the Great Western over the original estimate was also enormous; yet the estimate was calculated and approved by the three first engineers in the kingdom. The real cause of the excess in this instance was the adoption of the broad guage, though its constructors took great pains to find other reasons—alleging more particularly the great expense of stations, rendered requisite for the public convenience. With regard to the last *item* of expense, the cost of the stations on the Manchester

and Leeds railway, estimated at 10,000*l*, actually in the end exceeded *one hundred and twenty thousand.* The Parliamentary estimate for the whole line was 1,200,000*l*.—the actual cost above a million more. The cost of purchasing land on the great railroads has varied from four to six thousand pounds a mile—a most enormous price—paid to the landowners for the purpose of avoiding opposition, the estates in most instances being most materially improved by the passage of the line. The average width of the railroad is about fifty feet, which would give about five acres to one mile of road, and make the cost of each acre amount to a thousand pounds.

The *items* by which the expense of the lesser lines may be reduced, so as to render their completion practicable, may be stated under the following heads, independently of general economy of management:—first, a small price paid for the land; second, less expensive stations; third, a narrow guage; fourth, the occasional adoption of steeper gradients; fifth, the construction of wooden bridges instead of bridges of stone.

Of the two first *items* we have already spoken. As the lines in question, undertaken simply with the view of preventing the isolation of the district through which they pass, will be of the most signal and peculiar benefit to the landowners, it would be unreasonable in the extreme if a farthing more were demanded for the land than its actual value: in fact, the promoters of these lines must be the landlords themselves, and to demand a high price for their land would be to take money out of one hand to put it in the other. In this instance, at least, there will be no opposition to buy off; nor, we should hope, in many others, now that the advantage of the railroad to the land through which it passes is so fully understood.

As to the stations—in the remoter districts the people are not accustomed to splendour, and would only stare to see money thrown away on Gothic porticoes. A very simple structure will be sufficient to shelter them from the weather—to offer them more would be pure folly—they certainly would never ask for it.

The other means of economy depend, in great measure, on the speed which the third class railroads must be contented to adopt. The rate of speed varies enough as it is—the average of the Great Western is somewhat under thirty miles an hour for its ordinary trains; the Lancaster and Preston, which comes the next, averages twenty-seven and a half; the London and Birmingham, twenty-three, for ordinary trains likewise. On the other hand, the Llanelly railroad averages but seven miles an hour. The Dumfermline and Charlestown, the same—the Canterbury and Whitstable, eight—the

Dundee and Newtyle, eight—the Durham and Sunderland, ten. These are chiefly lines for the conveyance of heavy goods, but they carry passengers as well, and at the same speed. The luggage trains of the Great Western and Brighton run about fifteen miles in the hour; those of the London and Birmingham as much as twenty. The object of a certain breadth of guage is of course to permit a certain rate of travelling without danger—diminish this rate, and the guage may be diminished with perfect safety, and certainly without inconvenience to the public. It is not alone the expense of way which is lessened by diminishing the breadth of the line—both the expense and weight of the locomotive are capable of a similar reduction. It should be remembered that this economy will be chiefly necessary between places where the projectors will have to encounter difficulties of situation: in level districts, no one will hesitate as to the practicability of the line; but where long embankments must be raised, and long cuttings performed, the difference of some feet in the guage may make all the difference between a profit or a loss on the whole scheme. From the methods adopted on the cheap American lines, which are mostly single, a very narrow guage has not been found necessary; but we shall seldom in this country be contented with single lines, or see a series of hills surmounted by stationary engines.

In the same way, if the householder of the smaller town will be contented with a pace which, a few years ago, would have excited his utmost astonishment, a very respectable gradient may be surmounted by ordinary locomotives. It has been but recently that the power of the engine in this respect has been discovered. When the London and Croydon Railway was before Parliament, a great hubbub was raised on account of the steep gradient of one part of the line. The New Cross incline was one in a hundred, for a distance of two miles and three quarters; and yet experience has proved that this gradient can easily be surmounted by a single engine. The Great Western commonly uses an assistant engine in the Box Tunnel, where the height is two hundred feet above the original level; but this is for other reasons besides the incline: another part of the line reaches three hundred feet above the level, and all the carriages are very heavy. The Manchester and Leeds reaches five hundred feet above the level; the South Western nearly four hundred; and the London and Birmingham, at Tring, very nearly the same. The Lancaster and Carlisle rises more than seven hundred feet above the level—taking about thirty miles to reach it, forming an average gradient of one in two hundred, which is considerably increased on the latter part of the incline.

They have no stationary engine, but a locomotive of a very powerful construction. The improvements in the locomotives will be of great advantage in this respect: every increase of power which shall enable a steeper gradient to be surmounted, will be the means of bestowing an increase of prosperity on many districts now neglected, and falling to decay.

With respect to the employment of wooden bridges, we will take the calculation of a writer in one of the ablest periodicals of the day. The wooden bridge costs 1,000*l.*—the stone bridge costs 3,000*l.* The wooden bridge lasts twenty years; the stone bridge, it is assumed, lasts for ever. Supposing a person having 3,000*l.* prefers building a wooden bridge, leaving the remaining 2,000*l.* in the funds—in twenty years, he has to build a new bridge; but by that time his capital has become 4,000*l.*—besides a surplus sufficient to pay for painting and incidentals. He may now build a new wooden bridge, and yet preserve the amount of his original capital.

Or, assuming the principles thus set forth in the *Athenæum*—we may say that in twenty years he might build a stone bridge, and keep 1,000*l.* in his possession. Or take the calculation thus:—in a hundred years the interest and capital expended on the wooden bridge, including the last new one, would be 63,000*l.*; while by that time the accumulations on the cost of the stone bridge would have amounted to 96,000*l.* When it is remembered how many bridges each railroad requires, we may conceive the amount of saving on the whole line.

Many beautiful wooden bridges have been constructed on some of our lines—so that in elegance the country will loose little. The ingenuity of their arrangements prevents them from requiring other than the smallest repairs, and they last in consequence longer than the estimate given above. The Americans have set us the example: their wooden bridges have been the subject of great consideration, and are of extreme excellence in some respects. Mr. Weale's book, the title of which stands at the head of our article, contains much valuable information on this head, derived from the most authentic sources. His plates and plans are unexceptionable.

The cost of railway construction is in one instance given us by Mr. Vignoles, its engineer. The chief *items* of the formation of the North Union Railway are as follow:—

Earthworks	£125,676
Masonry and bridges	120,248
Fencing and drains	20,533

Upper Works	128,368
Land and damage	49,342
Stations	44,278
Carriages, locomotives, &c. . . .	43,682
Management, Parliamentary expenses, engineers, &c.	42,655

The entire length of the railway is twenty-five miles, and its cost far below the average—hardly, in proportion, a third of the cost of the Great Western; yet even here it will be seen how large a sum is expended in bridges and stations, great part of which might be saved in lines which require economical management. We should much like to see the expenses of the Great Western given in the same detail: the accounts, we suspect, would be rather curious. The law, Parliamentary, and engineering expenses alone were not very far short of 300,000*l.*

There is, however, another consideration respecting the expense of railways, and that relates to the terms on which they can afford to carry the public. It has frequently been predicted that a crash would one day take place in the property of the great lines, when more than one line was formed between important points; or where the common roads, urged by necessity, had established cheap and good means of conveyance. The result of this, it has been said, will be to force the various railroads so far to diminish their rates of transit as materially to diminish the present profits to the shareholders. This is just the question.

Under the coaching system, the cost of conveying each traveller was necessarily influenced by the cost of the animal that conveyed him. An increase in the number of travellers involved a corresponding increase in the number of horses. For the hundred and twenty miles between Bristol and London, on any good establishment, at least sixty horses were required daily. The cost of each of these, including the great loss by sickness and death, was nearly four shillings per day, or twelve pounds the whole number. They ran backwards and forwards the same stage; and, therefore, the positive transit expense for each passenger was eight shillings for the distance. No improvement in roads or coaches could have made it less. On the other hand, each locomotive, on the Great Western Railway, carries with ease a hundred and fifty passengers; the transit cost of each of these is not sixpence: the cost is, in fact, so small that, in reasoning on the subject, it may be almost directly assumed that any increased proportion of travellers may, without loss to the company, be attended by a decrease precisely corresponding to the transit rates. When this decrease becomes very great, of

course the actual carrying cost becomes of greater comparative amount, and must be considered accordingly; but not until the transit rates have become a mere fraction of what they are at present.

Now, many of the great companies have already reduced their fares; but not to an extent which can materially affect the habits of persons using their lines. The charges are already sufficiently high to enter into the domestic calculations of most people. Were they reduced, so as to allow all men in moderate circumstances to resort to the great towns on most occasions of business or purchase, there is no saying to what extent travelling by railroad might be carried; neither can we believe that the social effect would be other than beneficial. By the very nature of the question, people will obtain what they want at a better and a cheaper rate, or they would not take the trouble of sending to fetch it. Doubtless, the tradesmen of of the small towns and villages would lose much of their custom—the result would be a migration of many of these to the great towns, where they would learn their trade better, and acquire, for the most part, enlarged habits of business. It is only to the lowest order that congregation can be an evil: the tradesman certainly gains by it—who but knows the petty artifices and miserable wares of most dealers in small places; the every day necessaries of the inhabitants will always attract to these places a supply of tradesmen sufficient to keep the vicinity thriving and respectable, and we want no more.

Another advantage of the cheap as well as rapid rates of the railroad is the extension of the great towns into the country, to the health and happiness of thousands. Already, in the neighbourhood of London, the metropolitan lines have issued yearly tickets at a most moderate charge; and tradesmen, who were compelled to reside in a close suburb, with the fog and dirt of the town about them, and obliged to purchase the little that they escaped of these at the expense of two tedious daily rides in an omnibus—these men can now live fairly in the pure air of the country, and give their wives and children the enjoyment of mind and body which an unrestrained run in a green field is sure to bestow. The whole character of the suburban residences is becoming changed from this cause.

The centralization, too, brought about by the railways, is the species of centralization most likely to be beneficial to our society. It is not the centralization of the whole country in the metropolis: on the contrary, the system prevents effectually, and for ever, anything of the kind. The centralization it causes is that of the country districts in the great towns—removing

the narrow views and ignorance too often consequent upon a purely country life, without destroying the local feelings, pursuits, and interests which give so much variety and energy to British society. The advantages of the metropolis, circulated through the kingdom by so many arteries to the great towns, and from them propelled anew to the country, may give to the body politic a life which it has never known before. How great the impulse to literature and politeness given to Germany and Italy by the greatness of the secondary towns! Here the good is ours, with all the grandeur of a single great government. Need we refer, as an example of the contrary system, to the hackneyed instance of France?

Apart from reasoning, we cannot, we confess, avoid seeing in all our splendid improvements the beneficent hand of heaven; and can trust in its wisdom that they will all tend to our advancement. What can be more beautiful than to observe the development of one law of nature after another—the law first discovered, as the ore drawn from the mine: its uses, properties, beauties, brought successively to light, as the gold gradually freed from the dross, to add another to the ornaments of the world! Our feelings of comfort and improvement are strong—the means are all more or less concealed. Doubtless, it was the discovery of those means which was intended for the elevation of our minds, as the application of them is intended for their refinement. Who can believe the order of things so constituted, that the cultivation of our highest powers can lead to other than good? And wherein has that cultivation been more strongly induced than in devising means for our positive daily, bodily, comforts? The wants of the body make the energies of the mind, as the energies of the mind supply the wants of the body. Advancement in comfort means advancement in intellect. We are no believers in the "nox datura progeniem vitiosiorem." We believe that the practical philosopher adds something every day to the improvement of the world, as the miser adds something to its riches.

As approvers of things as they are, we fear that we shall incur the disapprobation of many; but we must in duty still continue the character. It has been strongly argued that the Government should have undertaken the management at least of the greater lines. We cannot think so. As we have already said, it is far more congenial to the spirit of the country that such undertakings should belong to private enterprise, as they foster both local and individual activity. We hold it a general rule that whatever can be done as well should rather be done privately than publicly. We have, besides, an instinctive dread of job-

bing, where Government undertake schemes which are to be carried out through the Commons. We once heard the remark of an experienced statesman, that there is as much jobbing now as ever, if you only knew where to find it. Once it was open and undisguised, in the shape of place-hunting: now it lies concealed in the pages of an enormous blue book. Few take the trouble to look for it; but there it is notwithstanding—in the very centre of the volume, at page one thousand eight hundred and fifty! When one considers the amount of patronage, and the sums spent in the railroads, one almost shudders for the temptation to which our political morality would have been exposed.

But the Government, we are told, has undertaken unprofitable schemes: it should likewise claim its chance where the scheme promises to be profitable. It constructed the Caledonian Canal—why should it not have constructed the Birmingham Railroad? Now, unprofitable schemes of national importance are just precisely what the nation should undertake—the nation pays for its own advantage. In the contrary case, we see no good from the profit to the public treasury, and great harm in the deprivation to individuals of incentives for exertion. But the profit might have gone towards the reduction of the national debt. Very likely!—but would the nation have been any the richer? As it is, we see established a mass of taxable property available in every case of need. The money now gained has, in great part, benefited those whose energy and liberality aided the progress of improvement—a task at the outset both of difficulty and danger. Had the gain been to the Government, we should all have shared in it; and, by dividing the gain among those who neither risked nor laboured, we could not have expected either risk or labour from those who, under present circumstances, were well inclined to both. Where would the Government have found the general attention paid to the subject, without paying for it? Take an instance of the reduction of taxation which might have been consequent on such gain to the Government: we might have got rid of the window tax; thousands of builders, and recent purchasers of houses, would have a present profit on late outlay, to which they would be in no way entitled, and which never entered into their calculations. We would not grudge them their advantage—heaven forbid!—and we would rejoice at the riddance of a national inconvenience. Still we think the gain better bestowed where it has been so fairly earned. How many forget that the nation is made up of individuals? As for other advantages, no one for a moment contends that the lines would have been better constructed by the Government, or after more careful consideration.

Who that has travelled in France has not had his patience tried by Government regulations, which seem in some places never to be observed, except just where they inconvenience the traveller? How has Government interference clogged their railway schemes, and thrown them out of the hands of proper parties into those of mere capitalists and jobbers? What the case may be now we know not; but, some time ago, the railroads were so unpopular that a man might ask almost what he pleased for the land they had to buy. However exorbitant the demand might be, the jury assessed there, as here, to try its fairness, and would sometimes take it into their heads even to double it. For this reason it was the policy of the companies to avoid the jury—as much as it was here the policy of the landowner.

The gain of the railroads, of importance in so many ways to individuals, would have been felt but little by the public treasury. If we could assent to a calculation which has been made, that "the railway property of the country is becoming greater by upwards of 2,000,000*l.* sterling *per month*," we might then indeed believe that it might have been of national importance to have acquired the means of considering all our fiscal arrangments without regard to their profit; but we cannot indulge in so flattering a prospect. In sober truth, the whole gain, on all the railways, exclusive of the sum gained by the engineer and servants of the companies, which must have been the same under the Government system: this whole gain is between twenty and thirty millions—a sum of immense individual importance—but how lightly did the nation feel an addition of almost equal amount, which was made to the public debt on the emancipation of the negroes.

The next serious objections, after all, that can be urged against the railroads, are its expenditure of land and its expenditure of fuel. For the first, it is more apparent than real—the railroad forms so conspicuous an object where no one notices a dozen lanes. The railroad, in the level districts and through the cuttings, occupies less space than the common road: it is much narrower. Its expenditure is, of course, greatest in the embarkment, where the base takes up much room, and some land is spoiled for the sake of material. Still, the railroads must after all be so limited in number—so guarded in expense—so carefully engineered in their progress, that we have far more to fear in the reckless waste of land often attendant on the common highways. It would be well, too, if rather more attention were paid to the quantities of land occupied by hedges and ditches. In some districts of Somerset the needless expenditure in this way, by the small fields, would make ten railroads through the

country. It should be remembered, besides, how great a saving in horses has been occasioned by the introduction of the steam-engine. More than a thousand horses were employed on the old road between Bristol and London, exclusive of short stages—the ground occupied by the Great Western could never have fed them.

The consumption of fuel is a consideration far more serious. It is not many years since some person made an estimate of the quantity of coal existing in the country in attainable situations, and came to the conclusion that the supply must be altogether exhausted in about half a century. This conclusion was not very cheering for the national prosperity. To believe that, within the probable life of many of us, the grand source of all our enterprise would be destroyed, and that we should be left a manufacturing Nineveh, amid the ruins of furnaces and warehouses—our energies crumbling to dust, and our locomotives made stationary—our poor-houses crowded with manufacturers—and our engineers petitioning Parliament for enquiring into the means of making fires without fuel—the whole nation, in fact, in an anti-promethean state of wretchedness and darkness—all this made a gloomy picture, and one which might have induced many persons to buy investments for their grandchildren in the foreign funds. Fortunately, the calculator knew but little of the resources of the country. Undoubtedly, many districts, where the coal is found actually on the surface, will be exhausted in a very appreciable time; but the quantity is enormous which lies beneath the surface—unworked at present, till we have used what is more readily attained. It is in the magnificent coalfield of South Wales to which we must look for our enduring supply of fuel. The quantity known, or probable, is almost incalculable. Still, though we may trust that it will be long, very long, ere the nation shall be deprived of so inestimable a benefit, the inconvenience to some districts will be very great, where their supply shall fail, as fail it must, long ere many living travellers shall have performed their last journey. To preach economy is useless; but it would be well to be careful. We should almost tremble to calculate the consumption in a few years.

The fluctuations in the price of iron, consequent on the railway establishments, have been curious. At the first outset, the novelty of the thing produced a complete derangement in the interests of all matters connected with them. Thus, at first, the new demand for iron caused a factitious rise of the price in the market, which made the iron-masters fancy their gains incalculable. The consequent revulsion bid fair to ruin them.

Now, the demand which the railroad creates is as well understood as that created by anything else; and the present prices, not so high as those of the first period, are healthy, and probably enduring. It is really difficult to say what interests have not been benefited in some respect by the railroad, except the holders of turnpike bonds. It is singular that trustees were allowed to invest money in these securities, as in the public funds, and have been ere now compelled by their wards to choose this mode of investment, on account of the high rate of interest which it produced. We fear that both parties have now, in many places, sad cause to regret their course.

Some people complain bitterly that the beauty of the country is spoiled by embankments, and regret the picturesque old coach, with its ruddy driver and sleek cattle. For ourselves, we cannot look on the railroad without a feeling of enthusiasm, as one of the noblest triumphs of the human intellect—truly magnificent as a great work—not intended for the pride of one, but the comfort of all, and with a beauty of its own: for, how much of our idea of beauty springs from the consciousness of adaptation and convenience? Picturesque the old coach may have been; but the old waggon was still more picturesque, and the lamentations over the former mode of travelling should be extended to a century back—to the broad team—the good-humoured waggoner—a much better fellow, we suspect, than the stage coachman; and the heavy well-trussed waggon, warm and comfortable in its inside straw, as sundry college chums once told us, who chose this mode of conveyance to town for the long vacation, and declared that they never passed twelve hours more pleasantly in their lives. But we must conclude, lest we enter upon topics unsuitable to so practical an essay upon so practical a subject.

ART. IX.—1. *Sybil.* By B. D'ISRAELI, Esq., M.P. Third Edition. 1845.

2. *Coningsby; or the New Generation.* By B. D'ISRAELI, Esq., M. P. Third Edition. 1845.

WHAT a strange world is this of ours!—or rather, is this our own corner of it. Creeds, political and religious, propounded and elucidated in light, racy novels, or dainty five-shilling volumes, in which political systems alternate with modish love-scenes, college pranks, and school-boy frolics; and the most awful verities of religion come trippingly off the pert infantine

tongue of some Jacky Goodchild, set up to lecture his elders, who meekly bow to the sage dicta of the philosopher and priest in petticoats! How our folio-writing forefathers would stare at this our propensity to mimify everything we touch; and, above all, to meet their own ponderous learning, served up in such "made dishes" and *trifles* as can alone tempt the palled appetite of this generation; which, to continue our culinary simile, instead of taking it plain, insists upon having yesterday's cold meat, hashed, peppered, and spiced, to please its fastidious palate. Science, faring no better than its more venerable neighbours, but, like them, reduced to spoon-meat to favor its assimilation by all and sundry who, incapable of digesting it under any other form, may still desire what idle collegians call a "scrambl." "Reading made easy," is the order of the day—there are short cuts, and royal roads, to every thing.

And yet while we notice, somewhat disrespectfully we fear, this peculiarity of the day, far be it from us to pronounce on it an utter condemnation; for, however undesirable for a permanence, it must be regarded as characteristic of a transition state, and as indicative of a want, of which, till better provided for, it is the hasty and *pro tempore* supply; and it may justly be regarded as evidencing the existence of a spirit of enquiry that must, and *will*, in time, be satisfied. While objectionable, and unsuited to the end proposed as are many of the means used, our faith is firm that the ultimate result of the *why*—which now pervades all classes, and indeed all countries—will be good; and that the rising generation, spite of its frequent dyspeptic attacks, induced by improper diet, will require and be prepared for more manly food; yea, will even be able to swallow the strong meat, bones and all, which now repels the political and theological student: in short, that whatever vagaries may be committed in the search, earnest though often blind, for fresh foundations in the place of those that have been broken up, or proved visionary, the end will be that our children will know, better than their fathers, *what* and *why* they believe.

It was a wise remark, (made, if we remember rightly, with respect to religious truth alone, but capable of a more universal application), that "men's minds are now seeking something deeper and truer than satisfied the last generation;" and this the political and religious history of the twelve or fourteen years just passed illustrates most strikingly, rendering its truth apparent to the slightest observation, and on the most rapid enumeration of facts.

The convulsions on the continent of Europe alone—govern-

ments ousted by a three days' campaign—rival ones in the same country, playing at see-saw, one up, and the other down alternately—kings made and turned off with equal nonchalence—the multiform insubordination at home—the various enunciation of principles, false, contradictory, or extravagant, yet *principles*, and strong, operative ones also—the fierce theological controversy waged among all classes—all bear testimony to the truth of this clear-sighted proposition. And, various as are the expressions of this want, felt by all, not only have they a common origin in the seeking of intelligible principles, but they singularly bear witness to that *unity* which seems an essential idea of our nature. The ceaseless framing of false centres of unity, in the absence of true ones, is an erroneous expression of a great truth; and yet valuable as unfailing testimony to that truth. What are Chartism, and that wide-spread delusion Mormonism, but exponents in politics and religion of this law of nature? To the *fact* of this state of things we suppose no one will demur: the convulsive movements of the body politic cannot be hidden, teeming as it is with a wild, disorganized energy. The cause and the remedy are the points whereon men differ, and will decide, each according to his own prepossessions and creed. Mr. D'Israeli's volumes are undeniably an emanation from this plastic condition of the age; and, as the understood representative of a party—remarkable for its smallness, energy, and, we verily believe, sincerity—we may, perhaps, be allowed to select his last publication, "Sybil," as the occasion of some remarks on the subjects of which he treats, additional to those which appeared in one of our former numbers, when "Coningsby" was under review. And, on the present occasion, we would confine ourselves to some of the *general* principles, enunciated or involved in both works; premising that, though "Sybil" is a further development of his views, we cannot consider ourselves, as yet, in full possession of his theory of politics. His main requisition is for *principles*, in place of that baseless government which (he maintains) has been carried on till it can be kept up no longer. As to the value of these—recognised, intelligible principles of government—we fully agree with him; while we may be permitted to complain of the absence of that full exposition of his, which his tone would warrant us in expecting. He rehearses our leading political evils—he informs us that the House of Lords has been converted into an appendage to the House of Commons; but we knew that before;—that the monarch, as to *power*, is now little more than a dead letter in the constitution—no news: (he illustrates this pathetically in the case of the ladies of the bed-chamber, in which we must own we think

Sir Robert quite right:)—that the Commons are an encroaching power—like Aaron's rod, swallowing all the rest—and to this alas! we were no strangers. (By the way, do people recollect that it is this House, not the Lords, or the Monarch, that is most to be watched and dreaded, as most likely—so far as the having done it once before may be supposed to indicate a tendency that way—to disturb the balance of the Constitution?) But we are not aware that he points out any intelligible, practicable means of remedying the mischief—of reducing this growing power to its proper tertiary position; for we cannot regard in this light his idea that the press may be deemed worthy to form an estate of the realm, as equivalent to the uses and duties of our present representative system. This, we presume, is on the principle of bringing good out of evil, for we have long held newspapers to be *of the nature* of a nuisance, pandering to popular vice and folly in more ways than we care to instance; and their cheap dissemination as anything but a blessing to the clodpoles and mechanics, whom they have set in a ferment, by putting into their heads ideas and notions which they are utterly unfitted to entertain; and which, as quite beyond their comprehension, in the very nature of things, could but make them more discontented and miserable. For what can be more distracting than to be persuaded that something which much concerns you is going wrong, and that you must interfere, when you have not the slightest understanding of the said *thing* going wrong, or power to remedy it, if you had? And to this condition the lower classes in this country have been reduced—practised on, and stirred up by designing men, of whom it would be difficult to say whether they were most ignorant or wicked. We are not sure that bad as Parliaments are, according to our author, we should gain much by the substitution of newspaper influence!—even though it were brought in as a check to the something like an absolute monarchy, which he hints at—we suppose to balance the other great centre of unity found in the Church. No one can doubt that this absolute monarchy is the best possible *regime*—for a community of angels! But (as we have occasionally expressed ourselves of certain Whig principles), however beautiful as a *theory*, it is open to a simple though fatal objection—that of being impracticable with our present materials of society; and wise men would always consider what tools they had to work with before forming their plans. A free press may afford our author the idea of a very efficient controlling power to an absolute monarchy; but we should like to know how long it would continue free in such a position? He is also very eloquent on our present "Venetian Constitution;" and it certainly is very provoking, associated, as such a phrase is, to

most of us, with trap doors, lion's heads, and a "bridge of sighs." Of course the aptest illustration of this is the revolution of 1688, when the reigning family was changed by a majority of two!—a bad precedent unquestionably, and we must own that we are nervous about referring to it on this very account.

Some of our social evils—the oppression, the misery, and the most pitiable ignorance of the poor—Mr. D'Israeli has sketched with terrible truth; though still it is but a faint outline of the appalling picture exhibited by the Parliamentary evidence on which he has drawn. But the remedy passes *his* skill. Abundant almsgiving—even from a convent!—is at best a palliative, and we seek a cure: while the *cause* must be found in something "deeper and truer" than the old grudge between the conqueror and the conquered.

Much of our political turbulence and wretchedness has, we are persuaded, arisen from the prevalent ignorance respecting the *source of power*. If the foundation be wrong, so must be the superstructure; and the general notion on this subject is in flat opposition to that emanating from the only quarter that is entitled *certainly* to pronounce upon it. The fundamental principle of liberalism is—the people are the source of power; and hence arise all those wretched struggles for what men thus indoctrinated call their *rights*. Power emanating from the people—according to this theory—it follows that they who exercise it are their delegates: they hold a trust for which they are responsible *to them*, who may resume it, if it be not directed as they please. Divine knowledge and wisdom contradicts this dogma, affirming that God is the source of power—"there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God;" and we cannot wonder that principles so entirely opposed to revelation and reason (for this latter will ever be found in agreement with the former) as those that contravene this affirmation, should work miserably—in short, as they are doing.

For ten years, recently, liberal principles, as they are called, were in the ascendant; (we fear there may be some truth in Mr. D'Israeli's sarcasm on "Tory governments conducted on Whig principles") and were sedulously instilled into a populace prepared by privation and suffering of various kinds, by "hunger and his brother poverty," greedily to drink in—forgetful of the fact that *right* implies *duty*—announcements so consonant to the vanity of human nature, and apparently so calculated to relieve their distress by placing the remedy in their own hands. And, though erroneous principles, while dormant, may be held without much practical mischief, beyond

that debasement of the mind always consequent on the embracing of falsehood, yet living, active, and operative as these have been, we cannot be surprised at the state to which they have brought us. Putting the cart before the horse were a slight blunder compared to *this* beginning at the wrong end. Truth is not to be trampled on with impunity—God's laws are not to be contravened, even by this philosophical generation, without drawing down condign punishment on the offenders; and this punishment, for this offence, we hold that we are now suffering; and the only way to escape the award, is, to cease to offend—to announce a juster theory, and reduce it to practice. This juster theory—as *Christian* men we say it—is the fundamental, comprehensive one which we have just adduced from that old-fashioned repertory of old-fashioned, but eternal, verities—the Bible! Let none sneer at its simplicity, or at the antiquatedness of going to such a source for political wisdom: we maintain that he who stops short of this, the only true basis of political wisdom, may, as Berkeley says, "make a shining earthworm," or a boisterous patriot, but not a full-grown, manly statesman: and we are firmly persuaded that this just settlement of the question, as to the source of power, would, if fairly carried out, and suffered to have its due influence, remedy most, if not all, of those dissensions that now distress all, while they deeply embarrass the politician.

Will our author accept this solution of some of our present difficulties? 'Tis true it will be no easy matter to cure the deep and wide-spread evil—men must be differently educated from what they have been; and *this* is a casting of our bread upon the waters, the fruit of which will not be apparent till after *many* days. The senseless cry of the "sovereign people" (that watchword of the rebel angels!) must be put down, and men's minds directed to the consideration of those duties that do come within their sphere; and they must be excited, all classes alike, to the diligent practice of them. There is a dissonance in our present system that might be well illustrated by St. Paul's imaginary dissension among the members of the body, and that can be attuned to harmony alone by this great principle that has too long been in abeyance: the key-note is untrue, and discord is the necessary consequence.

It has, perhaps, been a popular error of the day to expect too much from legislation—to attribute to Acts of Parliament an omnipotency which they will very rarely be found to possess. The condition of the poor excites the sincere and active sympathies of many: as one abuse after another is brought under their notice, they aim a "Bill" at it, and one branch

after another is lopped off; but, alas! they forget that unless the root be made good, the evil tree will unfailingly bring forth its bitter fruit. We must first make men *just*—and there is but one way of doing that—and then, and not till then, may they be expected to deal justly with their fellow-creatures; and even Christian men forget the one sad cause—to which all others are but secondary—of the varied miseries that rise in such frightful groups around us; and, in all their well-meant efforts to lessen suffering, they lightly pass by its one portentous source—sin. Christianize the master, and there will need no legal enactment to restrain him from the double cheat of wages cut down by wrongful fines and deductions, and then paid in goods *above* the market price: Christianize the workman, and the employer and his property will alike be safe from the shot of the assassin, and the match of the incendiary. *Neglect* to bring both under this influence—and a waggon load of Acts of Parliament, with an army of magistrates to enforce them, will utterly fail of rooting out oppression and revenge. Let us be clearly understood on this point—we do not undervalue good legislation in its proper place; but we do protest against mere political enactments to restrain the expression of certain bad principles, while the correction of the principles themselves—by the expansion of the Church till it is co-extensive with the wants of the population—is utterly neglected, or most inadequately attempted.

Is it safe to own that we somewhat sympathise with Mr. D'Isareli's dislike to the word "Conservative?"—on the score of its meaning anything or nothing—which you please? We fear not; and yet, in a whisper, we would just venture to express our hearty preference for its predecessor, which to us seems to imply principles more distinct and intelligible than those represented by the more modish name. We may be mistaken, but it appears frequently to be taken as the exponent of what we should deem an enervated Toryism—old principles lacquered over for modern use; and there is no denying that many of the Whigs (such of them as had anything to lose) a few years back became intensely *Conservative*, when they saw the mob preparing to carry out those doctrines which themselves, in their innocence, had so zealously preached: little dreaming that they were sowing dragon's teeth in a most luxuriant and prolific soil, and that they who sowed should speedily reap! However, "Conservative" is now the favourite word, and we will not quarrel for a name, *if* it is to be taken merely as an *alias* for our old friend! though, in this case, *cui bono?* The writer appears as the advocate of a separation between Church and State; and here we

most decidedly dissent from his views—that is, so long as the State shall force on the Church no unrighteous terms of union. We admit as fully as he, that it is a case in which the "reciprocity has been too much on one side!"—the Church *has* been oppressed by her ally and self-styled protector, and is so still. Yet, allowing for defects in the mode, we deem the union to be of advantage to both, and a blessing to the country, for it is this that renders us a Christian state—(Mr. D'Israeli would demur to our saying Christian *Government* now, and we will not dispute the point with him, lest we should have the worst of the argument); and we believe that national blessings, like those bestowed on individuals, are contingent on the character of the recipient. The individual who rejects Christianity forfeits all claim to Christian blessings; the State may deprive itself of them in the same way. We believe, in opposition to the eloquent Irishman, that a corporation *has* a soul to be saved, as it has a body to be punished; and in Scripture there are terrible denunciations against Godless nations. Then look at the facts of the connection. Ecclesiastics sat in Parliament quite as early as laymen—long before the Commons—and there is something ungracious, as well as absurd, in the new comers professing to "relieve them"—as the delicate phrase goes—of their duties there. It reminds one of the hedgehog that crept into the serpent's nest, and then bade him turn out if he were uncomfortable! Further, we do not see how the separation is to be managed: unless the bishops chose to withdraw—(and there may be a doubt as to whether they *could* act for their successors, as they are bound to preserve the temporalities of their sees)—their legislative functions could be extinguished only in the same way that those of the other branches of the legislature might be—that of being voted into nonentity; and the precedent would be anything but agreeable to those left behind. At all events—to use the words of an eminent Churchman—the Church must not abandon her position—she must wait to be thrust out, if she would avoid the charge of shrinking from burdens laid on her by Providence. But we trust this union may long be preserved (abhorrent though it be to Dissenters, *some* high-Church men, and, as we suppose, to that party for whom our friend on the table has undertaken to be spokesman), and that the time is past for the rights of the Church to be invaded, and her property confiscated: we have sacrilege enough on our consciences without calling for more: while, on the other hand, we think few will be found in this day to complain of State deterioration of her spirituality (save those whose approval would be the worst thing they could bestow on

us), however there may be to regret its limitation of her means, and sphere of usefulness.

We willingly give Mr. D'Israeli and his friends credit for a pure desire to benefit the Church, and extend her influence; but we think them mistaken in the means they propose for these desirable ends; and, surely, the present efficiency of our establishment—according to its power—should encourage them to hope better things—that this dislocation, this disruption, may not be necessary: and to believe that State connection is not inevitably productive of a low, lifeless condition of her existence. There is an energy and vitality about her that should cheer friends, and scare such of her enemies as have longed and wrought for her destruction, but whose attacks have but rendered her more potent and influential, by directing the attention of her members to her *divine* claims on their obedience.

"As gazing on our mother's brow,
The lineaments we trace,
(Which not the powers of earth or hell
Could e'er efface).

"Of her, the Spouse of Christ, the Bride,
The Church—in weakness sown;
But raised in power, and still preserved
By God alone.

"Her golden chain of priestly grace,
With links unbroken view—
We own her pure descent, and yield
Allegiance true."

But there is one point on which we must and will give them due praise—that is, their professing (and even the *profession* is valuable in the present condition of one of our legislative assemblies) to found their politics on a revelation proceeding from the Eternal Fount of law and order, and in so *far as they make good* this profession they are to be honoured.

There is much of a kindly old English spirit, towards which our heart warms, displayed in the publications of this school; and whether it be practicable or not to revive precisely the old customs and observances which, in times past, brought rich and poor together in amity, and cultivated peace and good will among them, we are certain that the *spirit* of such intercourse may be resuscitated; though, doubtless, it must find its expression according to the altered tastes and habits of the people. We could no more wear the customs of our forefathers than we could wear their clothes: but good feeling, if it exists, will

assuredly manifest itself, and be apt to seize on the best, most winning way of doing so. It will no more be suppressed by difference of usage and habit than by difference of climate and language. Good will is good will all the world over—in *time* as well as extent of soil—and the spirit which led our ancestors to kindly intercourse with their dependants and neighbours in Christmas mummings and May gambols, *if* it be found in their descendants, will not lack the power of embodying itself in sports and pursuits more consonant to our more educated, more serious, and less childlike generation. Nations, like men, have their childhood, their youth and their age, and ours is surely verging towards this last;—take the extent of our commerce as evidence of this, on my Lord Bacon's authority, if our memory deceive us not—and, without relinquishing that innocent gaiety which is the charm of a vigorous, healthy, maturity, will seek occupations and amusements congenial to this state. Not that we are sure we are the better for the loss of this simplicity of character; but, seeing it is gone, we must do our best to provide for what remains.

A sound education in the principles of the Church—"Fear God and honour the king"—is *our* chief reliance for the cure of the political and social evils so rampant around us—not the wretched remedy of more political power for those who know not how to use what they have. But time must elapse before its effects can be apparent; the mischief is too much *in-grain* to be easily washed out. To this work the Church is now faithfully applying herself; the attempt, too successfully made, to deprive our lower classes of national instruction, because the scheme proposed would have given her some precedence—scarcely all that was her due as a *national* Church—seems to have given her an additional impetus in the right direction, and we may hopefully look forward for a happy change—in the next generation! We, for our neglect, must, like the patriarch, pay the penalty of but seeing the promised land at a distance. So far as religious truth is concerned (spite of the trips now towards Rome, now towards Geneva, with which some of our friends have indulged themselves), we shall fulfil one of our author's requirements—we have "strong faith," but the political sky is not so clear to us. We *hope* that these convulsions and shakings may tend to our growth and establishment, as the sweeping rage of successive tempests gives strength and stability to the hardy forest tree. But we do not see it. Chaos is indeed stirred; but *what* is that spirit that now moves on the face of the waters we cannot predicate. Yet, if, as one has told us—

"Things from their opposites all have their sway,
Life springs from death, and verdure from decay,
Day from dark-teeming night, and night from day"—

If this be true, it must be owned we are in a fair way for a change for the better. "Things when at the worst must mend," says the old saw; and there is one act tending to this amelioration which we would earnestly commend to all, be they of old or "Young England"—even the old Puritan advice that every one should sweep before *his own door* to produce a clean street—each one mend one!—a plan more effectual than popular, it being the prevailing vice, leaning to "virtue's side," for each one to prefer mending his neighbour.

To dwell on the difference between the two races—the Norman and the Saxon—the conqueror and the conquered—as Mr. D'Israeli has done, in humble though perchance unconscious imitation of the Irish agitator, who loves to draw attention to such a distinction, appears to us, to say the least, idle. Is it needful to remind him that many of our nobility are most diluted descendants of the old Norman families they represent, and whose peerages they enjoy. In some instances there is, perhaps, not more than a homœopathic dose of the old blood left. Nay, if surnames are to be at all trusted in proof of lineage, it may be interesting to those curious in such matters to recognize in them the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to such as our friend, of illustrious Hebrew descent, (and ourselves—scarcely less illustrious—of the ancient British stock), the degraded progeny of Duke William's "Forty Thieves!" His zealous patronage of the Jews is really amusing; and yet, joking apart, we can imagine a Jew proud of his lineage, while a Christian looks on it very differently. Their distinction from all other races is exultingly touched upon, this remarkable fact being attributed to the superiority and purity of their physical nature. We have been accustomed to assign a different reason for it—to ascribe it to a determination of Providence (more visibly concerned in their affairs than in those of any other people), to *mark* them, first, in wrath—for their unwearied national wickedness, concluded by that most awful national crime which, wrought by the fathers, the children still obstinately affirm—the crucifixion of their King, *our* Saviour, and theirs! Secondly, in mercy—when, the veil being taken from their heart, they shall "look on Him whom they have pierced and mourn;" and, repenting, shall be gathered from all lands, over which they have wandered, destroyed, and yet sustained as living witnesses to God's truth and power, and restored to their own beloved, though now wasted Jerusalem. His argument for their admis-

sion into national institutions is this—that where power is *really*, it should be ostensibly—which we cannot allow as a *sequitur*. Would he recommend the making Mr. O'Connell Lord Lieutenant, by way of adding what theologians call "the attribute of visibility" to that power which he really, and we think unfortunately, possesses, in the "green isle?" We are aware that the objection to the admission of Jews into Parliament, on the score of ours being a Christian Government, would be met in a way unpleasant enough to us—the requiring us to *prove* the ground of our objection—somewhat of a difficulty we confess. Still, we may be allowed to oppose further inroads and innovations on the Constitution, and to protest against such a medley of Jews, Christians, and unbelievers, as that to which his scheme would reduce us. Bad as are dubious Christians in a Government professedly Christian, they are not so bad as those whose creed compels them to blaspheme ours! The Jews are a suffering people (though in secret amply avenged by placing their "foot on the neck of kings," in the controul which they exercise over all the European cabinets); and, as such, we would not add one feather's weight to their burdens: protection and toleration should be amply extended to them; but no further would we go. It is enough for us not to oppress those suffering under *Divine* wrath.

Mr. D'Israeli will call this bigoted. We love to be thought a bigot by some men, and this is one of the occasions on which we prefer the term. Our sympathies and feelings are as strongly Christian as his are Jewish. We fear that some of his illustrations, of the potency and prevalence of Jewish influence, will scarcely thank him for proclaiming to the world their Israelitish descent!

He has evidently something in view for our manufacturing *millionaires*—the Milbanks of the community; though *what* it is, we cannot exactly make out. We hope we mistake in thinking that he would ennoble them under certain circumstances; for he may rest assured that if nobility is to be made the prize of mere wealth—if any other distinctions are to be open to commercial men save those that naturally arise out of character, conduct, and the possession of more or less property—an element of strife will be introduced into that respectable class, which has, we believe, at present, no existence there. Our wealthy merchants and mill-owners have, we doubt not, the good sense to be well content with the advantages and legitimate influence of their present position; advantages and influence which would be diminished rather than increased by their being *tacked*—like the tail of a kite, far, far behind—to the peer-

age: a measure which would, on the part of those whose birth was compatible with the distinction, provoke such a species of ostracism towards the intruding members as would make them right glad to hide their coroneted heads in their mills and warehouses again; bestowing an especial malediction on those whose folly had betrayed them into their "false position!"

Want of space forbids any further comment on Mr. D'Israeli's views, so far as he has at present unfolded them; and what we have said—the expression of our own convictions on the subject, may be briefly summed up: that suffering is the inevitable result of man's being set in opposition to that Divine law which was his original rule of life; and, as the *cause* is diminished, so will be the effect. Were men, as they ought to be, actuated by Christian principles, they would make both better subjects and better governors (we use the word in its widest signification); and (as it is impossible to drive evil entirely out of the world) *so* influenced, what could not be mended would be more easily endured. All legislation that fails to recognise this principle must inevitably fall short of its intent. *Religious* policy is the only sound policy!

ART. X.—*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, comprising an Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, which obtained the Gold Medal and Prize of the Royal Irish Academy.* By G. PETRIE, R.H.A., V.P.R.I.A. Second Edition. Dublin: Hodges and Smith. 1845.

WE are glad to meet with this sensible and truly learned dissertation on the antiquities of Ireland; and for the credit of common sense we hope that the school of Vallancey, which has thrown such an air of ridicule around the Irish claims to antiquity, is about to pass away with the sheer absurdities which are exposed in this volume by Mr. Petrie; and that the true claims which Ireland really has to early learning, and primitive Christianity, may then become generally recognized; that thus it may be seen, as in a mirror, reflected from this secluded insular portion of Christendom, how much the Christian world has been really barbarized, and thrown back, instead of advanced, in civilization, by Romanism as it now is, wherever it has had free course to work, and has been unchecked by public opinion and the light of science, and the scrutiny or the example of other religious communities. Rome has possessed the spiritual dominion over Ireland, in some provinces, almost entirely and exclusively:

in these provinces a degree of barbarism, unknown to the rest of Europe at the present time, subsists. We are told, and with great shew of truth, that Ireland was once pre-eminent among the nations of Europe in religion, and in learning, and the arts of peace and civilization, which are sure to follow in the train of true religion. How then does it happen that Ireland is now the last in these respects? There can be but one sufficient answer. Her religion has grown corrupt, and has had free scope to work out its natural consequences. No other answer will explain it—this one cause is all sufficient.

The point from whence Mr. Petrie started in his enquiry was the origin and history of the round towers, induced thereto by a valuable premium offered by the Royal Irish Academy for any essay that should decide this long disputed question. It was prescribed, as one of the conditions, that the monuments to be treated of should be carefully examined, and their characteristic details described and delineated; but in carrying out this enquiry, Mr. Petrie found it necessary not only to examine all the round towers, and note all their peculiarities, and consult all the records he could find concerning them, but he has also made it his business to compare these structures with all other vestiges of ancient buildings in Ireland, both those which belong to churches, convents, and cells, and may be regarded as monuments of early Christian architecture; and those which are of known or probable Pagan origin.

"The results, I trust, (says Mr. Petrie), will be found satisfactory, and will suffice to establish, beyond all reasonable doubt, the following conclusions:—1. That the towers are of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. 2. That they were designed to answer, at least, a two-fold use, namely, to serve as belfries, and as keeps or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics to whom they belonged could retire for security in cases of sudden predatory attack. 3. That they were, probably, also used, when occasion required, as beacons and watch towers."

"These conclusions, which have been already advocated *separately* by many distinquished antiquarians, among whom are Molyneux, Ledwich, Pinkerton, Sir Walter Scott, Montmorenci, Brewer, and Otway, will be proved by the following evidences:—

First, that the towers are of Christian origin: 1, the towers are *never* found unconnected with ancient ecclesiastical foundations: 2, their architectural styles exhibit no features or peculiarities not equally found in the *original* churches with which they are locally connected, where such remain: 3, on several of them Christian emblems are observable, and others display in the details a style of architecture universally acknowledged to be of Christian origin: 4, they

possess, invariably, architectural features not found in any buildings in Ireland ascertained to be of Pagan times.

"SECOND CONCLUSION, that they were belfries, and keeps or castles: 1, their architectural construction eminently favours this conclusion: 2, a variety of passages, extracted from our annals and other authentic documents, will prove that they were constantly applied to both these purposes.

"THIRD CONCLUSION, that they may have also been occasionally used as beacons and watch-towers: 1, there are some historical evidences which render such an hypothesis extremely probable: 2, the necessity which must have existed in early Christian times for such beacons and watch-towers, and the perfect fitness of the round towers to answer such purposes, will strongly support this conclusion."

"These conclusions—or, at least, such of them as presume the towers to have had a Christian origin, and to have served the purpose of a belfry—will be further corroborated by the uniform and concurrent tradition of the country, and, above all, by authentic evidences which shall be adduced, relative to the erection of several of these towers, with the names and eras of their founders" (4).

Our readers should should bear in mind the many strange theories which have been broached concerning these towers at various times, in order to estimate the labours of Mr. Petrie, in sweeping away these strange vagaries, in order to make way for the establishment of the true history of these structures. And many of these notions have been maintained by learned and otherwise able men, so that they could not be altogether disregarded; and Mr. Petrie's work required that they should be disposed of as untenable, or not meeting the conditions of the question which he has undertaken to answer.

The theories concerning their origin have been:—first, that they were erected by the Danes; secondly, that they were of Phœnician origin. The theories concerning their uses have been—

1. That they were fire temples.
2. That they were used as places from which to proclaim the Druidical festivals.
3. That they were gnomons, or astronomical observatories.
4. That they were phallic emblems, or Bhuddist temples.
5. That they were anchorite towers, or stylite columns.
6. That they were penitential prisons.
7. That they were belfries.
8. That they were keeps, or monastic castles.
9. That they were beacons and watch-towers.

"It will be observed (says Mr. Petrie), that I dissent from the last three theories only so far as regards the appropriation of the towers exclusively to any one of the purposes thus assigned to them."

The round towers are cylindrical structures, varying in height from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet, and they are in circumference, at the base, from forty to sixty feet, tapering upwards, and finished at the top with a conical roof of stone. The wall at the base is never less than three feet in thickness, and some times, in the higher towers, it is five or six. The interior is divided into stories, sometimes so many as eight; the lowest being often of solid masonry, and when not so having no aperture: the door is in the second story and at a considerable height from the ground, and only large enough to admit a single person at a time: and there are marks of bolts and hinges to show that it was closed by a double door which could only be opened from the inside. The uppermost story has many apertures for windows, usually four, sometimes only two, but sometimes six or eight. The intermediate stories had each only one small aperture, just for light, and placed variously on no general principle: but sometimes the aperture immediately over the doorway is large enough to serve for a second entrance, though not so large as the proper doorway.

The masonic construction of these towers is of the most durable kind; the larger stones being bedded in mortar and smaller stones broken by the hammer, jammed into all the interstices, so as to present externally nearly one continuous surface of stone, while the body of the wall is filled up with very liquid mortar, into which small stones are rammed, like grouting or concrete work.

These towers stand detached from the churches with which they are associated, and this is the circumstance which has given occasion for the doubts concerning their origin and destination. No one doubts that the square towers of our English churches were built for ecclesiastical purposes—no one questions their being coeval with a church in that place, though it may be that the body of the church has been renewed, while the original tower, from its greater solidity, has not needed a renewal. We know of numberless instances of this: and, in such cases, the uses of both fabrics being ecclesiastical, their relative ages is to be determined by the style of building, concerning which no experienced architect can be led much astray. If this be the case with square towers which are attached to the churches, why should it not also be the case with round towers which are not attached?—when sufficient reasons are given, from the state of the country, both for their being round, and for their being unattached.

In several instances it is shewn that the style of building in the round tower, and in the adjoining church, are precisely

similar. In some instances, as at Kildare and Timahoe, the doorways of the tower are richly decorated with ornaments characteristic of a certain age; and, in other cases, frequent examples occur of that sort of masonry which consists of long and short stones alternately, and is generally considered one of the best criterions of Saxon architecture in England. But there are, moreover, evidences sufficient to shew at what time the building with mortar began in Ireland, and to shew that the first churches were of timber, and that the churches were often burnt by the Danes, when the towers either resisted them or had their floorings consumed, while the walls of the tower remained. Mr. Petrie thinks it probable that some of these towers may have been erected as early as the sixth century, and some as late as the twelfth; but that the greater number were built in the ninth and tenth centuries. The earliest are ascribed to Gobban Saer, sometimes called St. Gobban, who was contemporary of St. Columbo, and a builder of great repute, both in wood and stone, and who is thus spoken of in an ancient life of St. Abban:—"*Quidam famosissimus in omni arte lignorum et lapidum erat in Hibernia, nomine Gobbanus, cujus artis fama usque in finem sæculi erit in ea:*"—

"But though I am thus disposed to assign this early antiquity to some of the existing towers, I have no doubt that the great majority of them were erected in later times, and more particularly, as their ornamental architecture indicates, in the ninth and tenth centuries. The destructive ravages of the Danes would have rendered the reaction or restoration of such structures necessary, especially at the close of the latter century; and, as I shall shew in the third part of this enquiry, many of the towers afford sufficient evidence, in the various styles of masonry and difference of material which they exhibit, that they have been in part rebuilt in times long subsequent to that of their original foundation. Nor are we wholly without authorities—historical authorities—for such restorations. Thus Keating informs us that the *cloicheach*, or round tower of Tomgraney, which was erected in 964, was repaired by the monarch, Brian Borumha" (390).

The passage from the annals of Clonmacnoise is too rich and tempting to be passed, and we give it for the edification of our readers:—

"A.D. 996, Bryan Borowe took the kingdome and government thereof out of the hands of King Moyleseaghlyn in such manner as I do not intend to relate in this place; he was very well worthy of the government, and reigned twelve years the most famous king of his time, or that ever was before or after him of the Irish nation; for manhood, fortune, manners, laws, liberality, religion, and other many good parts, he never had his peere among them all, though some chroniclers

of the kingdom made comparisons between him and Conkedeagh, Conaire More, and King Neale of the nine hostages; yett he, in regard of the state of the kingdom when he came to the government thereof, was judged to bear the bell allways from them all. At his first entrie into the kingdome, the whole realme was overrun and overspread everywhere by the Danes: the churches, abbeys, and other religious places, were by them quite rased and debased, or otherwise turned to vile, base, servile, and abominable uses. Most of all, yea almost all the noblemen, gentlemen, and those that were of any accompt, were turned out of their lands and livings without any hope of recovery or future redresse; yea, some of the best sort were compelled to servitude and bounden slavery; both human lawe and God's fear were sett aside. In sume it was strange how men of any fashion could use other men as the Danes did use the Irishmen at that time. But King Bryan Borowe was a meet salve to cure such festered soares; all the physsick in the world could not help it elsewhere. In a small time he banished the Danes—made up the churches and religious houses—restored the nobility to their ancient patrimony and possessions—and, in fine, brought all to a notable reformation."

A few notices from these same annals establish at once the point of the devastations of the Danes, and the uses to which these round towers were adapted—namely, the preservation of the treasures of the Church, and the place of refuge for the priests on any sudden attack of the Danes:—

"A.D. 948. The cloictheach of Slane was burnt by the Danes, with its full of reliques and good people, with Caoinechair, reader of Slane, and the crosier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells."

"A.D. 1076. Murchad, grandson of Flann O'Maelsechlainn, was treacherously killed by Amlaff, son of Marlan, king of Gaileng, in the *cloictheach* of Kells, who was himself slain immediately after, through the miracle of Columbkille, by Maelsechlain, the son of Conchobhar."

"A.D. 1127. A great hosting by Connor Mac Farrell O'Loughlinn, together with the northern people of Ireland, to Meath; they burnt the steeple and church of Trim, and both full of people."

That the round towers were, in fact, steeples of churches is shown very clearly by Mr. Petrie; and their being round, and detached from the churches, and having a small entrance, at a considerable height from the ground, are only circumstances which indicate precaution against fire, or sudden surprise; and it provided a safe place of deposit for the treasures of the Church, and a retreat for the ecclesiastics, and some of the more defenceless inhabitants, until the country could be roused, and the storm should be blown over. There are similar round towers in many remote districts, constructed to afford a temporary refuge from such disasters, unconnected with churches altogether; but as the treasures of the Church, and the lives of

ecclesiastics, were esteemed the most precious of all things, the providing such places of refuge applies *a fortiori* to the Church. The castle of Brunless, in Breconshire—that of Dolbadern in Carmarthenshire—and the towers of Launceston and Conisborough castles—and, in fact, the round-keep of Gooderich, and a considerable number of the border castles, are evidences of the same thing. Many of these were, undoubtedly, the stronghold of a turbulent district; and, by degrees, stately buildings, and even towns, clustered around them.

Mr. Petrie has made out so clear a case that it may be thought there can be no room for doubt; but, unfortunately, so much has been written before, and that with so much pretension to learning and research—and has, therefore, taken such hold of the minds of many who have a morbid admiration of antiquity, and confound the obscure with the venerable—that we must advert to some of these opinions. For ourselves, we profess that an ecclesiastical or Christian origin is that which we chiefly honour; and we tender our thanks to Mr. Petrie for having so ably vindicated the right of the Church to be considered as the builder of these round towers of Ireland. But there are others who would rather trace their origin to Pagans of any kind, if they can thereby establish a claim to a somewhat higher antiquity: they care not whether it be Druids, or Phœnicians, or the fire-worshippers of Persia, or the Bhuddists of Hindostan—the farther they recede in time and space the better are they satisfied with themselves. But, really, the time is gone by for such idle trifling: it reminds one of Edward founding his claim to the Scottish throne on his descent from Brutus the Trojan, and his being outdone by his rival claiming descent from the daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt.

It would be mere waste of time to notice the many and contradictory opinions which have been put forth in support of the idea of the Pagan origin of the round towers; all of which it was Mr. Petrie's duty to notice, and which he has very clearly exposed and refuted. But just, as a specimen, we may advert to the ablest of such writers, namely Dr. Lanigan. Of him, Mr. Petrie writes thus:—

"I have next to notice the arguments in support of this hypothesis of the eastern origin of the towers, of a writer who was greatly superior in solid learning, honesty, and general acuteness, to any of those whose reasonings I have hitherto combated—namely Dr. Lanigan, the able author of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. That such a writer should have followed in the track of Vallancey can only be accounted for by his slight acquaintance with the subject of architectural antiquities. His reasonings are as follows:—

"'The great similarity of these towers in the interior of Hindostan to our Irish round towers has convinced me, as my worthy and learned friend General Vallencey had long endeavoured to establish in various tracts of his, that this mode of architecture was introduced into Ireland in times of paganism, by a people who came to this country from some far distant part of the East. The patterns from which the construction of our towers was imitated were, most probably, the fire temples of the Persians and others, who followed the Magian religion as reformed by Zerdusht, or, as he is usually called, Zoroastres. Those temples were usually round, and some of them were raised to a great height. That fire was, in Pagan times, an object of worship, or at least great veneration in Ireland, and particularly the sun, which was considered the greatest of all fires, is an indubitable fact. Now, the lower part of an Irish round tower might have answered very well for a temple—that is, a place in which was an altar, on which the sacred fire was preserved, while the middle floors could have served as habitations for the persons employed in watching it: according to this hypothesis, the round towers existed in Ireland before churches were built.....It may be that some of these towers were built after the establishment of Christianity in Ireland for penitential purposes, as already alluded to, although I have some doubts about it; but I think it can scarcely be doubted, that the original models, according to which they were constructed, belong to the times of paganism; and that the singular style of architecture, which we observe in them, was brought from the East, between which and this country it is certain that there was an intercourse at a very ancient period of time" (38).

Mr. Petrie deals playfully with the above, well-knowing that the facts are not as Dr. Lanigan states them; for facts, and above all architectural facts, are stubborn things; compared with which, reports from the interior of Hindostan, and the "indubitable fact" of fire being an object of worship, and the certainty of an intercourse with the East at a very ancient period of time, are light as the dust in the balance. "The lower part (the doctor gravely states) *would* have answered very well for a fire temple:" and he adds, in a note, "to guard against the objection that may be made, of how these covered temples were kept free from smoke, that might easily be contrived by the help of the loop-holes, which we find in them, or of *the door*." There are no loop-holes in the lower part of the towers, and the only opening is the door; and this expedient, says Mr. Petrie, is one so truly Irish, that I am forced to acknowledge the strength of the argument which it furnishes: and am only surprised that the doctor did not think of strengthening it by an allusion to the known perpetuation of the custom among the fire worshippers still remaining in Ireland. And we, who are accustomed to see the smoke of a fire pass up the

chimney instead of out at the door, should deem these middle floors little better for habitations, with the fire burning beneath, than the middle part of a chimney would be. And of the assertion made by the doctor, that the towers existed in Ireland before churches were built, Mr. Petrie disposes, first, by shewing that not the least evidence has been adduced to prove that the Irish were acquainted with the art of building, with lime cement, before the time when they received the Christian faith; secondly, by shewing that there are remains of churches, cells, and indisputably Christian structures, of a decidedly older style of building than the generality of these towers, being without cement, or of that style called *Cyclopean;* thirdly, that though there are numerous instances of ancient churches without towers, there is no instance of a round tower without a church, or the ruins of one adjoining: and that the architecture of the church and tower agree in character, and in some instances, the cross, and other Christian symbols, are introduced over the door, or other conspicuous part of the tower, and in a manner which indicates that it was so inserted when the tower was built, and at no subsequent period.

The earliest of the Irish churches preserve the form of the Roman basilica, and are called by this name in the oldest writers; excepting that there appears no instance of the semicircular apsis at the eastern end, which is a general feature of the Roman basilica. No early churches are found in the form of a cross in Ireland—they are usually simple quadrangles; but some of them have another quadrangle, of smaller dimensions, at the east end, for a chancel. They had seldom more than one entrance at the west end; and that small, and becoming narrower upwards, being covered with lintel, consisting of a large block of stone. The churches were very dark, having a few small windows splaying inwards, which seem not to have been glazed. The chancel is better lighted than the nave—having two, and sometimes three windows; one of which is always at the east end, and another in the south wall. In the smaller churches the roofs were often formed of stone, as in some of the oratories which even yet remain; but the larger were of wood, covered with shingles, straw, or reeds: and near them are the sepulchral pillars of the founders, or other distinguished men, who have been there interred.

A plate of the doorway of the church of St. Fechin, at Fore, in the county of Westmeath, is given by Mr. Petrie:—

"This magnificent doorway, which the late eminent antiquarian traveller, Mr. Edward Dodwell, declared to me was as perfectly Cyclopean in its character as any specimen he had seen in Greece, is

constructed altogether of six stones, including the lintel, which is about six feet in length, and two in height, the stones being all of the thickness of the wall, which is three feet. The doorway, like that of the Lady's church at Glendalough, has a plain architrave over it, which is, however, not continued along its sides; and, above this, there is a projecting tablet, in the centre of which is sculptured in relief a plain cross within a circle. This cross is thus alluded to in the ancient life of St. Fechin, translated from the Irish, and published by Colgan in his *Acta Sanctorum*, 22nd Jan., cap. 23, p. 135:—"*Dum S. Fechinus rediret Fovdriam, ibique consisteret, venit ad eum ante* FORES ECCLESIÆ, UBI CRUX POSITA EST, *quidam a talo, usque ad verticem lepra percussus*" (175.)

The legend says that this ponderous stone baffled all the efforts of the workmen to raise it; but that while they were gone to breakfast, having exhausted all their strength, leaving the saint alone in the place, the stone was miraculously raised and fitted into its place, at the prayers of the saint, to their no small joy and admiration: and there the stone remains, to the present day, an all-sufficient answer to the incredulous.

However the stone may have got there, it is an evidence of the Christian origin of the building; and the tradition is also good evidence of the fact that the church was built in the time of St. Fechin, and therefore before the middle of the seventh century, since the saint died of the plague, A. D. 664. This was the usual form of doorways in the primitive churches of Ireland—a form not found in Saxon churches, which had usually semicircular arches and upright sides. A few examples may be found in Ireland of circular arches, as early as the seventh century; but then the sides incline inwards after the Cyclopean manner. It is not to poverty or want of skill that Mr. Petrie ascribes the unadorned simplicity and contracted dimensions of the earliest churches, but to veneration for some model given them by their first teachers. St. Patrick is said to have been directed by an angel in fixing the dimensions of the *basilicæ* at sixty feet in length and twenty-six in breadth; and this is the size ascribed to Glastonbury, and some of the oldest churches of England, as well as Ireland.

That the ecclesiastics of that age were neither poor nor unskilful is shown in the sacred implements and illuminated manuscripts which they possessed. Their croziers, bells, shrines, and chalices were of excellent workmanship; and their manuscripts were, in point of splendour, equal to any of the same age extant in Christendom: therefore, although their churches were small and appear rude, there were valuables belonging to them, for the safe keeping of which, strongholds, like the round

towers, might very reasonably be expected to be built; and when we add to these valuables the relics of saints, so infinitely more precious in the eyes of those men, we need not wonder at the exceeding great labour and strength of these erections.

The style of building shows that they are posterior to the churches which we have just been speaking of; or that, if any such churches were built at the time of the building of the towers, veneration for an earlier model led to that form of church. The strength of the towers is a proof that security was their leading intention, which appears also in their great height, in their small raised door, and in the absence of windows, save in the upper story, which last, moreover, seem evidently intended to keep watch, and give timely notice of any hostile approach; and the small size of these strongholds shows that they were not designed for the safety of numbers, or of anything bulky, but only of such a number of ecclesiastics as would be required for the services of the church, and such portable treasures as it might contain.

It is not very difficult to fix the age of most of these buildings in Ireland, from the monuments or sepulchral pillars which are to be found in the adjacent churchyards, or burying grounds; and Mr. Petrie has rendered us a great service in collecting so many of these inscriptions, and giving us fac-similes of the most interesting of the monuments. These are the kind of materials we want, in order to give the finishing blow to the follies of Vallancey; who, in his ignorance, or in the blindness of infatuation, found Oghams or Phœnician characters in every scratch, and even converted the plainest Saxon into his favourite, his ever-present, chimera.

Many of these are upright pillar stones, with a cross and circle, generally accompanied with inscriptions, some as old as the fifth century, and in the Græco-Roman, or Byzantine characters of that period. One stone of this kind, which is engraved by Mr. Petrie, has a cross sculptered on one of its sides, and on the other side, the entire alphabet of this character, which poor Vallancey has metamorphosed, as usual, into two kinds of character—"one, the Ogham, on each side of a line (this is the cross)—the other a running character, which appears to be a mixture of Phœnician, Pelasgian, and Egyptian!!!" Mr. Petrie's account is as follows:—

"We have a well preserved and most interesting example of the whole alphabet of this character on a pillar stone now used as a gravestone in the churchyard of Kilmalkedar.....I should observe that a drawing of this inscription, made by the late Mr. Pelham, and which he tells us may be depended on as a correct copy, has been already

published by General Vallancey, in the sixth volume of his 'Collectanea, part i.;' and I add, as a characteristic example of that gentleman's antiquarianism, his observations thereon, which are follows: 'There are very evidently two kinds of characters on this stone—one, the *Ogham*, on each side of a line; the other, a running character, which appears to be a mixture of Phœnician, Pelasgian, and Egyptian.' He then presents us with four examples of Egyptian and Persepolitan characters, to show their similarity to the characters on the Kilmalkedar stone, and concludes with a comment on the circumstance of a flowered cross being sculptured on another side of it as follows:—'the cross was, and is still, an usual ornament with the Asiatic nations. The vestment of the priest of Horus is full of crosses.—See Caylus, vol. vi., pl. 7.' That the inscription is, however, truly what I have stated it to be, a mere alphabet wanting the A, which has been broken off, will, I am satisfied, be at once apparent to every intelligent scholar; and also, that the three large letters, D N I, which occur in the middle of the inscription, and which Valancey supposed to be an *Ogham*, is nothing more than the usual abbreviation of DOMINI" (135).

Many of the pillar monuments are supposed to be as old as the time of St. Patrick, who is reported to have consecrated Pagan monuments when it was desired to apply them to Christian uses, by causing the name of the Lord to be cut upon them before any other inscription. Mr. Petrie thinks the "Domini" in the middle of the stone was thus cut, and that then the alphabet was carved as an *abecedarium* to teach the converts letters; and there are many inscriptions nearly as old as the time of St. Patrick. One of St. Brecan, who was baptized by St. Patrick, is given in this work, 140. To St. Patrick is ascribed the honour of having brought into Ireland the art of building churches of stone and lime cement. Three masons are named as forming part of his household. These stone churches were called *damhiags;* and the first which was erected is Daimhliag, now Duleek, in Meath, founded by St. Ciaran, a great favourite of St. Patrick, whom he consecrated a bishop, and to whom he gave a celebrated copy of the Gospels, long preserved at Duleek, and now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Eight churches in the plain of Bregia are said to have been erected by St. Patrick; and Mr. Petrie considers the cathedral at Armagh, and other stone churches existing in that district in the ninth century, as having been erected by St. Patrick, or his companions and immediate followers, in the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth—being all of the same general character, and style of building.

The old Irish churches were always dedicated to some native saint, and scarcely any but natives were admitted into the early calendars; but the number of foreigners that resorted to Ire-

land, from all parts, attracted by the fame of its piety and learning, was very great: many of whom ended their days in that land, and have their names preserved, not only in the Irish annals, but in the litanies also, and in numerous monuments still in existence. We hope to return to this part of the subject, that we may discuss it in connection with the ancient religious edifices of Ireland, to which it is Mr. Petrie's intention to call our attention in the next part of his inquiry.

The illustrations of the present volume are numerous and excellent. They are not introduced in any instance as mere ornaments, but solely because the points under consideration required them; and we think them just what they should be, in order to enable the reader to form a correct judgment. They are well chosen—drawn in an artist-like manner—and executed with great clearness, spirit and fidelity. The volume has also a good index, which is no slight recommendation to a work of this kind—a work which every one who reads it will often refer to again.

ART. XI.—*The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, translated from the original Hebrew: with a Commentary, critical, philological, and exegetical.* By E. HENDERSON, D.D. Hamilton and Adams, 1845.

IN the ranks of learning no party distinctions ought to be allowed—all should take their place according to their ability, without regard to the denomination to which they may belong: and in sacred criticism, beyond any other department of literature, truth alone should be our standard—its advocacy the title to distinction; and every friend of truth should find the hand of friendship extended even by those, who, on other occasions, might find it necessary to draw a strong line of distinction and separation between Episcopalians and Independents. Though Dr. Henderson "followeth not with us" in many important particulars, yet, in the common cause, of interpreting and defending sacred truth, we may speak of him as being "on our part," and he has on many occasions shown that he is possessed of learning and zeal, always having been, moreover, a strenuous advocate for the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

By the confession of all, the minor prophets form the most difficult portion of the Old Testament Scriptures. This is a fact obvious to the mere English reader, from the obscurity apparent in many of the passages, and from the more than usual number of various renderings which are placed in the

margin of the authorised version. This difficulty arises not only from change of style in the language itself, but also, and especially, from these last of the Hebrew prophets being, in their spirits, more entirely carried away from present things, and being so rapt into futurity as to utter their Cassandra-like wailings in short, abrupt, nervous strains, far beyond the apprehension of their auditors, and only interpreted by succeeding events; and these prophecies can only be understood now, through a careful study of all the circumstances and events out of which they arose; and, by using all the light of the New Testament, and of subsequent Church history, in tracing their partial or entire accomplishment, and by deducing from those which are fulfilled principles which we may safely extend to the whole, or by which, at least, we may ascertain how much remains to be fulfilled.

It may be asked why the knowledge of these things is necessary to a clear and accurate translation of the Hebrew? Can it not be translated literally?—and can we not leave to events the determination of the mode of accomplishment? To which we reply, that a translator must know something of the scope and drift of the mind of the original, or he will give a false meaning, if he do not write mere words conveying no definite or intelligible meaning at all. It would be so in translating from any other language; but it is especially so in translating from the Hebrew, which being a language essentially idiographic, requires all the vincula and auxiliary adjuncts to be supplied, when rendering the naked majestic simplicity of the original into any modern dialect. These prophets, too, were each raised up at a crisis, not only when all around them seemed about to perish, but when God was making bare his arm in present judgments, and both preparing for and revealing future destinies of glory and of joy. So that as men—as poets—as well as prophets—they were wrought to the highest strains; and nowhere, unless it be in the matchless book of Psalms, shall we find richer poetry than in the minor prophets.

Every translation, to be sufficient and intelligible, must assume the nature of an interpretation: for, however literal we may endeavour to make it, we must give to each word a meaning in agreement with the sense of the whole passage, and the passage must agree with the scope of the whole prophecy or book; and this book again must be seen in its agreement with all similar books in the first place, and in the last and highest sense must agree with the general doctrine and harmonious purport of all revelation, considered as one whole; with which universal purport of Scripture, every word, yea, every jot and tittle, must

needs agree, since it has been declared by our Lord that heaven and earth shall pass away rather than the least syllable fail.

It is found by experience that no unconverted Jew can translate the Hebrew Scriptures; so as to render them intelligible as a mere book: something is felt to be wanting—there is a deficiency of sense in the most important passages. A person, ignorant of Christianity, on reading such a translation, would say that it must be wrong—it is destitute of meaning; there is a great parade of preparation; but no result appears, or the conclusion is so lame and impotent as to appear ridiculous. We say "unconverted Jew," that we may limit the assertion to times subsequent to the incarnation; since no Jew before their rejection of God, because they had rejected Christ, was in that dreadful condition of professing to believe in a revelation from heaven, and finding the book thereof to be sealed, and groping after a meaning as for hid treasure, yet utterly unable to find any rational, any satisfactory, sense.

Christ is the end of the law to every one that believeth—to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile. Christ is also the key that unlocks the mysteries of revelation; and then at once the door of entrance to the temple, and the sacrifice, and priest and interpreter, and enshrined in Shechinah glory, the object of adoration to all the worshippers. He is the way, the truth, and the life, leading up to God; and God hath glorified him, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. But the Jews, having rejected Christ, lost this key of knowledge; and the book became to them as though it were literally sealed, or they were literally unable to read it: and in this was fulfilled the remarkable prophecy of Isaiah xxix. 9, "Stay yourselves, and wonder; cry ye out, and cry: they are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink. For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the prophets and your rulers, the seers hath he covered. And the vision of all is come unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed. And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned."

So, also, the Gentiles, not knowing Christ, would be utterly unable by the best grammatical knowledge of Hebrew to make sense or meaning of the most important portions of the Old Testament; for the testimony of Jesus is not only the spirit of prophecy, but the spirit of the law, and the spirit of the sacred history from the beginning. On him did the faith repose of

Abel and all the worthies of old. It was the day of Christ that Abraham rejoiced to behold: it was the reproach of Christ that Moses esteemed as greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: he it was that cheered them in the wilderness, for they drank of the rock that followed them, which rock was Christ: him David beheld by faith when declaring "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand," and again when exclaiming "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." These all beheld Christ afar off and died in faith, not having received the promises. But God hath provided some better thing for us—we are come in Christ Jesus to the general assembly and Church of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.

We are not giving utterance to a mere rhapsody, but we mean to be understood literally in what we are endeavouring to express; namely, that every part of Scripture has some bearing upon Christianity, and consequently upon Christ, who is the foundation and top stone—the alpha and omega of the Church. Therefore, in proportion as Christianity is understood, all Scripture will become clear: but to understand Christianity fully, Christ must be fully recognized, and that in all his characters of prophet, priest, and king—not only as the meek and lowly Jesus, the example to his suffering people, but also as the head of his triumphant and glorified Church in the kingdom of heaven—acknowledged both as the Lamb of God, and as the King of kings.

And this necessity of recognizing Christ everywhere, and in all his characters, applies in a special manner to the "Book of the Minor Prophets"—writings which, in proportion to their length, are far more largely charged with the burden of future judgments, and with strains of triumph and visions of future glory, than are the longer prophesies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and which more resemble the concluding chapters of Isaiah, the evangelical prophet, than any other part of Scripture. From the fortieth chapter onwards, Isaiah comforts the people of God with visions of revival, and new creation, and crowns of rejoicing, after their long warfare shall be accomplished. And the Minor Prophets all dwell upon the same themes, and look forward to that final blessedness—that triumphant day.

Some of the predictions are so clear on this point that it must be acknowledged, so far as the Jews themselves are interested therein, by every one who believes in the inspiration of Scripture. Dr. Henderson, therefore, says, concerning the conclusion of Amos:—

"It is impossible to conceive of prophecy more distinctly or posi-

tively asserting the future and final restoration of the Jews to Canaan than that contained in these verses. Once and again they have been removed from that favoured land on account of their wickedness, but still it is theirs by divine donation to their great progenitor. And when they return to the faith of Abraham, beholding in retrospection the day of the Messiah, which he saw and was glad, but deeply bewailing their guilt in having crucified him, and persevered for so many centuries in the rejection of his Gospel, they shall regain possession of it, and remain its happy occupants till the end of time" (183).

Dr. Henderson thus acknowledges that such prophecies as these stretch over the many centuries of the present dispensation, or the times of the Gentiles, and that they apply to the future restoration of the Jews; and we wish to show that these intervening centuries are not passed unnoticed—are not wholly omitted: that there is no chasm in short, but that, though, as might be expected in *Hebrew* prophecies, the *literal* Israel has the first place, yet the *spiritual* Israel is also to be found there; and that, though the restoration of the Jews after the times of the Gentiles is the prominent subject, yet these intermediate times, which are our times, for we are Gentiles, are also to be found in the prophecies. To the Jews the promise of their restoration is, of course, the most interesting subject; but to us, Gentiles, the grand point is to find our interest in these prophecies, as the spiritual Israel, and *the only people of God* during the time of the rejection of the Jews: for it is to be remembered that St. Paul refers to Hosea in proof that the Jews are not the people of God now, and that the Gentiles are (Rom. ix. 25); and that St. Paul would not have us, Gentiles, ignorant of the mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in (Rom. xi. 25). The Jew has been called the master-key of Scripture—we say that Christ is the key.

But the difficulty returns, how to attain the knowledge of this mystery—how to secure this key—how, in short, shall we escape being deceived by pretenders to knowledge, and by overstrained applications of Scripture? Rashness of interpretation may lead to as much error as incredulity or rationalism, and such seeming piety is in fact profane, for it would pledge the word of God in support of vain theories and mere conceits. The Scriptures themselves afford the solution of the difficulty—they furnish the key: for in the New Testament we find the prophecies of the Old taken up and applied to Christ and the Church in a vast variety of instances; so that samples are afforded of every class of prophecy, and every variety of difficulty. And

these applications give us the warrant to use all the analogous prophecies in illustration of Christianity, and enable us to refer with confidence to Christ all such prophecies as relate to the person and office of David's son and David's Lord as are in strict agreement with those which are so cited and applied by Christ himself, or in the inspired writings. This principle of analogous interpretation is laid down by our Lord; who, having spoken *many* parables, and expounded *one* of them, says, "Have ye understood ALL these things? They say unto him, Yea, Lord. Then said he unto them, Therefore every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old" (Matt. xiii. 52).

In all such endeavours, our only way of avoiding rash speculation, and the danger of unbridled fancies—the only rational—the only safe method of interpretation—is, to lay our foundation in those passages of Scripture which have already been opened and applied by the Holy Spirit; and taking these as our sure guides to compare Scripture with Scripture. The passage which best suits our present purpose is that memorable prophecy of Joel, which was taken up by St. Peter at the first giving of the Holy Ghost to the Church, and was applied by him to the things which were then in course of accomplishment, and which were the commencement of the last days, and the ushering in of the Christian dispensation. But as the thing then doing was the fulfilment of the promise made by Christ in the fourteenth of John, and as the Comforter then given was to abide with the Church always, so it follows that this part of the prophecy of Joel extends over the whole of the dispensation of the Spirit—that is, the whole times of the Gentiles—the whole time between the casting off of the Jews, and their return to their land, and restoration to the favour of God. But the prophecy of Joel also speaks of signs in the sun, and moon, and stars; yet it has been argued that we must not give these signs the same application to the Church and the times of the Gentiles which St. Peter gave to the promise of the Spirit. This is inconsistent, and there is no ground for the inconsistency, but there is the strongest ground for consistency.

Dr. Henderson disclaims a double sense of prophecy, and the multiform interpretation of Scripture; but the worst of all double senses must be that of applying one half of the same prophecy to one thing, and the other half of it to another thing. And we will now show that these signs spoken of by Joel are by our Lord himself applied to the end of the Gentile dispensation, as well as to the end of the Mosaic dispensation, and that,

as in agreement with Eusebius and Josephus, he understands them to have had one accomplishment at the destruction of Jerusalem, he must, in agreement with the words of our Lord, admit of a second fulfilment, after the treading down of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, and before the coming of the Son of Man.

St. Paul continually regards the old or Mosaic covenant as one, throughout its whole period—in the wilderness, in the land, under judges, under kings, during the captivity in Babylon, and after their return. It is one covenant from the coming out of Egypt until the crucifixion of Christ, and the consequent rejection of the Jews by the people. And he constantly regards the New or Christian covenant as one, and as never to be superseded by another: as one in the immediate abrogation of all national distinctions, where there is neither Jew nor Greek; and, therefore, whensoever the Jews may be brought into the new covenant, it will not be as Jews, but on the same footing as all others who are all one in Christ Jesus. This fundamental principle we must begin with, for it is taught throughout all Scripture. We always find the Christian dispensation regarded as one whole, lying between the first and the second advents. It is always regarded as the time of the other Comforter whom our Lord went away to send (John xvi. 7-22); and that as he went away but once, and that only to send the Holy Ghost as on the day of Pentecost, so he shall come again but once, and that only to ratify openly the covenant of the Spirit—the new covenant, and to set up his own everlasting kingdom. There is an apparent parallel between the visible Church and the Jews, in that, while the Jews are outcasts the Church is suffering persecution and scorn from the world; but the Jews shall be restored at the time when the Church shall receive that crown of glory spoken of by St. Paul, as to be given to all those that love the Lord's appearing.

The prophecy of Joel is cited by St. Peter to prove the commencement of a dispensation which was to terminate in signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars—which signs had been specified by our Lord as the precursors of his second coming—as signs of terror to his adversaries, but of joy to his faithful followers. Men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that are coming on the earth, for the powers of heaven shall be shaken: "And when ye see these things begin to come to pass, then lift up your heads with joy, as knowing that your redemption draweth nigh" (Luke xxi. 25-28.) And as in the Gospel this follows the destruction of Jerusalam, (v. 20) and the times of the Gentiles (v. 24), these signs are still future, and the prophecy of Joel has not yet had its full accomplishment.

If we examine attentively St. Peter's application of the prophecy of Joel, we perceive that there are two things spoken of —one commencing then, and running through the whole course of the dispensation which was then beginning: viz. the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, to gather a people and prepare them for the day of the Lord—another thing which would take place when that people was so gathered and prepared; and, therefore, at the end of the dispensation which was then beginning, viz. the signs in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, to announce that the kingdom of heaven was come, and that the curse, brought in by the fall, was reversed—a recovery coextensive with the fall.

St. Peter cites the whole prophecy, because the things belong to one dispensation, and form one whole, and are inseparable; and above all, because no one could know at that time how short a work it might be; and that, as our Lord's ministry lasted little more than three years, so the Church might be gathered and prepared in as short a time: and, indeed, there is every reason to conclude, that the limitation of the preaching of the Gospel to the Jews only did only last as short a time; but St. Peter, though he cites the whole prophecy, does not say that the whole was then fulfilled; but only says that Christ, being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, had shed forth that which they saw and heard. This was the point to which he limited himself, in applying the prophecy of Joel.

It should also be observed that, in the Gospels, when these things are spoken of, the events of the whole dispensation, in like manner, run together, and must have been inseparable in the minds of the first disciples, as they are inseparable now to an inattentive reader. The Church could not at first bear to be told of the many centuries of trial and anguish which were to be gone through before the final deliverance would come; and it now requires the heartfelt experience of all that the Church has gone through, and a careful comparison of the several Gospels, and of the apostolical comments thereon, to perceive the proper order of sequence of these several events.

Our Lord, at the sight of the goodly buildings of the temple, foretold its coming destruction; and the disciples enquired not only when this should be, but also what should be the sign of his coming, and of the end of the world. Christ, in replying, notices the second and third points as well as the first: and although in St. Matthew it might seem as if he were directing their attention chiefly to the things which were at hand, and how they were to conduct themselves under the trials which they, in person, would have to encounter; yet it is evident, to

us now, that he was giving admonitions for all time; and the parables which immediately follow, of the wise and foolish virgins, and the sheep and goats, put the matter beyond dispute that our Lord had answered the three questions, in the preceeding chapter, and that his discourse embraces not only the destruction of Jerusalem, but the whole present dispensation, until his second coming and the day of judgment. In the gospel of St. Luke no doubt could ever arise; for the events which may be regarded in St. Matthew as one great time of tribulation are broken up into portions, and placed in the order and sequence of history in St. Luke; and the signs in the sun, and moon, and stars, which are said to occur immediately after the great tribulation in St. Matthew, are placed by St. Luke after the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled. We do not mean to deny the fact that portents and prodigies accompanied the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish dispensation; but we maintain that similar and even greater portents shall accompany the close of the present dispensation, and for the same reason—that is, in judgment upon a Church as faithless to the trust committed to her as were the Jews to that trust committed to them: which faithless Church we believe to be that of Rome, and all who partake of her sins. All Scripture speaks of an apostacy, and St. Paul's epistles, and the book of the Apocalypse, give the signs and tokens by which that apostacy may be known, and they all point to Rome; but this is not the place to trace them out. The *fact* is all that we insist upon at the present time and on this occasion.

The judgment upon this final apostacy shall be accompanied with such portents in heaven as we read in Joel and the gospels, and as it is written in the sixth chapter of the Apocalypse, and spoken of in general terms in the second epistle to the Thessalonians. But when the judgment begins it will be too late to take warning; and as coming troubles cast their shadows before, so there will be signs in the spiritual heavens, which those who are spiritually minded may discern, so as to take timely warning, and flee from sin, and so escape the judgment; and not be like the Pharisees whom Christ charged with hypocrisy, for not being able to discern the signs of the times.

The relation which subsists between the heaven and the earth was designed to indicate the connexion that subsists between invisible and visible things—between the spiritual region and the region of sense—between the Church and the world. God reigns in the heavens, and he is the Lord of spirits. The earth looks to the heavens for light and heat—for the breathing gales, and refreshing dews, and fertilizing showers; and as the sun

rules the day, and the moon rules the night, and the stars in their appointed courses give the note of time to man—being set for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years—so in spiritual things the Church is compared with these heavenly bodies, being required to bear the same kind of witness for God, and give the same note of time, or sign of warning to the world, which the sun, moon, and stars, among natural things, and to the eye of sense, present to the world. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handy work—day unto day uttereth speech—and night unto night showeth knowledge." There is no speech nor language where their voices is not heard. "But I say (writes St. Paul) have they not heard? Yes, verily: their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world" (Psalm xix.; Rom. x.)

This testimony of the Church, as the counterpart of the heavenly hosts, is assumed to be the perfect image which she, in her organization, should present to the eyes of men. Therefore, in the Apocalypse, she is represented as clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and crowned with stars; and when impersonated as the bride of Christ in the song of Solomon, it is said: "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?" This is assumed to be the true aspect of the Church in its perfection, or such as God designed that she should be. Christ is the sun—from him the Church derives her light; but she must reflect it in full orbed splendour, from her whole body, to be fair as the moon. It is the clear light of the sun: nothing suffered to come between her and Christ—no cloudy mist, no eclipse—no wane in her to yield at best but partial light, and leave some hours of the night without any light at all for her: she must be clear as the sun, rendering out in purity the light which she has received from Christ; keeping back no part of it in selfishness—corrupting no part of it by her own minglings—diverting no part of it to other ends than those for which it was given—from him alone receiving light, for him alone employing it. And she is terrible as a marshalled host, against all the powers of darkness—safe in her goodly order against the assaults of Satan—strong in the armour of God, not only to overcome flesh and blood, but the principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, with which she has to wrestle.

This high standing, and these important duties, are set before the Church by these symbols; and while she is faithful to God, his strength will be with her to fulfil her holy calling; but it is declared in Scripture that there will be a great departure from the faith in the last times; when also there shall be signs in the

sun, and moon, and stars in heaven, and on earth distress of nations with perplexity: the sea and the waves roaring, men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that are coming of the earth; for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. Now, no one would think of limiting the earthly signs to the literal roaring of the sea, and the mere dashing of the waves against the shore—all understand these earthly signs, which cause such perplexity, to have their seat and operation in the minds and spirits of men: and in like manner the shaking of the powers of heaven should not be limited to the sun, moon, and stars; but should be regarded as pointing to the root and cause of all the turbulence and all the distress. These signs are tokens of the wrath of God, against men who have departed from his ways, and chosen ways of their own; and against that Church which has departed from the faith, and is no longer a faithful witness for Christ.

What kind of declension from the faith this is we must learn from other parts of the Scripture; and especially from those portions which, like the epistle of Jude and the Revelations, are full and direct to the point, both as unquestionably treating of these last times, and as using these very symbols to warn the Church of the besetting sins and prevalent evils; and so as coming home to our own bosoms, who see the evils which are denounced, realizing more and more around us, in men first forsaking their faith, and then abandoning their places in the Church.

The signs at the last—those which usher in the actual judgment, shall no doubt be literal, and portentous—out of the course of nature; and therefore of these we can say nothing. But the signs of warning and preparation, of which we are speaking, are such as we know to be possible, such as we sometimes witness, and from which we may derive lessons of warning. The sun, the moon, and the stars, we know to be symbols of Christ, the Church, and the ministers of Christ, who are called stars in his right hand. What, therefore, are the signs incident to each of these? The signs in the sun and in the moon are eclipses, which partially or totally obscure the light of either; the signs in the stars are not eclipses, but departure from their courses, as wandering stars, or stars falling altogether from their places—both of which are mentioned by St. Jude.

Let us mark eclipses first: an eclipse of the sun is not occasioned by any defect in his light—he ever shines with the same undiminished splendour; but the moon comes between him and us, so as to hide his glories from our view. Now the Church may set herself in the false position of hiding Christ from man,

like the sun in a total eclipse; or she may so place herself between Christ and us as to rob him of part of his glory, as in a partial eclipse of the sun. And if the Church does in any way set herself in the place of Christ, or make herself a barrier, and the conciliating her a means of access to him, she does thereby make herself a sign of approaching judgment and becomes a warning to men, that avoiding her sin they may escape her plagues.

An eclipse of the moon is occasioned by the earth coming between the sun and the moon, and the shadow is a sign how far the beams of the sun are being intercepted: it may be total —it may be partial; and the sin corresponding to this is, when any earthly thing interposes between Christ and the Church. It may be the secular power—it may be fleshly rule, or fleshly corruptions in the Church—it may be by putting symbols, or creature things of any kind, instead of Christ, whether as mediators or as objects of worship: all of which sins darken the Church, and tend to the grossest idolatry.

The stars of heaven are not, like the sun and moon, subject to eclipses. The signs in the stars are, either wandering from their courses, or falling from heaven to the earth. The wandering stars are by Jude made a prominent sign of the last times; they are characterized as filthy dreamers who defile the flesh, who despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities; yet, notwithstanding all this, professing to be of the Church, though they have gone the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the way of Balaam for reward, and are rebels and gain-sayers, like Korah and his company. For St. Jude, addressing the faithful, says, that these are spots in the feasts of the Church, feeding themselves without fear; yet they are clouds without water, carried about of winds; trees whose fruit is withered, twice dead, without root; raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars to whom is reserved the blackness and darkness for ever. The falling stars are only a further development of the same qualities; but they differ in this, that the wandering stars seem to be in the Church while pursuing these erratic courses; and may think that they are doing their duty and keeping their vows; while the falling stars forsake their places in the Church altogether. So that the former retain some light for a while, and seem to shine, but the latter lose whatever light they had: it either explodes in midway, before they reach the earth, or is wholly extinguished as soon as they reach the ground: they are classed with the angels who kept not their first estate, and with them that believe not.

We have not space to apply this to the present time, and

still less to enlarge, as it deserves, upon the importance of discerning a double sense in almost all the Old Testament Scriptures. Without it the prophecies themselves lose half their value, and all their value *to us:* it would leave them applicable to the Jews alone, and to them only before or after the present dispensation, and would render the whole Christian dispensation one vast blank.

We do not mean to say that the signs given in Joel are such as we have stated above, or that it is any part of the duty of interpreting Joel to draw spiritual meanings from the text; but we do say that the New Testament is full of such deductions of spiritual meaning from the letter of the Old Testament; and that we are in danger of rendering ourselves so cramped by a dry literal interpretation, as to make a large portion of the Old Testament as useless to us as though it had never been written.

We must, however, very shortly notice another passage from the minor prophets, which has been applied to Christian times on another memorable occasion—namely, in the council at Jerusalem, in the fifteenth of the Acts, because we think that the correct view is not generally taken. The question before the council related to the Gentiles, whom God had many years before visited, as Simon Peter had just declared, in order to take out of them *a people for his name*, and to this agree the words of the prophets (v. 15). The prophets are referred to as showing that, while the tabernacle of David was fallen down (not *falling* in the Greek), the name of the Lord should be called upon by a people who were not Jews, and who had nothing to do with the law of Moses; therefore, why put a yoke upon them which even the Jews were unable to bear? It is *after this* that God shall *return*, and build *again* the tabernacle of David, which was then *fallen down*, that *all* upon whom his name is called may rejoice together in his goodness *to all*. This seems the plain meaning of St. James, and we think it equally apparent in Amos, and it is precisely what St. Paul declares in the eleventh of the Romans: "Blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved. For this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins. For as *ye* in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy *through their unbelief*: even so have these also *now not believed*, that through *your* mercy *they also* may obtain mercy."

We have stated, however, these broad and comprehensive principles of interpretation rather as the grounds of what we desiderate in such a translation as we think might be made, than as grounds of objection to Dr. Henderson's, or of prefe-

rence for any other we are acquainted with. Such a view of prophecy as we have indicated would lead a competent scholar to a far more full, and rich, and spiritual version of the minor prophets than any that has yet appeared; but on Dr. Henderson's view of prophecy his version seems to be very careful and accurate. He is evidently well acquainted both with the text and with all the subsidiary helps to be derived from the labours of other learned men; and his notes are all to the point, and leave no difficulty unexplained—the explanation being, in most cases, quite satisfactory.

We naturally turned to some of the texts which have most exercised the ingenuity of critics—such as (Haggai ii. 7.), "the desire of all nations;" this Dr. Henderson properly translates "the things desired by all the nations;" but he fails in convincing us that the desirable things are not the silver and the gold spoken of in the context, because he only argues from the fact that the *temple then building* was never equal in richness to that of Solomon. We take a different view of the whole passage: we observe it to be called *one house* throughout, in Solomon's day, in Haggai's day, and on the yet future restoration of the Jews. It is "this house in her first glory" (v. 3.)—it is this house "as nothing"—in the days of Haggai, it shall be this house surpassing its first glory in the latter day: and therefore, we understand (v. 9) as promising that the glory of the house which should succeed to that then building should be greater than that of the house which preceded it. Dr. Henderson well knows that the verse will bear such a construction. It might be rendered "greater shall be the last than the first glory of this house" referring the reader back to verse 3.

On the memorable passage in Hosea iii, concerning the long destitution of the children of Israel, and their return to the Lord, and his mercy to them in the latter day, we are quite in agreement with Dr. Henderson. Such passages as these it is impossible to find at all adequately fulfilled in the past history of the Jews; and every one who holds them to be a part of Divine revelation must, therefore, expect the fulfilment of the numerous similar predictions in their future history, and "when they shall repent of their sins and turn to the Lord."

And we beg to assure Dr. Henderson, in conclusion, that we do not think our differences so wide as they might at first sight appear; and that we should not have written so much on the subject, if we had not thought his work an important and influential one from its learning and general ability, and that we part with him under the influence of friendship and respect, so far as such feelings are allowable towards one of whom we have no other knowledge than by his writings.

Notices of Books.

A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. Edited by JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. Two volumes 8vo. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1845.

WE congratulate the subscribers to this work on the very satisfactory manner in which it has been brought to a conclusion; and, as it is a remarkable publication, and supplies a desideratum which we believe has been felt by a large number of our readers, since we have heard many express their want of such a book of reference, we have no doubt that they will be glad to be informed how far its contents are likely to meet their wishes, and satisfy their wants.

This cyclopædia is not a collection of annotations, like the "Critici Sacri," nor a digest of such comments and discussions; it is not a compilation like that of Calmet; is not like the prolegomena of Walton, and so many other editors of different versions or forms of the sacred Scriptures, each of which required its own critical apparatus. It is *in toto* an original work, consisting of articles written expressly to give the best explanation which could be obtained of the history of the Scripture itself, and of the countries and nations and individuals mentioned therein, and of all the facts and circumstances concerning which any reader of Scripture would be likely to require information.

The writers employed were the ablest men, in the several departments, whose services could be obtained for such a work; and each has put his initials to the articles which he has written, a full list of their names being also given: so that we know all the contributors, and know what weight of authority each carries with him. By knowing the writers we are put upon our guard against the party bias which may unconsciously infuse itself into their writings, and which would be more especially to be regretted in a work treating on that volume which forms the ground work of our faith: and we believe that the very best corrective of party spirit would be the universal adoption of this honest practice of affixing the name to the writing—a practice which has succeeded in the present instance, since, although the writers belong to various denominations of Christians; with one exception, we discern only consistency and orthodoxy in their contributions.

We have said that the ablest men *whose services could be obtained* have been employed; for it is to be borne in mind that

the services of the most eminent men are not always to be obtained. Money may be no inducement to some; others may be already so deeply occupied in their several departments of research, or preparing those researches for publication, in connection with the Church or society to which they belong, that they cannot spare time for a work like the present; and not a few, and some of them the most eminent in their provinces of literature, would not allow their writings to appear except in connection with those of their own party—all which circumstances tend to contract the sphere within which contributions to a work like the present are to be expected; and it is creditable to Mr. Kitto that he has obtained such able assistance.

Many of the contributors are professors in the German and American universities, where literature is so much a business that they are expected to know every thing important which has been published in those branches of learning which belong to their profession: and all the writers seem to be well read men on the subjects which they severally take in hand; so that the work, as a whole, is a very fair representation of the amount of biblical knowledge of the present day; and is also an indication of the bent and direction in which the minds of studious men are moving onward: while, by the vigour of thought and manly research which are evinced, it may serve as a counterpoise to the follies of those who are doting and drivelling over the toys or the idols of barbarous times, as though it were a commendable thing to recede and to forget.

The present age is remarkable for both the extent and the accuracy of its information—many have run to and fro, and knowledge has been increased—and it is as remarkable for the practical application which men make of all the knowledge which is acquired: men collect information, not in order to store it up, or waste it in profitless discussions, but for present use, and for the immediate benefit of mankind. And this publication is a good illustration of what we mean, condensing into two volumes, and thus placing within the reach of all, a mass of information collected from various quarters, on subjects equally interesting to all Christians, since the object is to explain and illustrate that volume which all look to as teaching the ways of God in truth, and all desire to understand as they prize their soul's salvation—a volume which from its antiquity, and its oriental forms of speech, allusions, and customs, greatly requires explanation.

In past ages, and less inquisitive generations, the Bible, and many other books less entitled to the same confidence, were

received as authentic, and without any enquiry. But most persons are, in the present day, desirous of knowing something of the grounds of their confidence, in a matter where above all others mistake is to be deprecated. We require to know something of the history of the book itself; when and by whom its several portions were collected into one volume; in what particulars it was in danger of mutilation, corruption, or accidental injury; and how any such casualties have been averted or repaired by collation of manuscripts, and able scholars having directed all their critical acumen towards the single object of perfecting the text of Holy Scripture.

Another very important collateral enquiry concerns the relative importance of the different versions of the Bible, from the venerable septuagint version of the Old Testament which was in general use in the primitive Church, and continues to be the standard in the East at the present day, to the vulgate of Jerome which has superseded the septuagint in the Roman Church, and the vernacular translations which have been made for the use of different national Churches. Where manuscripts fail in clearing up doubts concerning a reading; and where critics differ as to the meaning of a particular passage, consulting the versions will sometimes turn the scale; but then we must first know something of the relative value of these versions.

There is a great deal of very valuable information on such points as these in this cyclopædia, some of which is to be met with no where else, and all of which is given in a very clear and satisfactory manner; and it is gratifying to find, from all such enquiries as these, how rightly our confidence in the Bible has been placed, and that all the main bulwarks of our faith only prove the more secure in proportion as they are more searchingly scrutinized. This work does not enter into theological or doctrinal questions, in the dogmatic sense, or as at all arbitrating between different creeds of Christians; but in the information given it puts every reader in possession of means for coming to a right understanding of the facts on which the judgment must be formed: sound knowledge, and sound criticism must after all be the foundation of sound theology, as distinguished from the blind credulity of the fanatical and the superstitious.

The question of language itself, in reference to its distinct branches, and the several dialects of these, is handled at considerable length, and with great ability, both under the several heads of alphabet, confusion of tongues, and such general and comprehensive titles; and under the separate heads of

Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac &c; all the languages which at all bear upon the illustration of Scripture being noticed as fully as most persons would desire; and at the end of every article, on whatever subject, a copious list is given of works in which the subject is handled expressly and at length, for the information of those who desire to enter more fully into the several questions—thus endeavouring to supply in one work the wants of all parties, as far as possible.

The geography of Scripture has been carefully investigated under the respective heads, and the writers have availed themselves of the best modern travellers' observations; especially those who like Lord Lindsay and Dr. Robinson have made sacred geography the direct and principal object of their enquiries; and very clear maps by Mr. Hughes are given of Palestine, of Egypt and the wanderings in the wilderness, of St. Paul's voyages, of the ancient world, and of the extent of each of the four empires. There is also a plan of Jerusalem and of the surrounding country. All the cities and towns of note likewise are described in addition to the general history of each country; and of many of these places good engravings are introduced, often of the full size of the page, or spirited small ones on wood intermingled with the letter press.

The illustration of the customs and manners of antiquity forms likewise a prominent feature in this work, which are detailed with great learning, ability, and clearness; and in cases where description alone would be insufficient wood cuts are given for fuller illustration. The various modes of salutation afford an instance of this, which modes we need to know for clearing up many passages of Scripture; yet these could scarcely be understood from mere description, while by a representation they are intelligible at a single glance. In like manner figures are given of the arms, standards, chariots, buildings, lamps, chairs, and other kinds of furniture in use at the time, all of which are taken from authentic sources, and executed with fidelity and skill.

But the department which appears to be the most full and most complete is that which will be most serviceable to the majority of Biblical students, namely natural history. It is well known that the common English plants and animals are very different from those which are called by the same names in Scripture: and that many of the Hebrew names have no English equivalent, and that, in the choice of the nearest English names, mistakes have been frequently made; so that the English word suggests ideas contrary to those for which the plant or animal has been referred to in Scripture. Our

mustard plant is not the greatest among herbs, nor do the fowls of the air rest in its branches; and where the Hebrew word is retained, as in shittim wood, almug trees, or among animals we find behemoth and leviathan, such words convey no definite ideas to the mind, and imagination often creates such as are totally opposed to the truth. Every Hebrew name of plants or animals is we believe noticed, with any varieties of meaning which it may have; and where the same English name has been applied to several Hebrew words these are noted, and the precise meaning of the original pointed out in each passage.

Our readers must be aware that this has required great research, and though Bochart in his "Hierozoicon" and other works did as much as could be expected in his day, the knowledge of mankind has so greatly increased since the time of Bochart, and has received so many fresh accessions from those enlightened moderns who have visited the East, or who have examined and methodized according to established principles of science the observations of others, that talents of a very high order, together with the habit of forming an independent judgment, were required for executing this part of the work. In all the articles which we have examined the high expectations which we had formed have not been disappointed; they contain clear and accurate information, which is also sufficiently full.

And in this department especially illustrations are required, and they are therefore more numerous than in the other departments of the work: there are very few plants or animals described of which a figure is not also given, and some of the animals are engraved with a degree of accuracy and spirit which will bear comparison with the best productions of art of the present time. We may mention the eagle and different kinds of hawk and vulture among the birds; and the three species of camel or dromedary among the beasts; for, though some of them are scarcely more than outline this expresses the character of the animal as truly as a more highly finished engraving would do.

Illustration of the Scripture is often, however, derived from quarters where it would not be expected, as for instance from the order of march in the caravans of pilgrims to Mecca, in which much light is thrown on the passage of the Israelites through the wilderness, from Egypt to Canaan: and it gives occasion to notice the disorderly resort of the Jews to Jerusalem at the three great festivals, on one of which occasions our Lord was sought for three days by his parents among the

throng, before they returned to Jerusalem, and found him among the doctors in the temple. After a minute description of the order observed in the march to and from Mecca, it is added:—

"This description of the Hadji caravans that travel yearly to Mecca bears so close a resemblance to the far famed journey of the Israelites through almost the same extensive deserts, that, as the arrangement of those vast travelling bodies seems to have undergone no material alteration for nearly four thousand years, it affords the best possible commentary illustrative of the Mosaic narrative of the Exodus. Like them the immense body of Israelitish emigrants, while the chief burden devolved on Moses, was divided into companies, each company being under the charge of a subordinate officer, called a prince. Like them the Hebrews made their first stage in a hurried manner and in tumultuous disorder; and like them, each tribe had its respective standard, the precise form and device of which, among the conflicting accounts of the Rabbins, it is not easy to determine; but which, of whatever description it was, was pitched at the different stages, or thrust perpendicularly into the ground, and thus formed a central point, around which the straggling party spread themselves during their hours of rest and leisure. Like them the signal for starting was given by the blast of a trumpet, or rather trumpets; and the time of march and halting was regulated by the same rules that have been observed by all travellers from time immemorial during the hot season. Like theirs, too, the elevation of the standard, as it was borne forward in the van of each company, formed a prominent object to prevent dispersion, to enable wanderers to recover their place within the line or division to which they belonged.

"The bands of Jewish pilgrims that annually repaired from every corner of Judea to attend the three great festivals in Jerusalem, wanted this government and distribution into distinct companies ..... but as their country was divided into tribes, and those who lived in the same hamlet or canton would be more or less connected by family ties .....it is easy to understand how the young Jesus might mingle successively with groups of his kindred and acquaintance, who, captivated with his precocious wisdom and piety, might be fond to detain him in their circle, while his mother, together with Joseph, felt no anxiety at his absence, knowing the grave and sober character of their companions in travel" (394).

On the faculty of speech in man the following judicious observations occur:—

"That language originated in the instinctive cries of human beings herding together in a condition like that of common animals is an hypothesis which, apart from all testimony of Revelation, must appear unreasonable to a man of serious reflection.....upon the mere ground of reasoning from the necessity of the case, it seems an inevitable conclusion that not the capacity merely, but the actual use of speech, with the corresponding faculty of promptly understanding it, was given to

the first human beings by a superior power: and it would be a gratuitous absurdity to suppose that power to be any other than the Almighty Creator.....from the evident exigency, it must have been instantaneous or nearly so. It is not necessary to suppose that a copious language was thus bestowed on the human creatures in the first stage of their existence. We need to suppose only so much as would be requisite for the notation of the ideas of natural wants, and the most important mental conceptions; and from these, as germs, the powers of the mind and the faculty of vocal designation would educe new words and combinations as occasion demanded.

"That the language thus formed continued to be the universal speech of mankind till after the deluge, and till the great cause of diversity took place, is in itself the most probable supposition. If there were any families of men which were not involved in the crime of the Babel builders, they would almost certainly retain the primœval language. The longevity of the men of that period would be a powerful conservative of that language against the slow changes of time. That there were such exceptions seems to be almost an indubitable inference from the fact that Noah long survived the unholy attempt. His faithful piety would not have suffered him to fall into the snare; and it is difficult to suppose that none of his children and descendants would listen to his admonitions, and hold fast their integrity by adhering to him.....If this supposition be admitted, we can have no difficulty in regarding as the mother of languages, not indeed the Hebrew, absolutely speaking, but that which was the stock whence branched the Hebrew, and its sister tongues, usually called the *Shemitic*, but more properly by Dr. Pritchard the *Syro-Arabian*. It may then be maintained that the actually spoken names of Adam, and all the others mentioned in the antediluvian history, were those which we have in the Hebrew Bible, very slightly and not at all essentially varied" (5,7).

There is a very instructive article on biblical criticism, which will put the reader on thinking as well as inform him; from which we extract the conluding paragraph:—

"The operations of sacred criticism have established the genuineness of the Old and New Testament texts in every matter of importance. All the doctrines and duties remain unaffected by its investigations. It has proved that there is no material corruption in the inspired records. It has shown that during the lapse of many centuries the Holy Scriptures have been preserved in a surprising degree of purity. The text is substantially in the same condition as that in which it was found seventeen hundred years ago. Let the plain reader take comfort to himself when he reflects that the received text which he is accustomed to read is *substantially* the same as that which men of the greatest learning and the most unwearied diligence have elicited from an immense heap of documents" (493).

There is an able article on commentaries, pointing out what they ought to be, and indicating prevailing defects. It should be "an elucidation of the meaning belonging to the words,

phrases, and idioms of the original.....Another characteristic of commentary is an exhibition of the writer's scope, or the end he has in view in a particular place.....In addition to this, the train of thought or reasoning pursued throughout an entire book or epistle.....Another characteristic of commentary is that it presents a comparison of the sentiments contained in one book, or one entire connected portion of Scripture, with those of another, and with the general tenor of revelation. A beautiful harmony pervades the Bible." The defects or faults specified are—"Prolixity detailing various opinions without sifting them," and "dwelling on *the easy* and evading *difficult passages.*" Short notices of the principal commentators are added—a few of the most characteristic we extract:—

"*Henry.*—The name of this good man is venerable, and will be held in everlasting remembrance. His Commentary does not contain much *exposition.* It is full of *sermonising.* It is surprising, however, to see how far his good sense and simple piety led him into the doctrine of the Bible, apart from many of the higher qualities belonging to a successful commentator." "*Doddridge.*—The taste of this pious commentator was good, and his style remarkably pure. He has not much acumen or comprehension of mind; but he had an excellent judgment, and a calm candour of enquiry. His paraphrase leaves much unexplained, while it dilutes the strength of the original. It is too discursive and sermonising. The notes are few and ordinarily correct." "The prevailing characteristic of *Scott's* Commentary is judiciousness in the opinions advanced. The greater portion of it, however, is not *proper exposition.* The pious author preaches about and paraphrases the original. His simplicity of purpose generally preserved him from mistake; but as a commentator he was neither acute nor learned: he wanted a competent acquaintance with the original, power of analysis, a mind unprepossessed by a doctrinal system, and penetration of spirit." "*A. Clarke.*—In most of the higher qualities by which an interpreter should be distinguished, this man of much reading was wanting: his historical and geographical notes are the best. But he had no philosophical ability: his prejudices warped his judgment: his philology is not unfrequently puerile. Acuteness and penetration are not seen in his writings. There is no deep insight into the mind of the sacred writers.....The modern Germans, prolific as they are in theological works, have seldom ventured to undertake an exposition of the whole Bible. Each writer usually confines himself to the task of commenting on a few books. In this their wisdom is manifested; yet they do not excel in good specimens of commentary. They are *word explainers.* In pointing out various readings, in grammatical, historical, and geographical annotations, as also in subtle speculations respecting the genius of the times in which the writers of the Bible lived, they are at home. In the *lower criticism* we willingly sit at their feet and learn; but with regard to the *higher,* in all that pertains to the *logic*

of commentary, in development of the sense in its holy relations, they are lamentably wanting. Refined notions usurp the place of practical piety in their minds; and the minutiæ of verbal criticism furnish them nutriment apart from the rich repast of theological sentiment and sanctifying truth. But there are some noble exceptions."

The idea presented of a perfect commentary is that of one in which critical knowledge and popular exposition were united; so that the former should not degenerate into philological sterility, nor the latter into trite reflection. The results which learning has attained, by processes unintelligible to all but the scholar, might surely be presented to the unlearned reader, so as to be perceived and relished. It matters little that the commentator possess profound learning, if he cannot exhibit, in all their strength and richness, the exact thoughts of the holy men who wrote. The grand question with every commentator should be, what did the Holy Ghost mean to express by such a phrase or sentence? What train of thought does the inspired writer pursue? What truth does he design to teach? What doctrine to embody—what duty to inculcate? These and similar questions should never be lost sight of by the intelligent commentator; for in proportion as he is actuated by the motives they imply, will he produce a solid and safe exposition, such as the sacred original was truly meant to exhibit.

We have said enough to show the nature and merits of this work. It is original both in the plan and the execution; yet the writers keep the broad beaten path of sound learning which the mighty men of past times have trodden before them. The originality consists, not in turning aside into bye paths in pursuit of private conceits and individual fancies; it presents a very full and fair compendium of biblical literature, and furnishes a commodious book of reference for any theological library, by help of which we may at once see what is the amount of information on any particular subject, and in what books it has been *expressly* treated, or handled *more at large.* And for those students of the Bible who are unable to indulge themselves in the luxury of a library, it will form a little library in itself; and may perchance afford more correct and solid information in the compass of two volumes, than would be derived from some large collections which make greater pretensions; while, to the general reader, it will be found every thing that he can require.

The arrangement is alphabetical, but since, as we have already observed, many of the Hebrew names have not an exact equivalent in English, such words occur twice—in the Hebrew

form spelt in Roman letters, and in the English form, as it stands in our Bibles; and the information desired is therefore easily found under one or other of the forms. And so, where there are subdivisions or minor considerations involved in a general question, these are referred to one article in which they are all brought together where the question is regarded as one whole. The proper names, whether Greek or Hebrew, have the meaning of the name assigned; and in the names of places it is endeavoured to determine how far the ancient name is retained in modern times.

No books of this kind will supersede the necessity of labour and thought on the part of the biblical student; and it would be an evil thing if they could: the main end and purpose would be defeated. For it is not to teach men concerning *other things* that the Bible is given, but that they, *the men*, may be themselves taught. In us, in the soul of man, the Bible has its end and object. To teach us what we are, and to remodel us, into that image of God, which we were intended to be—this is the end of Scripture, and this cannot be obtained but by our labour, and thought, and diligent application to the same end and purpose; we thus becoming fellow workers with God. The vigour of thought and compass of information, under the controul of orthodox faith, and pious feeling which we have found in the articles which we have consulted in this cyclopædia, induce us to think that it will prove auxiliary to these high and holy exercises of the soul of man. But it is never to be forgotten that God alone can fully open, either the whole truth of Scripture, or our hearts to receive the truth. Paul may plant and Apollos may water, but it is God that giveth the increase.

Yet the gift of the inspired volume is itself an earnest and a pledge that the further gift of a capacity to understand the same will not be withheld from any who seek it in faith. And the specific promise is made by Christ that the Holy Spirit should be given to lead *his disciples* into all truth—HIS disciples, for it is by taking of the things which pertain to CHRIST, and showing *them* to the Church in order to glorify HIM (John xvi. 14). The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy: of Him Moses and the prophets wrote: to advance his kingdom all things are working: and only they who are the subjects of grace now shall be the subjects of everlasting blessedness in the kingdom of heaven.

The Bible Student's Concordance; by which the English Reader may be enabled readily to ascertain the Literal Meaning of any Word in the Sacred Original. By AARON PICK. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1845. 4to.

THE design of this elaborate work is, to enable the Bible student to ascertain the full literal meaning of the Hebrew original in any passage which he may be desirous of investigating. This is a point of no little consequence, when it is known that *one* word in the English version, in various places, represents what is in the Hebrew represented by *several* and at times *very different* words. In illustration of this remark the word *Man* may be adduced: for which *one* word in the English version there will be found in the original *four* Hebrew words in general use; each having a distinct meaning, peculiarly appropriate, no doubt, to the position which it is found to occupy:—

"These words are, אָדָם *Odom*, mankind, man (made) of the earth; אִישׁ *Eesh*, a man of virtue, valiant; גֶּבֶר *Gever*, a man of strength, physical power; אֱנוֹשׁ *Enoush*, a mortal man, weak, feeble. These compound nouns, each possessing in itself the combined force of an adjective, convey some idea of the perfection of that language to which they belong; and the beauty of those writings wherein such expressive variations in term are rightly applied, will be immediately observable: and it becomes manifest how essential is a knowledge of the actual word employed in the original, to enable any one to discern the full and precise import of a given passage. Examples, 'And God said, Let us make man (אָדָם *Odom*,) in our image,' Gen. i. 26. 'When Joshua was by Jericho, ... behold, there stood a man (אִישׁ *Eesh*) over against him,' Josh. v. 13. 'Are thy days as the days of man? (אֱנוֹשׁ *Enoush*). Are thy years as man's days? (גֶּבֶר *Gever*) Job. x. 6. 'What is man (אֱנוֹשׁ *Enoush*) that thou art mindful of him? and the Son of Man (אָדָם *Odom*), that thou visitest him?' Psalm viii. 4. Again, in Prov. xxx. 2, the English version reads, 'Surely I am more brutish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man;' which thus appears like two ways of affirming the same thing: while, in the Hebrew, the exact use of terms, by a beautiful antithesis, gives a finished character to the passage. Thus, 'Surely I am more ignorant than an אִישׁ *Eesh*, I have not even the understanding of an אָדָם *Odom*.' Again, there are two different words used in the Hebrew for the one word Sun in the English version, viz., חַמָּה *Khammoh*, the sun; שֶׁמֶשׁ *Shemesh*, the light of the sun: as also for the one word

another book—and sometimes even when they are only required to turn to another part of the same book—many will not take the trouble of doing so, at the very moment when the passage referred to ought to be consulted to clear the narrative: the proper moment is let slip—the thing is forgotten—the error remains unremoved, because the means of removing it are not close at hand. In this volume the text itself, divided into sections, occupies the middle of the page in a large type, interspersed with which is the exposition, reading together with the text in connected sentences; but distinguished from it by being printed in *italics*, though of the same large size. The notes are printed in a smaller type at the bottom of the page, and the marginal proofs in full—that is, the words are given at length in a still smaller type, and opposite the verse which they explain, or which is then fulfilled—text, notes, and proofs being thus under the eye together.

"In former times different attempts have been made to realize some of the advantages which are here combined; but we are not aware that they have been all united before. We have had diatesserons, and many different harmonies of the Gospel; some in parallel columns—some as a connected narrative: and we have had editions of the Scriptures, with marginal references printed at length; but we know of no one work which combines so many of the requisites for a full understanding of the Gospels as this single volume.

The nearest approach to the present volume is the harmony of Sir Matthew Hale, printed in one volume folio, being a collection of the four evangelists into one continuous history. Of this the author says in the preface to the Christian readers:

"I shall not tell you the pains I have taken in collecting it, nor yet the tender care of adding or diminishing any one word.....I have consulted some of the best authors I could meet with for the doing it; but this being the first piece of this nature I ever saw, I am the rather to be pardoned for any thing that shall be thought to be misplaced in it: and indeed this is my opinion, that no man living can be sure to set down all the transactions, and instructions, and miracles, of our Saviour, mentioned in the four evangelists successively, and perfectly (as to the time) as it was done and delivered, without the extraordinary assistance of the holy Spirit."

Of his engaging in such a work Sir Matthew Hale says:—

"Possibly some may think me unworthy to meddle with so sublime a subject as this is, my practice and profession being otherwise engaged. Indeed I may well think so myself, but in vindication of this my doing, I shall only in short tell you, that being in my former years atheistically

inclined, but since many ways convinced of my mistakes, especially by one miraculous favour from the Divine bounty, for which I shall never be able to render thanks sufficient.....considering with myself what return I could make, in gratitude for so great a favour, I could not find any thing in my power or custody to offer or present that might in the least render it worth acceptance with so Infinite, Omnipotent and Immense a God. I was willing therefore to sit down quietly, and contemplate the ever-to-be-adored love, humility, doctrine, and life of the most holy Jesus, our only Mediator and Saviour; and, in order to that, could not find any better way than to see the whole entirely thus laid together."

The difficulty of such a digest of the Gospel narrative arises out of differences found to exist in the manner in which the history of our Lord's ministry is recorded by the four evangelists, each having a specific purpose in writing his history and selecting the facts, and arranging them in the order and degree of prominency which best suited that purpose. Such motives were proper at the time when the Gospels were written—the circumstances were known—the reasons were obvious. But the circumstances of the Church are altered now: we have neither to deal with Hebrews and Greeks without the Church, nor with Gnostics and similar heretics within, in the literal sense; and require the Gospel to be presented as one whole to the Church, to lead into all truth, and guard against all error; but *this* truth *universal*—*this* the error to which *all mankind* are liable; not this or that peculiar form of it, but that which is incident to the whole human race. The whole word is that which we need for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness—that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.

There cannot be a doubt that all Scripture gathers round and culminates in our Lord Jesus Christ: to him it all points; in him every part of it has its primary, its largest, its highest accomplishment. Therefore it follows that the knowledge of his history and character must form the basis of all true and saving knowledge of the Scripture; and that thus alone will the man of God be perfect, and furnished to all good works. Therefore it is that the Gospel narrative becomes so supremely important, as bringing us acquainted with the holy One of God, by whom are all things, and for whom are all things, and who as captain of our salvation was perfected through sufferings, and who, in bringing many sons unto glory, is presented as our example, that we should walk in his footsteps, as well as believe in His name. A Christian is a follower of Christ; not merely one who knows abstract truth—not only one who believes the

facts concerning Christ; but one who believes in him, as the prophet, priest, and king; and takes him for an example.

A man may be a nominal Christian—a man may even become a theologian, and understand the system of Christianity perfectly; yet if he be not also a Christian in the highest sense—being such in heart and life—the profession he may make, and the knowledge he may possess, will profit him nothing: and, moreover, a large portion of Scripture will be dark, mysterious, unintelligible to him, as the words of our Lord were to Nicodemus, or the words of St. Paul to the philosophers of Athens and Corinth. But the man who shall begin with the knowledge of Christ, and appropriate it to himself by believing in him, hath a foundation whereon all other knowledge, and especially theology can securely rest and fruitfully expand; and possesses likewise the key which will unlock the hidden treasures of the word of God, and make them all his own: God having, with the Son, freely given us all things.

The Gospel narrative should be so arranged as to bring out clearly and fully the whole history of our Lord—that it may both fill our understandings, and tell upon our hearts—that we may both *know*, and *love* him who came from heaven to be the pattern and the sacrifice for us. This distinct and orderly arrangement is the grand point to be secured. The strict chronological order of the events is of minor importance, if it be of any, in this primary aspect. For many other purposes which come within the province of the critic, and the interpreter, the order of time is of great importance, as helping to fix the duration of our Lord's ministry, and linking it on to great facts in the Jewish annals, and the history of the world. But that which Christians in general first need to know, and so to know as to have it constantly present to their thought, is, the whole tenor of the life and conversation of him whom they take for their Saviour; and the most simple arrangement is the best:—

"Neither the successive Jewish passovers, nor the occasional journeys of our Lord, seem to convey any definite idea of the peculiar propriety of the events recorded. The simplest, and also the most edifying plan, appears to be a gradual development of the Christian scheme, springing from the continuous and united testimony of all the Evangelists" (*Preface*, 7).

But it is not so easy, as a person who has not made the experiment would suppose, to arrange the four Gospels into one continuous narrative. They were composed without concert, and for different classes of believers; and, while their agreement in the main fundamentals of Christianity is an evidence of their

divine authority, their disagreement in various minor points calls for the exercise of our faith, and affords scope for those who possess learning, and critical sagacity, to employ these talents in removing difficulties, and reconciling apparent discrepancies. One genealogy being given by Matthew, another genealogy being given by Luke, shew that they wrote to different classes, to one of which the genealogy of the reputed father, to the other that of the mother, appeared most important; and the two most instructive discourses of our Lord—that on the mount, and that concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of the world—Matthew has given in each case as one discourse; while Luke has divided each of them, as though each consisted of several portions, delivered at several times, and on different occasions. Still greater evidence is afforded of the Gospels having been severally meant for distinct classes of believers, by the various ways in which they sometimes speak of the same transaction, in which forms of speech we may often discern whether it was the Hebrew, or Greek, or Roman class of believers that was more immediately present to the mind, and directed the current of the sacred record, as in the apostolical epistles it is the same Catholic truth that pervades them all; yet this truth shapes its course according to the dangers or exigencies of the particular Church to which each epistle is addressed.

It is the general opinion of the early Church that the Gospel of Matthew was written for the Jewish disciples, and composed first in the ordinary Hebrew dialect, which was spoken by our Lord and the apostles, who were all Gallileans, and of which country Matthew, or Levi, was a native; though it is held by many that Matthew himself wrote it also in the Greek language, and that the Gospel which goes under his name is therefore an original, not a translation. The Gospel of Mark is supposed to have been written at Rome, from the many Latinisms observed in it, and is in close general agreement with that of Matthew; and the tradition is, that it was dictated or revised by the Apostle Peter. Luke was a native of Antioch, and wrote his Gospel for the Gentile converts of Asia Minor and Achaia; in planting the faith amongst whom he had been the frequent companion of the Apostle Paul, and of which he has left a record in the Acts of the Apostles; and the Acts together with the Gospel he is supposed to have written under the direction of the Apostle Paul. The Gospel of John was the last in order of time, having been written after those errors began to appear in the Church, which, under the name of Gnosticism, obtained subsequently such fearful head, as we learn from Hammond and many other of the commentators.

The proof of these things would require a full and minute analysis of the style of argument and phraseology of the four Gospels, and would be only interesting to those who have a critical knowledge of the languages; nor to them in fact, as they must be already familiar with a question which has been so often discussed. But the reader of the English Bible may perceive that the references to the Old Testament are more frequent and more full in St Matthew than in the other Gospels, and that where he gives the Hebrew name of a place, as *Golgotha*, or the place of a scull, other of the evangelists call it by the Latin name of *Calvary*. St Mark again speaks of the *Pretorium* as the place where the soldiers met. And as Mr. Forster observes of Simon the Cyrenian who was compelled to bear the cross—"St Luke, writing for the Gentiles of *Asia*, only mentions Simon himself, who might be known to them; but St Mark, writing to the *Romans*, takes particular notice that he was the father of Alexander and Rufus, the latter of whom is saluted by Paul as a member of their Church" (Rom. xvi. 13)—365, *Note*.

On the occasion of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, it may be remarked that St Matthew alone speaks of both the ass and the colt; having, as it is supposed, the prophecy of Zechariah in his mind, and being intent upon shewing to the Hebrews, for whom he wrote, the fulfilment of their prophecies concerning the Messiah. The other evangelists thinking only of the fact, mention only the colt upon which our Lord rode: and the differences which appear in the inscription upon the cross, as severally recorded by the evangelists, are reconciled by remembering that Pilate wrote the inscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and that the evangelists would each take that inscription which was in the language of the people for whom he was writing the Gospel; and thus the verbal differences are only such as actually were found in the three inscriptions written by Pilate.

An attention to such circumstances as these is necessary to remove the objections of cavillers, who make such discrepancies as these a pretence for rejecting the divine authority of Scripture: but it is still more important that the Church should be firm in the faith that all the four Gospels are of the same authority, and all alike necessary to furnish the several lineaments and complete the perfect portrait of him who should not only be kept in memory, but held in the heart continually: that our affections, and life, and conversation may be conformed to him whose death hath saved us, but whose life is our example. There are two errors which are common at all times but very extensively prevail at present, both of which the Gospels are

intended to correct: the one is that faith without works can save us—the other is that any other works than those of which Christ himself was the example can be required of his followers, or are acceptable in the sight of God.

We are redeemed by the blood of Christ, in order that we may henceforth walk in all holiness of life; we are called to be saints—buried with him by baptism into death, unto sin, that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life: being renewed after the image of him that created us in righteousness and true holiness. But two things are to be observed. First, that Christ was God as well as *Man*, and that in the things which he did as *God*, he stands *alone*—none can imitate him in these without blasphemy. He alone could say—I and my Father are One—because he is the only begotten Son of God; he alone could atone for sin: he alone could pardon sin: he alone could give the Holy Ghost: he alone is the Lord. Secondly, that no other man than he hath ever afforded the perfect example and that he, while on earth, did furnish it; and this we find recorded in the Gospels.

Amongst us, of these latter ages, the distinctions between Jew and Gentile have passed away; to us it would be of little importance to ascertain the different forms in which the Gospel truth was presented to Hebrew, Greek, and Roman converts, were it not that, under these diversities of from, a larger and fuller aspect of the truth is presented by the Holy Spirit to us; and that we, of this last age of the Church, need this safeguard against the great and manifold error that abounds. It is true that the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman phase of the Gospel ought to have passed away, and these minor differences ought to merge in one Catholic Church; but it is to be feared, on the other hand, that Catholicity misunderstood may degenerate into laxity of faith, and so may compromise the truths of the Gospel, under the notion of becoming Catholic; or may copy the erroneous practices of certain portions of the Church, under the influence of that spurious charity which assumes that unmingled truth subsists wherever there is a Church.

The complaint made by our Lord was, that they did not search the Scriptures, and therefore did not come unto him:—"Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come to me, that ye might have life"—(John v. 39). And he, moreover, condemns the teachers of that day for receiving honour one of another, saying—"How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that

cometh from God only?" (44). Nay more, he accuses them of having made void the law of God, by their traditions, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men (Mark vii. 7, 13); and thus having shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, nor suffering them that are entering to go in (Matt. xxiii. 13).

The parallel case now would be not knowing Christ through ignorance of the Gospels, and transferring the honour due to Christ to men like ourselves; and, having thus taken one another for models and examples in the Church, consummating our sin, and completing the parallel by teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, and so making the Word of God of none effect through the traditions that are delivered. Christ cannot be known where other salvation than that of the cross, and other holiness than following his example, are taught and enjoined: we do dishonour to God when we transfer the glory which he hath given to our Lord to other mediators, other intercessors, be they angels, or be they men of like passions with ourselves; and we do lay aside the commandment of God, to hold the tradition of men, when we think that by a vote of the Church men are constituted saints, and then become intercessors for us, and all-powerful to enable us to follow their footsteps in life, and attain their glory at our death.

The men who thus hold tradition, and thus teach for doctrines the commandments of men, are in a delusion which the reason of man cannot dispel; it is a snare which God alone can break, and him they are dishonouring—to him they are not looking for help. But it is good for all those who are not yet entangled in the snare to remember how utterly subversive of all true doctrine the whole system is to which we are only in passing alluding. The very term *mediator* implies one who stands between two parties and holds of both; and the mediator between God and man is THE GOD-MAN, and there can be no other: so that the first error inculcated, by regarding saints as mediators, is implying that they are gods as well as men, and no wonder that they receive divine honours from their votaries. Then a mediator between persons requires that a *person* should mediate, but a disembodied spirit is not a person; the departed saints are waiting for the resurrection of their bodies to become persons; none receive the bodies till all the faithful receive them together, at the resurrection of the just, at the coming of Christ. Christ the first fruits, saith St. Paul, afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming: behold I show you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: so that until the

last trump the saints sleep in Jesus; and to suppose them already raised makes void this great doctrine of the resurrection as effectually, through the other extreme, as it was made void by Hymeneus and Philetus and thus, by arrogating the power of the keys, they shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, nor suffering others to enter.

The Gospel truths have saved the Church in many a former emergency, and they were never more needed than at present. The safety, we had almost said the very existence, of the Church seems to depend upon the diffusion of Gospel truth, in all its fullness and purity, at the present time. The existence of the Church, blessed be God, depends on no second causes, but on the faithfulness of the great Head of the Church, who has promised to be with his people to the end. But next to our trust in him, the Almighty Saviour, and first among the second causes, is to be ranked the thorough knowledge of the Gospels, which contain the history of what he was, and what he both taught and did in the days of his flesh; which record is perpetuated, that all generations of the Church might be instructed and nourished from the same source; and that thus not only might the faith be one at all times, but that, looking to one exemplar or pattern, the whole Church might be moulded and fashioned alike, all walking by the same rule, all minding the same things—not one of Paul, another of Apollos, another of Cephas, but Christ being all and in all. When mere men are set before us for imitation, be they saints, or be they called by any other name, this is at best an imperfect and may be a false pattern; and in all cases it tends to keep Christ, the great exemplar out of view—sometimes seems as if studiously adapted to that end.

One of the most obvious evils which this ignorance concerning Christ has produced, is manifest in that rancour and bitterness of men, who are calling themselves Catholics, towards those whom they have forsaken, and against whom they cannot even assume to have a ground of quarrel, except on doctrinal points; yet they speak of those whom they once professed to honour, and whom all good men yet hold in reverence, as though they were villains, and had done them some personal injury. It is not possible to study the history of Christ without imbibing the spirit of him who enjoined his followers to love their enemies, and do good to them that were despitefully using and persecuting us, and speaking all manner of evil concerning us. But here are men who are speaking all manner of evil of their forefathers, who have been dead for centuries, whom they cannot, by the most strained figure of speech, convert into

enemies. When we hear men express their "burning hatred" of the reformers, we remember the words of Christ, and feel more of pity and fear for them than indignation. We remember that the reformers are their fathers in Christ, and the Church they revile is their mother; and it is written—"There is a generation that curseth their father, and doth not bless their mother. There is a generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet is not washed from their filthiness. There is a generation, O how lofty are their eyes! and their eyelids are lifted up.....The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it" (Prov. xxx. 11, 17).

Moreover, in these last days, the forms of temptation are so various, and they are so insidious, and so powerful, that nothing short of the strength of the Lord in his people can detect or overcome them. This strength, however, will only be given to those who seek it, and seek it intelligently and earnestly, and that direct from him, and not at second hand; to do all which it is necessary to know and trust him—to believe firmly that as there is but one God, so there is but one Mediator between God and man—the man Christ Jesus.

And though, on all such topics as these, the clergy are always foremost, and uppermost in our thoughts, yet the remarks apply equally to the laity—apply to the whole Church. All alike need to make Christ their first object, and conformity to his example their perpetual endeavour. The clergy are ministers of Christ, and instruments in his hand to prepare the whole body—this preparation of the body is the evidence that the clergy have done their duty; and, as Christ is not a hard master, but has provided abundant means for accomplishing that which he expects, so no failure can happen but by the indifference or neglect of those to whom he has entrusted those means for accomplishing the work; and, if there be a failure, of them will the account be required. If they have warned the wicked, it is well for them, whether the wicked turn from their sins or not; if they have instructed the ignorant, it is well for them, whether the people profit by the instruction or not; if in word and life they have held out the example of Christ to their flocks, it shall be well for them—both now, in a present blessing upon their labours—and hereafter, in the crown of glory which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give to all them that love his appearing. St. Paul travailed among the Galatians until Christ should be formed in them (iv. 19). All that love the Lord's appearing will labour to bring out his image and likeness, in the members of his body, the Church: Christ himself

makes this the test. Jesus saith to Simon Peter, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" He saith unto him, "Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee," He saith unto him, "Feed my lambs"—as much as to say, the proof of love which I look for is not profession, however sincere it may be; but let the love have its expression in the care of the flock committed to your charge.

The readiest way of showing the exact nature of this work will be by extracting a portion of the text, and marginal references and notes, and we take the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, with which the Gospel narrative commences:—

"In the beginning *of the creation, and from all eternity*, was the *Divine* Word *in existence;* and the Word was *originally* with God *the Father, pre-existing as a distinct person in the closest union with him;* and the Word was *himself* God (*the eternal Jehovah*) *participating in the same Divine nature, and the same essential perfections.*"

The note on this text is as follows:—

"(*The Word was God*). This is one of the two principal passages which establish the Divinity of the Saviour (the other being Rom. ix. 5.); and after the most diligent enquiry into different versions—especially by those who impugn the doctrine conveyed—not a single various reading of this passage has yet been discovered. The doctrine, instead of being shaken by such collations, has been rendered more certain than ever. By the "Word," or *Logos*, here plainly declared to be a person equal with the Father, and not an attribute, it is plain that St. John means Jesus Christ, for he goes on to speak of the Baptist as preceding him (See also 1 John i. 1, and Rev. xix. 13). Eleven times in this first chapter of his Gospel is the word '*God*' used in its *proper* sense by the evangelist, nor can a single instance be produced from the entire New Testament, where, in the singular number, it is used in any other sense. The very remarkable expression 'The Word,' is derived both from the Jewish and Gentile theology of that period, and its then familiar use accounts for the evangelist's brevity in delivering so great a mystery. It was always used to signify a vital and Divine subsistence. Philo applies it to Jehovah, or the Creator of the world; and, in the Jewish synagogues, the expected Messiah was designated under the same term; and for this other simple reason, St. John might adopt so appropriate an expression: the Father makes known his will by his Son, the Word (see Heb. i. 1, 2), in the same manner as a man makes known his mind by means of *words*."

The references to this text, which are printed *at full length*, in words, in the margin, are, Gen. i. 1; Prov. viii. 23; John xvii. 5; Col. i. 17; 1 John i. 2; Isaiah ix. 6; John xx. 28; Rom. ix. 5; Phil. ii. 6; Heb. i. 8; 1 John v. 20; Jude 25.

Such a running commentary as the above is carried through the whole Gospel narrative, to which we only know of one obje-

tion—namely, that it weakens the force of the simple and sublime language of Scripture; and that, in the more habitually sacred parts of Scripture, such as the Lord's prayer, it will shock the feelings of some scrupulous persons, as if it had an appearance of profanity, to mix up our own words with the language of inspiration; but such persons should remember that *the whole work* is presented as a *commentary* on the Scriptures, and not as the *Scriptures*, and the introduction of the words of Scripture is part of the commentary, and does not at all take the place of, or supersede, the pure word of God; and if the plan is good for one part of Scripture, and renders it more intelligible, and therefore more profitable, it must be carried consistently through the whole of Scripture: all of which is, in fact, equally sacred, for all is given by inspiration of God—all comes from the same source, and has the same Divine authority. No work of this kind is intended as a substitute for the Scripture; but, on the contrary, best attains its end when it most frequently forces the reader to have recourse to his Bible, to see whether these things are so, and enables him at every fresh recurrence to the fountain of knowledge to taste more and more of its sweetness, and discern more and more of its inexhaustible depth and fullness.

It only remains that we should speak of the execution as a whole: it is plain and unpretending throughout, endeavouring rather to bring out the useful and practical sense of Scripture than to extract new and ingenious significations. The running commentary appears to us fuller in some places than was required, and only to make plainer that which was plain before; but we doubt our own judgment in this matter, and feel inclined to defer to the judgment of a man like Mr. Forster, who, being accustomed to deal with those for whom such a work as this is principally designed, knows how very plain it is sometimes necessary to make things which scholars are familiarly acquainted with.

The notes are not more numerous than was absolutely necessary, and occupy in general but a very small portion of each page; yet there are no real difficulties left untouched, and in general the explanations, though concise, are very satisfactory. There is no sermonizing; the object being to render the text intelligible, by explaining obscure allusions and oriental customs—or to reconcile seeming differences—or to justify passages which have been assailed by infidels, showing how they agree with, and are inseparable from, the one faith, held by the orthodox, in all ages of the Church. A few points are touched which may have been suggested by the present controversies, but they are very few: we quote part of the note on private judgment, grounded

on the words, "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?"

"It must be clear that we can no more renounce private judgment than we can cease to be men. Reason becomes the ultimate appeal, and so far only can we take the highest human authority for our guide, as, in manifesting the truth, it commends itself to our *consciences* in the sight of God (2 Cor. iv. 2). It is equally clear that holy Scripture is sufficient, without any foreign aid, to teach *all things requisite to salvation;* but then, this is on the supposition that it offers itself to a rightly-informed understanding, guided by an honest heart, and aided by the holy Spirit. *In itself* it is perfect and complete as a standard or written record of truth.....and that it may be safely and thoroughly understood, a duly constituted interpreter must be, at the least, *useful* to all (consult Acts viii. 30). Private judgment has proved no security against the most pernicious errors of doctrine; and even in *fundamental* points, it has not sufficed to produce agreement of opinion. Accordingly, our wise reformers were careful to guard against an abuse of this right by preserving due authority in their own branch of the Church: they quote the ancient fathers with great respect, and appeal to them largely in controversy; in the sixth Article they call attention not only to what is read in Scripture, but also to what may be *proved* thereby" &c.—(222).

It is almost superfluous to say that we consider this as a very important work; and that we would recommend it not only as a valuable addition to the library of the clergyman, but as a companion to the Bible in the family or the study of private Christians, or in the closet of the more humble and retiring individuals.

Jugurtha. A Poem. *Odes.* By the Author of "Jugurtha." London: Painter, 342, Strand.

THERE are two causes, perfectly distinct in their nature, yet actively co-operating, which prevent poetic effort meeting with any degree of public approbation in the present day. The first is the extreme superabundance of the commodity itself, owing to the more general diffusion of education, whereby many individuals, without any natural poetic powers, are but too often tempted to clothe their ideas in a poetic dress, and then to believe themselves poets. The other obstacle to the aspirants' fame is the character of the age. We have all heard of the mathematician, who, after reading Homer, exclaimed "But what does it *prove?*" The present generation, not truly in a mathematical spirit, but in an all-absorbing practical one, always estimates the merit of any production simply by its probable utility. Whatever opposition Hume's theory—that the

utility of an act constitutes virtue—may meet with in the abstractions of the metaphysician, it finds a *practical* support in the habits and opinions of the age. The man who constructs a railroad on an improved principle—who throws a bridge across an estuary, or bores a tunnel under a river—is the great man in the present day, and the reason is obvious. His work not only appeals to the senses, but contributes to the convenience of mankind. Men can perceive at a glance the magnificent combinations of columns and arches which compose the stately pile—they *behold* and wonder. But of all arts poetry appeals the least to the senses. It exists in an ideal world, without the province of sight or touch. What wonder then, that it is little appreciated in an age like this?

Nevertheless, extraordinary efforts will always excite attention; and eccentricity of style, like eccentricity of manner, is not unfrequently attributed to superior genius. We know not whether the author, whose works we are considering, took this view of the question when he composed the "Odes" with which he has favoured the public; but to our minds they appear very extraordinary productions, though, perhaps, there will be a difference of opinion as to the *nature* of the surprise they are calculated to excite. In the first place, there is a deep mystery about them which we acknowledge is quite beyond our limited comprehension. But what of that? The sublime and the mysterious are so closely combined, that feeble persons may sometimes confound them. In order, therefore, to do the author justice we transcribe a portion of an "Ode to Music":—

> "Grand be the brazen-chiding horn among
> the *multicavous* crags
> resounding wild with
> Echo throughout their boundless
> hollow prolongation of
> stupendous music that aloft
> broad-rolling on along the burden'd arch
> seems, as again and still again enhanced
> peals it from far, the effort of some bold
> and independent Oread who springs out
> to drown each rival sound."—pp. 72, 73.

We profess our firm belief in the exceeding originality of this and many other similar passages in the book before us. We do not certainly quite perceive either the sense of the verse, or the law of its formation; but, then, even Milton declared that he wrote not for the many; the οἱ πολλοὶ who love to "run and read"—our author seems to have had a still higher aim, and

to have written only for himself. If so, there can be no doubt of his success.

We would now, however, turn to "*Jugurtha*"—the other effort of his Muse. Of course a poem purely historical can contain nought mystical in its composition: yet we fear that the sublime mysteries in which the author indulged in the composition of the "Odes" have communicated a certain indistinctness into his other productions. Thus, speaking of the lessons to be derived from history, he says,

> "Annals that all immortalize the just
> Fabricius, Cato, and their high compeers;
> *Make men not eager to for virtue yearn,*
> As can a hero or Domitian shock,
> And with abhorrence overwhelm."—p. 4.

The construction of the third line is somewhat complicated; but no doubt the author had a meaning. We will turn, therefore, to the last poem in the book, which is written in rhyme. The subject is "A Day on Mount Sinai:"—

> "Here unto Moses from the bush of fire
> The everlasting God, *instinct with ire,*
> Against oppression of his chosen flock,
> Revealed the name of our Salvation's Rock
> I AM! here thrills the heart with awe profound,
> Quailing instinctively with fearful bound:
> As in those words of fire we see combine
> Wisdom and power, and majesty divine;
> Firm self-existence, of unbounded *span,*
> Through ages past, the present, and to *come.*"—p. 71.

We certainly cannot sympathise with the expression as applied to the Divine mind "instinct with ire." If the term may be applied at all to the Almighty we should say mercy, not anger, was his "instinctive" attribute. The bold originality of making "span" and "come" paternal rhymes, as in the last couplet, must be obvious to all.

The Principles of the Doctrine of Christ. A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Kidderminster, on Sunday, August 3, 1845. By the Rev. PIERS C. CLAUGHTON, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. Printed by request. London: Whittaker.

WE are not surprised that a request should have been preferred to Mr. Claughton to publish this sermon, as it is of a highly practical nature, and very suitable to the times. A short time back we heard little of the elementary principles of the Gospel; baptismal regeneration was a doctrine that would hardly

be tolerated: happily, however, that doctrine has been rescued from oblivion amongst us. But, as in the concerns of every-day life we are apt to run into extremes, so it is with the concerns of religion, and lately we have heard little else but this, and its cognate doctrines. Mr. Claughton's endeavour is to remedy this evil, and to teach his audience that, though such doctrines are of the most essential consequence, they are not everything, but that there is a superstructure to be raised up upon them. Hear Mr. Claughton:—

"My brethren, seek not to lay again the foundation at all, but recur to the one baptism of your infancy, according to Christ's words—'Suffer the little children to come unto me,' as your entrance into the Church of Christ. Be assured that in that body, and under the guidance of those who watch over that body, according to the scriptural rules, your minds will have rest, and the grace of God fill your hearts with real gifts of strength. 'Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord; look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged. Look unto Abraham, your father, and unto Sarah that bare you; for I called him alone, and blessed him, and increased him.'

"And if any have not fulfilled as yet those first conditions mentioned by the apostle, let them delay them no longer. Why should the text stand against them with its single witness? These are the beginnings of the doctrines of Christ. We should advance beyond them, yet we may not neglect them; an error in the principle of our course will have its effect somewhere.....the text is to warn us to advance—once secure of the foundation that we have laid even Christ, and having fulfilled those preliminaries which, since God has sanctioned and ordained them, we cannot gainsay, we are exhorted to go forward, and to endure with constancy to the end, always proving our righteousness, holding it fast, and expressing it by the fruits it bears in our lives. Both in doctrine and in practice Christians may ever be making progress. The spiritual, like the natural life, has its stages of infancy, youth, and maturity. The sacrament of Baptism is a sign of new birth, but that of the Lord's Supper is a sign of strength—strength from time to time renewed, and vigour increased. Therefore, it is that there is one baptism; once for all we are 'born of water and the Spirit.' But in breaking of bread, we read, the believers 'continued stedfast.' And St. Paul in the text does not mention the bread and the cup, which he calls elsewhere the communion of the body and blood of Christ, as beginnings to be left; and we can see good reason for this, because it is an ordinance that attends us to the last, and to the last we make advance in our knowledge of its spiritual efficacy and value; but of those he mentions we observe that they are of the nature of a beginning, essential indeed as birth is to life, but essential in this manner especially. We are to leave them, not forgetting them (as shown already) for one instant—not omitting them, for they are the principles of Christ, but building upon them—advancing, as from a vantage ground, from them. And advancing to what? To the per-

fection—the fulness of Christ's doctrine; the mature spiritual state which leaves no part of revealed truth unnoticed, and which learns only to practice and put in force its belief" (pp. 8-10).

This is necessarily an imperfect representation of the sermon before us. It will, however, be sufficient to show that Mr. Claughton has some other object in view than the building up of priestly dominion, though he would recommend the highest ordinances to his hearers. And it gives us pleasure to think that a person of such a character is destined to fill the situation of Mr. Faber at Eton, as, though he will necessarily undo any mischief that may have been done by that gentleman, there is no fear of his running into opposite errors.

Gray's Poetical Works, English and Latin, Illustrated; and Edited with Introductory Stanzas. By the Rev. J. Moultrie. Eton: Williams. 1845.

Great as is the fame of Eton from the number of men, eminent as divines, scholars, and statesmen, whose understandings had been formed, whose tastes had received the first impulse, and the foundations of whose subsequent distinction was laid within those walls,

> ——"where grateful science still adores
> Her Henry's holy shade"——

It is probable that she is more popularly known, and more generally remembered, through Gray's beautiful lines on a distant prospect of Eton College, than through the many illustrious names which she recounts with the pride and the fondness of an *alma mater*.

Eton, as a place, is indebted to Gray for a portion of its celebrity; and it has done well in endeavouring to show its gratitude to the poet by publishing this charming edition of his poetry. To read works of intrinsic excellence, and of an elaborate finish, in a suitably elegant form, increases the pleasure and hightens the zest. We have before us constantly, in a volume worthy of containing them, writings which may almost be regarded as a standard of composition in their kinds, and which we need, therefore, to have continually at hand, and frequently to take up.

The illustrations are very beautiful, consisting of a medallion of Gray, engraved by Freebairn, and many views of Eton, Stoke Church, manor house, and vicinity, in reference to the poems—most of which are drawn and engraved by the Radclyffes; a few are without any name; and, though good, are not equal to those we mention.

Some of the poems are mere fragments; but the editor

rightly judged that the public would be unwilling to lose anything belonging to Gray: and the bent and turn of mind, and the process of elaborating the things which are meant for durability, are often shown as fully, and detected sometimes more readily, in an unfinished than in a finished work; for it is the very perfection of art to conceal the labour which it has cost: apparent ease gives a greater charm to consummate skill.

We cannot say much for the "Introductory Stanzas." It was rather daring to hazard such a comparison. They consist of praises of Etonians, especially of the late Marquis Wellesley. As a specimen we give the second stanza as one of the best:—

"But still, while states and empires wax and wane,
And busy generations fret and die,
The face of nature doth unchang'd remain:
Small token is there in the earth or sky
Of dissolution or mortality:
But streams are bright, and meadows flowery still,
And woods retain their ancient greenery.
Though all the abodes of men be rife with wrong and ill."

The Judgment of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology; a Complete Analytical Arrangement of the Charges delivered by the Prelates of the Anglican Church, from 1837 *to* 1842 *inclusive; so far as they relate to the Tractarian Movement, with Notes and Appendices.* By the Rev. W. Simcox Bricknell, M. A., of Worcester College; Incumbent of Grove, Berks; and one of the Oxford City Lecturers. Oxford: Vincent; London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1845.

We have here upwards of seven hundred and fifty pages of close matter; and, notwithstanding the common opinion that a great book is a great evil, the value of the work is such as to take it out of that category. Mr. Bricknell deserves great praise for the care he has bestowed upon his undertaking. The various topics alluded to are well arranged, the notes appended useful, and the documents, added to the analysis, of much interest. There are not many people that would be contented with the comparatively unobtrusive office of analists; and those that are, are frequently tired of their undertaking before they come to the end. But the fidelity of this arrangement is a proof of Mr. Bricknell's patience and desire to serve the Church; and we do not think that any, who wish to be fully acquainted with the great controversy of our day, will willingly allow their libraries to want this great acquisition. Mr. Bricknell has done more service to the Church by the completion of his undertaking than if he had contributed ten times as much of original matter.

The Natural History of Selborne. By the late Rev. G. White, M.A. A New Edition, with Notes, by the Rev. L. Jenyns, M.A. London: Van Voorst. 1845.

We notice our old friend White, on the present occasion, on account of the beauty of the new dress in which he now appears. The wood-cuts of this little volume are of surpassing beauty, and we cannot look at them without a sort of enthusiasm. The wood chat seems actually springing into the air—the fallow deer is all but alive—and a bevy of mice seem busily engaged in an animated soirée; the subject under discussion is not apparent, but they are evidently keeping up the ball with very great spirit. These same mice, we would have our readers to know, are not the vulgar mice that make such havoc in the pantry and store-room: they are only one sixth of the weight of a full-grown house mouse, and make their nests on the top of a thistle, or such like inaccessible place to its Liliputian enemies, and it prefers flies and insects to any other species of food—catching them with great dexterity. Professor Kenslow kept one for some time; it is a very cleanly animal, using its paws for that purpose, and assuming the most graceful attitudes while so engaged. Its tail is prehensile, to assist it in descending from its airy mansion, and when it is slipping down, if a knot or other impediment occurs, it looses and catches again in an extraordinary manner; and will sometimes jump by a jerk to the distance of a foot or more.

For objects of natural history, we are decidedly of opinion that no style of art is so suitable as wood-engravings, such as these. The union of sharpness with the various textures of surface, which the feathers of birds, the fur of animals, and the scales of fishes require, cannot be attained in the same perfection in any other style; and there is always a bright gem-like sparkle in wood-cuts not to be found in copper-plate or lithography.

Lest any of our readers should be unacquainted with White, and therefore imagine his work to be merely the dry meagre thing which used to be called "Natural History," we subjoin a short extract:—

"The standing objection to botany has always been that it is a pursuit that amuses the fancy and exercises the memory, without improving the mind or advancing any real knowledge; and where the science is carried no farther than a mere systematic classification, the charge is but too true. But the botanist that is desirous of wiping off this aspersion should be by no means content with a mere list of names; he should study plants philosophically, should investigate the laws of vegetation, should examine the powers and virtues of efficacious

herbs, and graft the gardener, the planter, and the husbandman on the phytologist. Vegetation is highly worthy of our attention, and in itself is of the utmost consequence to mankind, and productive of many of the greatest comforts and elegancies of life. To plants we owe timber, bread, beer, honey, wine, oil, linen, cotton, &c.....The productions of vegetation have had a vast influence on the commerce of nations, and have been the great promoters of navigation, as may be seen in the articles of sugar, tea, tobacco, opium, ginger, betel, pepper, &c. As every climate has its peculiar produce, our natural wants bring on a mutual intercourse; so that by means of trade each distant part is supplied with the growth of every latitude" (p. 299).

Ruins and Old Trees, associated with Remarkable Events in English History. By MARY ROBERTS, Author of the "Progress of Creation," &c. London: Harvey and Darton. 1845.

THIS is a beautiful book for a young person—the production of an elegant mind—and it is adorned, as might be expected, with representations of the principal ruins and trees: and these illustrations are of such merit as not only to satisfy the expectations which would be raised concerning a work of this kind, but from their beauty they greatly enhance its value. The book on this account would strike at first sight, from its well-designed and well-executed engravings: and, when the contents are examined, they will be found interesting, and well put together, and calculated to afford instruction and amusement.

It is a good idea, this, of converting ruins and trees into a sort of *memoria technica*, by selecting those which are connected with any memorable fact, and which afford in general such scope for the pencil. Almost every parish in the kingdom, which can pretend to any claims for antiquity, has also its legends, connected with its ruins and its trees—from Herne's Oak, in Windsor Park, to the solitary mansion, now only a farmhouse, in the mountains of Wales, where Shakespeare wrote his "Midsummer Night's Dream," finding his machinery of Puck and the fairy elves in the traditions which subsist, to our own time, in those districts—the glen in which the mansion was situated being called at this very day "Coom a Pucka," or the Fairy's Hollow.

Many of these time-hallowed spots have nothing better than "old wives' fables" connected with their history; but some there are which preserve local reminiscences, such as cannot always find a place in our historical annals, as being of too private and seemingly too trivial a nature to comport with the dignity of history; or as covering too great a space of time, to range in with the regular course of its stream: yet some of these apparently trivial things have been the springs of great events—

have subverted dynasties, and changed the fate of empires—though like seed it may lie long hidden, and may germinate unseen before anything notable comes into manifestation. The Queen's Oak, which forms the frontispiece of this volume, illustrates what we mean; for there we only see the widowed Elizabeth Woodville, kneeling at the feet of her sovereign, to ask the restitution of her husband's lands. History tells us that her suit was granted, though her husband had died fighting against the house of him to whom her suit was made. And in the train of this incident we may behold the rage of Warwick, "proud setter-up and puller-down of kings"—the crimes of Richard—the waning of the house of York—the triumph of the house of Lancaster, and the extinction of that feud between the "roses" which had robbed England of its best blood during so many generations.

Clipstone Palace forms the most striking of the illustrations, not so much in the building itself, as in the groups of figures under the gateway. The historic notice contains little more than that King John and Edward I. had occasionally occupied the palace. The nut-tree of Rosamond's grave is the best of the historic notices—not from what is said of Rosamond, but as serving to introduce the romantic story of Ela, Countess of Salisbury, and the gallant Longespé. Dunmow Priory in like manner is used to bring in Lady Marian, the queen of Sherwood Forest, the wife of Robin Hood, the outlawed Earl of Huntingdon; and Wallace's Oak serves as the vehicle for the main incidents of that stirring and eventful period of our history, when Wallace and Bruce were contending for the crown of Scotland, and Edward fomented the strife that he might turn it to his own gain.

Miss Roberts writes verses, and the book commences with some written on the oak of Chatsworth, planted by her Majesty when Princess Victoria—they thus begin:—

"Wave on, ye old memorial trees,
In the wintry wind and the summer breeze:
Beacons ye are of days gone by,
Of grief and crime, of the tear and sigh.
Oh! may they never come again,
In the hut or hall, on hill or plain!

But a young tree is growing,
Where clear streams are flowing;
Its roots are deep in the mother earth,
In the parent soil that gave it birth,
And its noble boughs are waving high,
Meeting the breeze, or the summer wind's sigh," &c.

—A still more favourable specimen of Miss Roberts's talents, both in versification and in description, we extract from "Queen Mary's Tower," to which a very beautiful print, representing the Queen of Scots, looking out from the parapet of her prison, is prefixed:—

"Oh! 'tis a strange unearthly sound,
When loud the raging wind rides round
This ruined home of other days!
The warrior's boast—the minstrel's praise!
For now the stately pile is low,
And rank the grass and nettles grow,
Where princes sat in regal state,
And bold retainers pass'd the gate—
The strong old gate, all broken now
Twin'd with the ivy's matted bough."

"Ruins are best seen in wintry weather, when storms and thunder are abroad, and the woods are bare of leaves; such was the fourteenth of October, when, some years back, the narrator saw, for the first time, that dilapidated portion of Winfield Castle. The rain had been exceeding heavy in the night, and the wind blew a perfect hurricane, making the tall trees groan and sway beneath its fury, and driving the autumn leaves in shoals upon the ground; but the rain had ceased, and the loud wind was still, except when it came in gusts, moaning over the wide heath, and around the ancient castle, with that wailing sound which is heard only in places where men have dwelt, as if singing the wild requiem of departed greatness. The skirt of the heavy storm-cloud was seen retreating in the west with its grey windy banners; while, on high, rolling masses of dark clouds were following swiftly, as if fearing to be left behind. Now they were no more seen; clouds of a still somewhat stormy character succeeded them, hurrying across the heavens, and changing as they passed, at one moment dark and threatening, at another light and fleecy; while at intervals the blue sky appeared, and the sun broke forth gloriously, causing the earth to look as if it smiled from some internal consciousness of delight!" (59).

Family Lectures, in Three Parts, on the Principles and Practice of the Christian Religion; for the use of Families and General Instruction. By the Rev. JOHN PRIDHAM, M. A., Vicar of Orby, Lincolnshire. Fourth Edition. London: L. and G. Seeley.

The work before us must be regarded as a kind of phenomenon in the world of books—that is, they have reached a fourth edition without the usual aids of advertisements—at least we do not recollect seeing them in the usual lists of the publisher's books. In all ordinary cases an author has no other means of

making his work known but by advertising it. The fair inference, therefore, seems to be that a work which can dispense with this means must possess intrinsic recommendations, through which it silently makes its way; and such we believe to be the character of Mr. Pridham's Lectures. There is nothing of modern *shewiness* about them, which, though it may force a book upon the public for a time, is sure to consign it to ultimate oblivion. They will be found to contain only the solid practical truths of the Bible, put forth with an ease of language which enables the reader to get over them without any painful effort of the attention. We say this with only one drawback. We think there are many single English-Latin words which might, with much advantage, be exchanged for good Saxon, or at least simpler, ones. For example, in a sentence which the poor might otherwise understand as easily as the well educated, the poor would not understand because of the hard word *fiducial*. We know of no reason but this for not placing the work in cottage loan libraries. The Lectures are most of them short, which is a decided recommendation; and, as a whole, we believe they contain a body of sound practical divinity and Christian morality. The following opinion of the late Bishop Burgess confirms our own:—"I have read Mr. Pridham's Lectures with more than ordinary gratification, as a faithful exhibition of Christian doctrine and practice, calculated to afford great spiritual profit to those clergymen and laymen who well peruse them."

The Living and the Dead; a Course of Practical Sermons on the Burial Service. By Francis E. Paget, M.A., Rector of Elford. Cambridge: Walters; London: Rivingtons.

This is a course of twenty lectures upon the burial service, and they deserve considerable praise. Mr. Paget has treated his subject most ably. Perhaps we might have been disposed to say more, but for the injudicious introduction of a sermon, which had no necessary connexion with his task, upon the subject of prayers for the dead. It is but just, however, to Mr. Paget, to observe that he has treated this point with moderation, advising those who draw comfort from its use to confine their opinions to themselves, and not needlessly to thrust them upon others; and it is certain that, under no consideration, would he allow the adoption of practice to be construed into an allowance of those other doctrines and practices which have been joined to it by the Church of Rome. Purgatory is declared by

him to be a "most cruel and most pernicious doctrine;" and there is in him no fear to speak of the superstitions of Rome: we cannot, therefore, justly suppose that in speaking with favour of the doctrine of prayers for the dead he does so insidiously. Nay, the chief danger of the practice is not unseen by him, as the following passage testifies. Speaking of the Church he says:—

"Reason good is there why she should exercise the extremest caution and reserve on the subject. The practice rests on no positive command in Scripture; to abstain from it cannot be unsafe; to adopt it publicly, in her formularies, *might* be to lay the train for future mischief—might lead to the introduction of worse evils than those from which we have escaped. The error of purgatory was bad enough; but a hundred-fold worse would be the assertion of an opinion that prayers for the dead might avail for the salvation of those who have *not* died in God's faith and fear; and our standard of religion is already so miserably low that it is far from unlikely that such a doctrine would be eagerly received among us, were opportunity given for its introduction" (p. 280).

It would, however, at the present time, have been better to have abstained from all allusion to the practice, especially as there would have been no incompleteness in his work without it; and we are sorry to be obliged to say that, in introducing the subject to his *readers* (for it was not delivered from the pulpit, p. 17), he has indulged in language which has a tendency to make men dissatisfied with the course which has been adopted by the Church; and this we consider to be reprehensible in the extreme. In speaking, too, of the absence of the sacrament from the present service for the burial of the dead, he speaks of it as the *sacrifice* (p. 275), without adding anything to show that he uses that expression only in a metaphorical sense, which will expose him to animadversions which he may possibly not deserve: so that, upon all accounts, we had rather that he had not added his sermon. Subject to this reservation, we would say that it is an admirable little volume, and likely to be of material service; but a reservation of praise upon grounds like these must render its admission into many circles problematical; in some, perhaps, amount to exclusion. We regret it, as otherwise there is no circle that might not have profited from the use of these lectures, from the lowest to the highest.

The Tiara and the Turban; or, Impressions and Observations of Character within the Dominions of the Pope and the Sultan. By S. S. Hill, Esq. Two vols. Madden and Malcolm. 1845.

This is an amusing account of a journey from Paris by Strasburgh and Venice to Rome, and from thence by Sicily and Athens to Constantinople. The descriptions of Vesuvius, Herculaneum, and Pompeii will be read with interest, although they do not profess to give anything which other travellers have not also seen. In Constantinople he visited the great slave bazaar, where Franks are not without difficulty admitted, since they are presumed to be attracted solely by curiosity, and would only crowd upon and impede the regular men of business—the Mussulmen. Mr. Hill was at first refused admission, but on the dragoman representing him to be a person of some consequence, he was told to wait until he saw a concourse of regular traders enter, and to go in with them. The slaves for sale were mostly females of all ages, and of every shade, from the perfect negress to the fair Circassian; and Mr. Hill speaks with proper indignation of the practice, and of the outrage to humanity which necessarily follows, and which was brought under his notice in some of the wretched being exposed like pieces of china in a broker's shop, with advantage on the side of the china, in that it has no feelings to be lacerated in passing from hand to hand. In other instances Mr. Hill is disposed to regard the Mahometans in a light much too favourable.

Sermons. Second Series. By Richard Winter Hamilton, L.L.D., D.D., Minister of Belgrave Chapel, Leeds. Leeds: Knight; London: Hamilton. 1846.

We are indebted to the publisher for a copy of these sermons; and we are unwilling that his courtesy should go unacknowledged; but, as they are the production of an *alumnus* of Highbury College, we do not feel disposed to offer any remarks on their merits or demerits. Under ordinary circumstances we should decline doing anything that might be construed into an encouragement of a free trade in religion, or of an unholy alliance: and we do not see anything to induce us to treat the present work as an exception. It has been well got up by the publisher, and we think the author will have no reason to regret that he has fallen into his hands. More could not have been done for him in London, and when we say that we say everything.

W. E. Painter, 342, Strand, London, Printer.

THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Quarterly Review.

APRIL, MDCCCXLVI.

ART. I.—*An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, Author of "Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church." London: Toovey. 1846.

THE Reformation was a mighty work: it was a vast expansion—a prodigious elevation of the mind of Europe, which then constituted the whole of the civilized world; and it became the means of first purifying and elevating the tone of Christendom, and then of diffusing Christianity and civilization over the whole world, in proportion as the principles of the Reformation prevailed. In a far truer sense than that in which the word is generally employed, the Reformation was a *development* of the spirit and power of the life still abiding in the Church, though her energies had been cramped or perverted, and when all spirituality had seemed for long ages to have been overlaid and stifled by dead forms and mephitic corruptions. Her awaking from so long a slumber appeared like a resurrection from the charnel-house, when all who were witnesses of so strange, so unexpected a phenomenon, would ask each other, doubtfully, "Can these bones live?" It is difficult now to realize the transition, or estimate the impulse which it gave to mankind.

But it would be strange if the revival of letters beforehand, and the enlistment of all the greatest men and foremost spirits of the age in the great work of the Reformation, had not produced some extraordinary result; and of these results we still have reason to be proud, after the lapse of more than three

centuries, during which the effects, traceable to this one cause, have been more and more developing: with partial evils no doubt—as where shall we find any pure unmingled good?—but with such an overwhelming amount of good, both direct and collateral, as to make us in our moments of exultation wholly forgetful of the evil, and in our most calm and sober contemplation to think the good very cheaply purchased at such a small cost of evil.

This our land has especial cause to remember that great epoch with gratitude and pride—not only as having been foremost in the great cause of Reformation, and as having afforded refuge and protection to those who were persecuted for conscience sake—not only as having obtained a greater amount of good at a lesser expense of evil than fell to the lot of other lands—but above all in a Church established on Reformation principles, which was far in advance of the other Reformed Churches in catholicity, truth, and purity, as they all, in some one or other sense, were far in advance of Romanism. The Church of England, in shaking off the corruptions of Rome, retained all the rites and ceremonies which were not inconsistent with primitive Christianity and Gospel truth; desiring to reject nothing which true devotion could require—nothing which love of decency and order would make desirable; and demanding, in all cases, valid reasons for abandoning a practice which had been sanctioned by long usage; being jealous of departure from good old ways; being aware of the dangers attending innovation; and introducing no changes until the necessity for them had been demonstrated—forbidding nothing until it had been shown that it was contrary to Scripture and primitive faith—a dishonour to God, or perilous to the souls of men.

The Church of England is often maligned as though it were chargeable with all the evils which have been perpetrated in England under pretended zeal for the Protestant faith, as if the Church of England were responsible for the countless follies of the various shades of Puritans, and the wholesale wanton havoc of the Parliamentarians and Presbyterians. The Church of England has ever repudiated all connection with these parties, and protested against their faith and practices; she did so at the time, and for doing so was by them classed with Rome itself, and branded with the epithet of "malignant." And it is rather hard that she should now be charged with the crimes of those who, at the time, reproached her as being an obstacle to those very deeds which they regarded as virtues, and not as crimes.

The Reformation—and especially when it is contemplated as embodied in the Church of England—was a prodigious advance upon Romanism, and an advance wholly in the right direction towards light, and liberty, and enlargement of spirit—prompted by reverence for God, and jealousy of any creature intruding itself, or being thrust by others, into the throne of the Most High. But these things are either wilfully suppressed, or the memories of men are become strangely defective, when we find a party of youngsters, with some men at their head who are old enough to know better, professing to make a further advance, by endeavouring to revive all those practices which the Reformers denounced as gross corruptions of the Christian faith, or as wicked idolatries fatal to the souls of men. And the marvel is increased when we find that down to the year 1837, some of those who are foremost in this movement joined with the Reformers in denouncing the corruptions and idolatries of Rome, with all appearance of heartiness, and in as strong terms as the Engligh language can afford. Yet these very men are now putting themselves under the ban of their own words in joining the Church of Rome—they are now standing accursed out of their own mouths! to the scandal and shame of all who attach any meaning to words: either to their former words which so strongly denounced that faith which they now profess; or to their present professions of satisfaction and peace, under such real apostacy, such spurious, such imaginary advancing.

Renegades, and apostates in general, so entirely lose all weight of character, and all influence with either party, by the act, as to be scarcely worthy of notice; but the act of Mr. Newman is not an ordinary act of apostacy: it appears to us perfectly monstrous: we doubt whether the annals of the Church can furnish its parallel among all the many strange tergiversations which are recorded—that is, its parallel in all the circumstances, regarding the man himself, his total change, and the absence of intelligible reasons or motives for that change. For Mr. Newman is not at all defective in reason or logic, and he has never used words in a loose or other than a precise sense; so that all his former denunciations of Rome had a definite meaning, and truly represented the state of his mind at that time. The change is total and complete; for Mr. Newman tells us in the advertisement that, "of course, he now withdraws the arguments alluded to, as far as they reflect upon the Church of Rome, as well as the language in which they were conveyed. It is scarcely necessary to add that he now submits every part of the book to the judgment of the Church

(*i.e.* of Rome) with whose doctrine, on the subjects of which it treats, he wishes all his thoughts to be coincident." (x. xi.) And the motives for the change thus coolly announced are wholly unintelligible; for no one can suppose that personal motives, or anything sinister or sordid, have been at work—no advantage has allured—no threats have terrified. The only reason assigned is the reperusal of his own book while it was passing through the press—an effect which we venture to predict the book will have on no other human being:—

"POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was written, the author has joined the Catholic Church. It was his intention and wish to have carried his volume through the press before deciding finally on this step; but when he had got some way in the printing, he recognised in himself a conviction of the truth of the conclusion to which the discussion leads so clear as to supersede further deliberation. Shortly afterwards circumstances gave him the opportunity of acting upon it, and he felt that he had no warrant for refusing to do so.

"His first act on his conversion was to offer his work for revision to the proper authorities; but the offer was declined, on the ground that it was written and partly printed before he was a Catholic, and that it would come before the reader in a more persuasive form, if he read it as the author wrote it" (xi.)

It is necessary to quote some of the expressions which indicate Mr. Newman's former opinions of the Church which he has now joined, all of which "*of course he now withdraws.*" That our readers may see what it is which may, in Mr. Newman's opinion, be thus lightly abandoned, and withdrawn as a matter of course, the following are formally acknowledged in this volume:—

"1. For instance, in 1833, in the *Lyra Apostolica*, I called it 'a lost Church.'

"2. Also, in 1833, I spoke of 'the Papal apostacy' in a work on the Arians.

"3. In the same year ..... I say, 'True Rome is heretical now—nay, grant she has thereby forfeited her orders, yet at least she was not heretical in the primitive ages. If she has apostatised, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then, indeed, it is to be feared the whole Roman communion bound itself, by a perpetual bond and covenant, to the cause of Antichrist.'

"4. Also, in 1833, I said—'Their communion is infected with heresy: we are bound to flee it as a pestilence: they have established a lie in the place of God's truth, and, by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed.'

"5. In 1834, I said in a magazine—'The spirit of old Rome has risen again in its former place, and has evidenced its identity by its works. It has possessed the Church planted there, as an evil spirit

might seize the demoniacs of primitive times, and makes her speak words which are not her own. In the corrupt Papal system we have the very cruelty, the craft, and the ambition of the republic; its cruelty in its unsparing sacrifice of the happiness and virtue of individuals to a phantom of public expediency, in its forced celibacy within, and its persecutions without; its craft in its falsehoods, its deceitful deeds, and lying wonders; and its grasping ambition in the very structure of its polity, in its assumption of universal dominion: old Rome is still alive; no where have its eagles lighted, but it still claims the sovereignty under another pretence. The Roman Church I will not blame, but pity—she is, as I have said, spell-bound, as if by an evil spirit—she is in thraldom.....In the book of Revelations, the sorceress upon the seven hills is not the Church of Rome, as is often taken for granted, but Rome itself—that bad spirit which in its former shape was the animating principle of the fourth monarchy. In St. Paul's prophecy, it is not the Temple or Church of God, but the man of sin in the Temple—the old man or evil principle of the flesh which exalteth itself against God. Certainly it *is* a mystery of iniquity, and one which may well excite our dismay and horror, that in the very heart of the Church, in her highest dignity, in the seat of St. Peter, the evil principle has throned itself and rules. It seems as if that spirit had gained subtlety by years; Popish Rome has succeeded to Rome Pagan: and would that we had no reason to expect still more crafty developments of Antichrist amid the wreck of institutions and establishments which will attend the fall of the Papacy!'

"I also say, 'She virtually substitutes an external ritual for moral obedience; penance for penitence, confession for sorrow, profession for faith, the lips for the heart: such at least is her system as understood by the many.'

"In 1834 I also used, of certain doctrines of the Church of Rome, the epithets 'unscriptural,' 'profane,' 'impious,' 'bold,' 'unwarranted,' 'blasphemous,' 'gross,' 'monstrous,' 'cruel,' 'administering deceitful comfort, and unauthorised,' in Tract 38. I do not mean to say that I had not a definite meaning in every one of these epithets, or that I did not weigh them before I used them."

And to conclude our extracts of passages which Mr. Newman now withdraws, we take one published in 1837, which occurs in the "Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church," and is thus introduced:—

"In these lectures there are various statements which he could wish unsaid; but he thinks it right to draw the reader's especial attention to the following passage, which he retracts with the others:—'We must take and deal with things as they are, not as they pretend to be. If we are induced to believe the professions of Rome, and make advances towards her, as if a sister or a mother Church, which in theory she is, we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relative, who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach. No; dismissing the dreams which the

romance of early Church history, and the high doctrines of Catholicism, will raise in the inexperienced mind, let us be sure that she is our enemy, and will do us a mischief when she can. We must deal with her as we would towards a friend who is visited by derangement; in great affliction, with all affectionate tender thoughts, with tearful regrets and a broken heart, but still with a steady eye and a firm hand. For in truth she is a Church beside herself; abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are; or rather she may be said to resemble a demoniac, possessed with principles, thoughts, and tendencies not his own; in outward form and in natural powers what God has made her, but ruled within by an inexorable spirit, who is sovereign in his management over her, and most subtle and most successful in the use of her gifts. Thus she is her real self only in name; and, till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one that governs her. And in saying this, I must not be supposed to deny that there is any real excellence in Romanism even as it is, or that any really excellent men are its adherents. Satan ever acts on a system; various, manifold, and intricate, with parts and instruments of different qualities; some almost purely evil; others so unexceptionable, that, in themselves, and detached from the end to which all is subservient, they are really 'angels of light,' and may be found so to be at the last day. In Romanism there are some things absolutely good, some things only just tainted and sullied, some things corrupted, and some things in themselves sinful; but the system itself so-called must be viewed as a whole, and all parts of it as belonging to the whole, and in connection with their practical working, and the end which they subserve." (Adver. v.)

We have made these long extracts, because Mr. Newman himself quotes them from his former works as the expression of sentiments which he now desires to retract; and, in order that our readers may bear in mind the enormity of that change —the suddenness of that revolution which has taken place in his thoughts—as explaining what we meant above, by saying that we doubt whether the annals of the Church can furnish its parallel; and as justifying the strong language which we find it necessary to employ in speaking of it.

Mr. Newman is not a man who would be liable to the suspicion of using words without meaning, or in any other than a definite sense. Granting his facts and his premises, he always reasons logically, and expresses himself in terms which are remarkably clear and accurate. Moreover, we have his own assurance that, when he used this tremendous language, concerning the deeply ingrained and inseparable evils of the Roman system, he did really mean all that he expressed; and that the sentences which we have quoted are but deductions and conclusions of long elaborate arguments contained in the

works from which these sentences are extracted—arguments which were only the transcript of the workings of his mind—sentiments which only expressed the emotions of his own heart:—"I do not mean to say that I had not a definite meaning in every one of these epithets, or that I did not weigh them before I used them." (viii.)

Since that time, neither Mr. Newman, nor those whom he has forsaken, nor those whom he has joined, will admit the hypothesis that the Roman system has altered one iota for the better. Nay, Mr. Newman and his new friends would be most forward in scouting the idea that Rome has changed at all: it is one of their fundamental propositions that their Church is now, and ever has been, unchangeable. Mr. Newman himself, therefore, is the changeling, and that to such a degree as entirely and absolutely to retract all his most deliberate and long cherished convictions. And he seems to think that he owes nothing to his former readers, who were deceived by him, if he was deceived; but that he can, by a mere stroke of the pen, cancel all the strong things which he has written against the corruption and apostacy of Rome. In joining that apostacy, he does not condescend to inform us in what respect he had found his former opinions of the Papacy to be erroneous. He does not let his readers know in what points he had mistaken the facts, or where he had drawn wrong conclusions—where he had misunderstood Scripture, or where he had applied, to Rome, warnings, which were given against some other apostacy. His burning words remain as applicable as ever to the inveterate corruptions of Rome, which he will find she can no more shake off than the Ethiopian can change his skin, or the leopard its spots; yet he would fain blot out his former writings as though they had been the words of an idiot, and would suppose his readers to be such idiots as to permit him to do so—kindly consenting to forget that such words had been written by him—had been read by them. The words are too true to be forgotten, and they help us to the true and only rational explanation of Mr. Newman's own case. The only solution which we can find for this enigma, but the sufficient clue to these monstrous proceedings, appears in that which is stated in Mr. Newman's former writings, concerning the nature of the principle or power which binds together and holds in thraldom that Church which he has now joined: and he is thus become a moral martyr for the truth which he has forsaken, in becoming the victim of that system of error which, when alive to the truth, and in possession of his right mind, he had so forcibly denounced.

It is the more necessary that we should protest against and expose such shameless tergiversations, lest others should be misled by such an example, and discover their mistake too late; and we must protest in the strongest language which, consistently with charity, we can employ against the notion which Mr. Newman entertains, that an individual is so merged in the system to which he belongs as to lose all personal responsibility; and may be held innocent, and even deserving of praise, in doing things as one of a system which, if done by an individual, would be liable to condemnation. Mr. Newman seems to shelter his inconsistency, if not stifle the convictions of conscience, under the pretext that, if he has spoken unwarrantably of Rome in times past, the falsehood is chargeable not upon him, but upon the Protestant system to which he then belonged; and, consequently, that if he is in error now, the guilt of his acts will be chargeable upon that Church to which he has joined himself, and he, as an individual, will not be amenable for that which he does by following a *consensus* of the Roman Church. The proposition is monstrous in its consequences. We are not dealing with the Church as an abstraction, but as made up of living men: the acts of the Church are done by individuals who cannot shift off the responsibility of those acts upon an abstraction. No kind of compulsion is pleaded in justification of the acts formerly done when in communion with the Church of England, or of those since done in communion with Rome; and the man who is the agent must be held responsible, and receive the praise or blame which the act deserves.

Mr. Newman's words are these:—

"Perhaps I have made other statements in a similar tone, and that, again, when the statements were unexceptionable and true. If you ask me how an individual could venture, not simply to hold, but to publish such views of a communion so ancient, so wide-spreading, so fruitful in saints, I answer that I said to myself, 'I am not speaking my own words—I am but following almost a *consensus* of the divines of my Church. They have ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most able and learned of them. I wish to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say, I am safe. Such views, too, are necessary for our position. Yet I have reason to fear still, that such language is to be ascribed, in no small measure, to an impetuous temper, a hope of approving myself to persons I respect, and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism'" (ix).

It is rather to be ascribed to a want of sound principles in theology, the possession of which would have enabled him to take a firm and confident stand, and so to use language of his

own to which he would be sure that he should remain faithful, instead of adopting the language of other men whose principles gave force and stability to their words, of which principles Mr. Newman was ignorant. This deficiency we took occasion to point out as long ago as October, 1841; and we expressed our fears of this very result (page 399), and shewed, also, the danger of resting our faith on the opinions of individuals, even if these were such men as Andrewes and Hooker, or Bull and Pearson (p. 402). We endeavoured even then to shew that there were principles involved which Mr. Newman dreamt not of, and everything that has since occurred tends to strengthen that conviction. Mr. Newman had said that, "our controversy with Romanists turns more upon facts than on first principles." We asserted, "on the contrary, all our most learned controversialists have laboured to prove that there is not a single error in the Church of Rome which does not involve some false principle—does not rest on some false foundation" (309). Mr. Newman might not have known the spirit he was of, and might have written intemperately; but this would not account for his fall. We are able to account for it by perceiving that he rushed, unprepared, into conflict with a well-trained adversary, who was armed at all points. It was like David before Goliah, without the trust and confidence which gave the victory to David. Mr. Newman has become the victim of his rashness; and the example of a man in that condition which he had predicated of the whole Church of Rome, in a passage already quoted.

When professing the Protestant faith, Mr. Newman had spoken of Rome as not mistress of herself, as spell-bound, and as scarcely a more responsible agent than were the demoniacs of primitive times. This was the only solution which he could then propose of the mystery of iniquity which that Church appeared to be, and which he did not dare to unchurch, or to regard as in total apostacy, so as to deem all who remained in her communion as irrecoverably lost. That which he then imputed to Rome in the abstract, and charged upon the whole system, he is now exemplifying in his own person; and he cannot quarrel with us if we regard him as spell-bound, and not his own master. He has represented Rome as a sorceress holding out a Circean cup to all that approach her domain: he hath come within the toils of her whom he once shunned: he hath drunk of her cup, and is, we fear, spell-bound for ever. In the case of her votaries, we cannot appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober; for those who have once been partakers of that wine of fornication are,

in general, irrecoverable; and, above all, those who have once known the better way, and after having known it turn aside, are in a far worse state than those who have been brought up in the system, and have never looked upon its evils fairly and impartially, with all the light and knowledge of which an Oxford divine is possessed.

And Mr. Newman's description of Rome, and his former words of protest against the Papal system, are unchangeable, for they are true—SCRIPTA MANENT. They cannot be obliterated by the dash of a pen. He cannot now write them down, or make them as though they had never been. They will stand—*monumentum ære perennius*—a record of what he once was, and once thought, until the day of judgment; and they will form one of the counts in that indictment to which he must answer at the bar of God. Mr. Newman will then have to declare whether he was a true man when he wrote those awful words against Rome; and, if he was, must say how he has become a renegade now, in renouncing the faith which he then held; and how he has been seduced to join in upholding and propagating a system which he formerly called an apostacy. Christ has said, "That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." But by the evil practice brought in by the schoolmen, and fostered chiefly by the study of their works, theological discussion has come to be regarded as mere logomachy, and more as an exercise of ingenuity, than as the elucidation or expression of matters of faith; and so words are treated like the letters of an algebraic formula; and a man may shift his position from one side to the other merely by reversing the signs. God will not allow his unalterable verities to be thus trifled with; and on the man himself the immediate consequence is most pernicious: for integrity is sapped—self-respect is destroyed—the habit of equivocation and deceit is generated; till, at length, "as a madman, who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death, so such a man deceiveth his neighbour, and saith, 'Am I not in sport?'" The Church of Rome hath not changed—the protest against her is unchangeable; and the only party that hath changed is the poor, frail descendant of fallen Adam. He hath fallen through too much confidence in himself, and from having, through false confidence in others, rashly exposed himself to their seductions. We believe that he had ventured out of his depth; and in extremities a man will catch at any straw to save him. We think that he had wan-

dered in paths of his own chosing, till he got bewildered, and was ready to accept the guidance of any who would fearlessly incur such a responsibility. Rome alone has the hardihood requisite in such a case: she alone annihilates the individual, and loads herself with the personal responsibilities of her votaries; and such a false peace as such bold assertions can afford is often a temporary relief to the desperate, and scared, and self-deluded wanderer.

But, setting Mr. Newman out of the question, it may be asked on what grounds we maintain these hard thoughts of Rome to be correct? And we reply, on the word of God —on those grounds whereon faith rests for the salvation of the soul—on the same grounds as every other point of truth rests which we derive from Revelation: for, as the marks of a true Church, and all its accompaniments, are revealed in Scripture with all clearness, so, with the very same clearness is its counterfeit revealed, and the various signs of error by which that apostacy would be characterised are minutely detailed. St. Paul, in his several epistles, alludes to an apostacy as having formed a standing topic of warning in his ministration among the Churches; and in several places he gives us notice of the more prominent marks by which the counterfeit should be known; and the features of the apostacy are portrayed at large, and the course of historic events set before us in the symbolical book of Revelations under the form of a woman clothed in scarlet—the opponent of the woman clothed with the sun.

It would lead us into too long a digression to go into particulars, and the sum of all we maintain is this—that the marks of a false Church are as distinctly revealed in Scripture as the marks of a true Church; and that the former point to and meet in the Roman system, and cannot be found in any other system; and that the seat of that system is locally and geographically fixed in Scripture by the seven hills on which the woman sitteth; and that all shadow of doubt is removed by her being called Babylon, and by its being said "the woman which thou sawest is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

We have now to consider this "Essay on Development," which is remarkable for the effect which it produced upon the author, who intended to have carried his volume through the press before deciding on joining the Church of Rome; but who, during the printing, "recognised in himself a conviction of the truth of the conclusion to which the discussion leads so clear as to supersede further deliberation." We are always

very suspicious of those convictions which arise in a man's mind from such a mere reperusal of his own writings; yet they are instructive to others, and this work becomes the clear and indisputable exponent of the present state of the writer's mind, and gives an insight of all its turns and workings. We see, also, how, by giving some appearance of precision to floating ideas, and some measure of connection and sequence to vague, half-formed opinions, it may have contributed, in no small degree, to the binding and fixing the author in his present deplorable position.

We have applied to Mr. Newman himself, as now being a Romanist, those words which he, at a former period, applied to Rome; and have said that we regard him at present as spell-bound, and not his own master; and we now proceed to shew what it is that we mean in thus speaking, in the course of which analysis it will appear, that, while in clearness of statement and correctness of style, this work is equal to any of the former writings of the author, his reasoning powers are gone, and the claims of Rome are advocated on grounds which are not only untenable, but are such as would not be taken up, or stood to, by any intelligent Roman advocate.

To clear our way, we must begin with the title of the book —"Development of Christian Doctrine." Christian doctrine has Christ for its foundation. He is the germ to be developed: he is the Alpha and Omega of doctrine; and as in him it begins, so Christian doctrine is developed truly, only according as it unfolds more and more of Christ, and reveals him as the end as well as the beginning of faith. In natural things, development signifies the unfolding of a latent existence, whether by the agency of another or by the growth of the thing itself: the existence of a living principle is in all cases to be presumed, which enlarges and expands, so as to bring into manifestation properties which were already there, but were wrapt up and hidden. In this respect, development differs from appropriation.

If we take the instance of a seed, the germ of life is there, which, under proper circumstances, is developed as a full grown plant; or, take the instance of a bud—when it unfolds into a flower this is one stage of development, and when the flower matures into a fruit this is another stage of development; yet the germ of all was contained in the bud: time and circumstance did not produce the flower and the fruit—they only gave opportunity for the development. Again, the buds of the same tree have always the same kind of blossoms and fruit: one kind of development is proper to one kind of tree:

no man expects the bud of a bramble to develop into grapes, or the bud of a thorn to develope into figs. And, again, the beauteous blossom itself is a true development—not so the caterpillar that preys upon that blossom—not so the mildew that shrivels up its leaves. The fruit itself is a true development—not so the cankerworm that eats the heart out of it.

The purpose of God has been one from the beginning, and has been developing itself more and more throughout the various dispensations; and God has not availed himself of the folly and sin of man to help forward this development, but has carried it forward by his own Almighty arm, notwithstanding these hindrances of man. The provocations of the children of Israel, in the wilderness, were so great as almost to occasion their total and utter rejection; and did occasion the destruction of that whole generation, so that not one of the rebellious race entered into the promised rest; yet the promise failed not, although delayed for forty years, being at length fulfilled in another people; and when the Israelites were settled in the land, the constant complaint made through the prophets was, that, though they had been more highly favoured than any other people, they had defiled themselves more than the heathen nations around them. Under the judges they were continually following other gods, and being chastised repented for a time, and were delivered, yet sinned more and more. And all the prophets—from the first chapter of Isaiah to the last of Malachi—form one strain of expostulation, shewing that the head was sick, and the heart faint, and the body full of wounds and bruises, and putrifying sores. The point of the expostulation is, that no other nation has forsaken its gods, though these were no gods; but that Israel, which alone knew the true God, had forsaken him, and gone after idols; and Ezekiel, under the names of Aholibah and Aholibamah, declares, of Judah and Samaria, that they have committed more aggravated sins than those of Sodom or of Tyre. "Yet (saith the Lord) I had planted thee, a noble vine, wholly a right seed: how, then, art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?"

The history of the Jewish people would not enable any one to trace the development of the purpose of God: it only presents instances, more and more flagrant, of the sin and ingratitude of those who were the chosen race; and through whom, notwithstanding these provocations, God had determined that all the families of the earth should be blessed. God was working out the accomplishment of his purpose in a way that man knew not of, and by instruments which found

no place in the pages of history. To shepherds keeping watch over their flocks by night were the glad tidings first announced that the promise to Abraham was fulfilled: it was not in a palace, but in a manger, that they found the Son of God; and he himself and his followers occupied no place in histories such as man composes. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. He was despised and rejected of men, and we hid, as it were, our faces from him. He was despised, and we esteemed him not.

The history of the Jewish people may be regarded as a great fact, in the same manner as Mr. Newman regards the history of the Church as a great fact; and the Jewish people were kept in being, through all their captivities and dispersions, by the hand of God overruling all, just as the Church subsists through all her trials and persecutions. But this historical fact affords no development in itself of the purpose of God; the history records nothing but vicissitude, and no progress; the history develops only the sin and folly of man; while, in their being still regarded by God as his people, and kept apart, notwithstanding their unworthiness, the faithfulness of God appears in striking contrast with the faithlessness of man. The Mosaic institutions stood as monuments of the truth of God, which, however they may have been at some times disregarded, at other times mutilated, and at other times overlaid with traditions, still survived in the Scriptures, the preservation of which was, as St. Paul asserts, the chief privilege of the Jewish people, "chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God." In their hands the Scriptures remained the full, stable, unalterable witness against the perpetual backsliding and changeableness of man: and at hand, as a never-failing means of revival, whensoever chastisement had wrought repentance among them, and faith in God was revived.

It is striking to observe how God still dealt with Israel as his people, and refrained casting them off, even after they had forsaken him, and had cast off the true priesthood, and had turned to idols. When the ten tribes revolted from the house of David, and set up a king for themselves, the whole priesthood remained faithful, and abode in the land of Judah; nor could they do otherwise and continue priests, since the only place of true worship was Jerusalem—the temple of Solomon was the place where God had promised to dwell. Yet, although there was no priesthood in the kingdom of Israel, and although Jeroboam had set up calves in Bethel and in Dan, and although, having no Levites, he had made the lowest of the

people to be idol priests, still God continued to plead with the house of Israel by prophets of the highest class, like Elijah and Elisha, and many of the minor prophets. In the land of Israel we even hear of schools of the prophets, as if to supply in part the want of a priesthood; and we learn, incidentally, how true and how formidable they were, in the character which Ahab gives of Micaiah:—"There is yet one man by whom we may enquire of the Lord, but I hate him, for he never prophesieth good unto me, but always evil."

And it is equally striking to observe how, after the ten tribes had been carried into captivity, and after the house of Judah had brought themselves to the verge of destruction by following the same evil courses, the judgment was stayed for a time by the recovery of the book of the law, in the reign of Josiah; and how, after their subsequent return from the captivity of Babylon, it was by instructing the people in the book of the law that Ezra endeavoured to raise them from out of their degraded condition, and render them true and intelligent worshippers of the Lord their God. "And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord; and Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan and he read it. And Shaphan read it before the king. And it came to pass when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, saying, Go ye, enquire of the Lord for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found, for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us" (2 Kings, xxii). Again: "And all the people gathered themselves together as one man, and they spake unto Ezra, the scribe, to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel. And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation, both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding. And he read therein from the morning until mid-day before the men and the women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the law. So they read in the book of the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. viii. 9). And at length, when the Jews were about to consummate their apostacy, and, by rejecting the Son of God, to bring upon themselves final rejection, and to constrain God to take to himself another people, the causes of this blindness and hard-

ness of heart is traced to their neglect of the word of God, and to having made it void by their traditions. "Search the Scriptures (said our Lord), for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they testify of me." The truth was to be found in the word of God alone, and not in the history of the Jewish people. Their history presented no exception to the whole world's record of the waywardness, inconstancy, but ever downward tendency of mankind. All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass; the grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

The preceding observations have been made with immediate reference to this "Essay on Development," and in order to save the time of our readers, and our own labour in the examination of Mr. Newman's production; and as he starts with asserting that "Christianity has been long enough in the world to justify us in dealing with it as a fact in the world's history," it is necessary to shew that there are other facts, such as the history of the Jews, which are in all respects analogous, yet which are repugnant to Mr. Newman's whole theory; and, as he himself intimates, even "the Spartan institutions and the religion of Mahomet" are in like manner facts, although not analogous, we shall use this concession to shew that all Mr. Newman's tests of true development are fallacious, since they might be, in like manner, used by a Mahomedan, in defence of his false creed, against those whom he stigmatizes as infidels.

The whole ground-work of Mr. Newman's reasoning may be seen, and the whole fallacy detected, in the following sentences:—

"Till it is shown why we should view the matter differently, it is natural, or rather it is necessary, it is agreeable to our modes of proceeding in parallel cases, to consider that the society of Christians, which the apostles left on earth, were of that religion to which the apostles had converted them: that the external continuity of name, profession, and communion, is a *primâ facie* argument for a real continuity of doctrine, that, as Christianity began by manifesting itself to all mankind, therefore it went on to manifest itself, and that the more, considering that prophecy had already determined that it was to be a power visible in the world, and sovereign over it—characters which are accurately fulfilled in that historical Christianity to which we commonly give the name. It is not a great assumption then, but rather mere abstinence from the wanton admission of a principle, which would necessarily lead to the most vexatious and preposterous scepticism, to take it for granted that the Christianity of the second, fourth, seventh, twelfth, sixteenth, and intermediate centuries, is, in its substance, the very religion which Christ and his apostles taught in the

first, whatever may be the modifications for good or for evil which lapse of years or the vicissitudes of human affairs have impressed upon it" (3).

This is only the same kind of assumption with which Paley commences his "Evidences;" but Paley uses it legitimately, while Mr. Newman uses it illegitimately. Both assume that Christianity exists, "*in its substance*, the very religion which Christ and his apostles taught in the first" century. But Paley correctly assumes that the substance exists wherever Christianity exists: on the contrary, Mr. Newman is speaking only of the Roman communion as though it alone was Christianity, and he means by the substance, not that which Rome has in common with the rest of the baptized, but that which is peculiar and distinctive—that which separates Rome from Christians of every other denomination. If the Church of Jerusalem had continued, and had been still acknowledged as the mother Church: if the Church of Antioch, where disciples were first called Christians, had put in such a claim: if the eastern half of Christendom, the first fruits of the apostles' labours, and still priding itself upon its orthodoxy, had made the assumption, it might have been tolerable. But it is insulting to common sense, and quite intolerable, that such a plea should be set up in behalf of the innovations of Rome, when that very history which is appealed to furnishes, in almost all instances, the very date of each innovation, and each innovation has been protested against by the rest of the Christian Church. That the Papal dominancy, which carries with it all the other pretensions of Rome, and a dominancy in temporal as well as spiritual affairs, is contemplated by Mr. Newman, as of the substance of Christianity, is evident in the extract which we have made; for he asserts, "that prophecy had already determined that it was to be a power visible in the world, *and sovereign over it*—characters which are accurately fulfilled in that historical Christianity to which we commonly give the name." This is not the Christianity which Paley meant, or which any individual on earth who is not a thorough Romanist means, or would allow. Not only Protestants, but the whole eastern Church would protest against it; for this usurpation of sovereignty tended to produce and perpetuate the breach between the Eastern and Western Churches far more than the differences concerning doctrine. The Pope, who first asserted this supremacy, stands condemned out of his own mouth; for he had a short time before asserted that such a claim would prove that the arrogance from which it proceeded must be resisted by the whole Church, as the surest

mark of the spirit of Antichrist. I assert (says Gregory) with confidence, that whoever may call himself, or may desire to be called, universal bishop, doth in his elation become the precursor of Antichrist, because in so vaunting he puts himself before the rest. "Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se ceteris præponit" (Gregorii Epist. xxx.)

But Mr. Newman's assertion that the Roman supremacy is of the essence of Christianity is not only inadmissible as being the very point to be proved—and therefore incapable of being assumed by him or conceded by us—it is also contrary to Scripture—contrary to those prophetical declarations which he has so quietly presumed to be in favour of Rome. That which Gregory knew so well, the successors of Gregory would fain conceal, and seem to have succeeded in hiding from Mr. Newman and their modern votaries: it is notwithstanding the word of God, and will abide fast for ever. What prophecy has declared on this point admits of no mistake—the declarations are so clear, the characters are so unmistakeable: it has declared that an Antichristian power should arise in the very bosom of the Church, and all the characters given of *Antichrist* "are accurately fulfilled in that historical Christianity" of which Mr. Newman speaks—that is, *they meet in the Papal system.* The only prophecies which would at all accord with the design of this essay are those which relate, not to the present dispensation, but to a future time—either the restoration of the Jews, or the kingdom of heaven; and all the prophecies which relate to the present time assert the very contrary concerning the true Church, and denounce this very system of worldly supremacy as the greatest evil which could befall the visible Church.

Prophecy has already determined three things: first, that a time is coming; called the new creation, the restitution of all things, the regeneration, or the kingdom of heaven; when all God's acts shall be vindicated, and the reasons of his long suffering towards us shall appear, and all evil shall be finally cast out of his kingdom, and sin be utterly extirpated. Secondly, that in the intermediate time, between the death of Christ and the coming of that kingdom for which we daily pray in the Lord's prayer, the Church must endure uninterrupted tribulation—it is a trial or warfare during the whole of this militant period. And thirdly, it is foreshewn that the greatest of her trials would arise, not from the persecution of the heathen—not from palpable heresy causing schisms in the body, but

making the truth more manifest—not from such gross corruptions as the vital energies of the body would immediately throw off, so as to leave the health and strength unimpaired, and the visible Church in greater purity than before—but a trial from an apostacy arising in the Church itself, so insidious as to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect, and beginning in the very earliest times, warned against by St. John and St. Paul, yet spreading so as to corrupt the whole visible Church. For (saith St. Paul) the mystery of iniquity doth already work, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, and for this cause God shall send them strong delusions that they should believe a lie (2 Thess. ii.)

There was a time when it would not have been necessary to state these things concerning Mr. Newman. He once regarded these distinctions, and perceived the Roman system to be this predicted apostacy; and now, the strongest evidence that can be desired of its answering to the characters given by St. Paul is furnished by Mr. Newman's own case: he is himself engulphed in that abyss of which he warned others—fear and the pit, and the snare, have surprised and paralysed him—he is spell-bound—under strong delusion, believing a lie.

It is natural that a man, under such circumstances, should endeavour to justify himself, and this "Essay on Development" is the result. But what does it amount to? Simply this—that if we will only concede historical Christianity to be true Christianity, Romanism, which forms the majority in the west, may be the development of the very truth of God. This required concession will not be made, in such a sense as to agree with the argument, by any branch of the Christian Church: it will not be allowed by the eastern Church, because it refers to the history of the west: it will not be allowed by Protestants, because it assumes the very point in question: it will not be allowed by Romanists, because it is a desertion of all those principles of unity and infallibility on which they have been accustomed, with so much confidence, to rely; and was written by one who was, at that time, not of their communion, but regarded by them as a heretic; and written, because the principles held by the Romanists were found to be insufficient to account for the facts—untenable in most cases—unsatisfactory in all.

The former advocates of Roman practices have assumed that they were NOT, strictly speaking, *novelties;* but that they were warranted by *tradition*, which, in most instances, could be traced to apostolic times, and in all instances were pre-

sumed to be by the Holy Spirit, and according to the one primitive and abiding faith of the Church. Not so Mr. Newman; he boldly maintains that man had the power of inventing doctrines and practices acceptable to God, and forming part of that historical Christianity to which he refers; and he therefore finds it necessary to discard the three grand lines of argument adopted by the former advocates of Rome—namely, that of Vincent of Lirins against heresy—that of the early corruption of Christianity from external sources—and that of the *Disciplina Arcani*—as not sufficiently elastic and expansive to admit the things he would fain justify.

We must give Mr. Newman's own words, as they curiously illustrate how men may profess to hold a thing in the abstract while they practically reject it, and bring forward another hypothesis totally subversive of what they profess to hold:—

"It does not seem possible, then, to avoid the conclusion that, whatever be the proper key for harmonising the records and documents of the early and later Church, and true as the *dictum* of Vincentius must be considered in the abstract, and possible as its application might be in his own age, when he might almost ask the primitive centuries for their testimony, it is hardly available now or effective of any satisfactory result. The solution it offers is as difficult as the original problem.

"A second hypothesis, far more widely adopted, not less plausible, and in a certain measure reconcileable with the former, is that of an early corruption of Christianity from external sources, Oriental, Platonic, and Polytheistic; an hypothesis which is certainly sufficient in the abstract to account both for variations which may exist in doctrine and practice, and for the growth of opinion on particular points. Some light may be thrown on this hypothesis as we proceed; meanwhile, however freely it may be assumed, and largely applied, it has no claims on our attention till it is drawn out scientifically: till we are distinctly informed what the real Christian doctrine or evangelical message is, or if there be any: from what sources it is drawn: how those sources are ascertained to us, and what is a corruption.

"A third hypothesis, which has been put forward by divines of the Church of Rome, is what has been called *Disciplina Arcani*. It is maintained that doctrines which are associated with the interests of the Church were really in the Church from the first, but not publicly taught, and that for various reasons; as for the sake of reverence, that sacred subjects might not be profaned by the heathen; and for the sake of catechumens, that they might not be oppressed or carried away by a sudden communication of the whole circle of revealed truth .....It is certain that portions of the Church system were held back in primitive times, and of course this fact goes some way to account for that apparent variation and growth of doctrine which embarrasses us when we would consult history for the true idea of

Christianity; yet it is no key to the whole difficulty, as we find it, for an obvious reason—the variations continue beyond the time when it is conceivable that the discipline was in force.

"The following essay is directed towards a solution of the difficulty which has been stated—the difficulty which lies in the way of using the testimony of our most natural informant concerning the doctrine and worship of Christianity, viz., the history of eighteen hundred years. The view on which it is written has at all times, perhaps, been implicitly adopted by theologians.....viz., that the increase and expansion of the Christian creed and ritual, and the variations which have attended the process in the case of individual writers and Churches, are the necessary attendants on any philosophy or polity which takes possession of the intellect and heart, and has had any wide or extended dominion, that from the nature of the human mind, time is necessary for the full comprehension and perfection of great ideas; and that the highest and most wonderful truths, though communicated to the world once for all by inspired teachers, could not be comprehended all at once by the recipients, but, as received and transmitted by minds not inspired, and, through media which were human, have required only the longer time and deeper thought for their full elucidation" (24-27).

It is scarcely conceivable how a man occupying Mr. Newman's station could acquire or entertain such opinions as these. It would be consistent in a neologian to regard Christianity as on a par with any philosophy or polity which takes possession of the intellect and heart; but it appears passing strange in an ordained minister of the Church of England; and sure we are that these notions will obtain but little countenance and support from any consistent, any well instructed Romanist: the pious Romanist will contend as earnestly as we do for the necessity of the Divine presence, in order to receive aright, and transmit unimpaired, as well as to originate, the truths of Christianity. *Apostolic succession* is a term without signification, if it be not understood as implying the uninterrupted transmission of apostolic grace, in order to understand and impart to others those revealed truths which were first committed to the apostles. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so, the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God. Which things, also, we speak not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual; but the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions

of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels; intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puft up by his fleshy mind, after the commandments and doctrines of men, which things have indeed a shew of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.

Man has a twofold aspect, as a moral, and as an intellectual being. Regarding mankind in the second of these aspects, we generally find that man, under favourable circumstances, does advance in intellect, and develop his mental faculties more and more, as time rolls on. But it is far otherwise when we regard man as a moral agent: in this aspect he has a tendency to degenerate under all circumstances, and the decline is often the more rapid, and the corruption less remediable, under the most favourable circumstances. These opposite tendencies in man Mr. Newman has wholly disregarded; and has assumed that man is advancing continually, not only intellectually but morally, though all Scripture asserts the contrary, and all experience confirms the truth of Scripture. This whole theory of development is founded on the gross mistake of supposing that the intellect of man and his moral being are consentaneous, if not identical, followed by the worse than mistake—we had almost said the blasphemy—of supposing that man does actually anticipate the purposes of God, and may carry into practice the Divine intentions before they have become matter of revelation. We doubt whether so thorough going, or so monstrous an argument, for the worst of the Roman corruptions, has ever been propounded before. We have never met with one which has so greatly pained and surprised us; and we have the charity to believe that the great majority of Romanists will feel as much scandalised by it as we have been:—

"The very foundation of Montanism is development, though not of doctrine, yet of discipline and conduct. It is said that its founder professed himself the promised Comforter, through whom the Church was to be perfected" (349). "Not in one principle or doctrine only, but in its whole system, Montanism is a remarkable anticipation or presage of developments which soon began to show themselves in the Church, though they were not perfected for centuries after" (250). "These are specimens of the raw material, as it may be called, which, whether as found in individual fathers within the pale of the Church, or in heretics external to it, she had the power, by means of the continuity and firmness of her principles, to convert to her own uses; and though asceties existed from the beginning, the notion of a re-

ligion higher than the Christianity of the many was first prominently brought forward by the Gnostics, Montanists, Novatians, and Manichees; and while the prophets of the Montanists prefigure the Church's doctors, and their inspiration her infallibility, and their revelations her developments, and the heresiarch himself is the unsightly anticipation of St. Francis, in Novatian, again, we discern the aspiration of nature after such creations of grace as St. Bendedict or St. Bruno. And so the effort of Sabellius, to complete the mystery of the ever blessed Trinity, failed: it became a heresy; grace would not be constrained; the course of thought could not be forced—at length it was realised in the true Unitarianism of St. Augustine" (352). "The school of Antioch, in spite of its heretical taint, formed the genius of St. Chrysostom; and the Apocryphal Gospels have contributed many things for the devotion and edification of Catholic believers" (353).

Such is the theory propounded concerning this new hypothesis of development; and the practical working out of the theory, as described in the following passage, is equally monstrous and astounding:—

"Confiding, then, in the power of Christianity to resist the infection of evil, and to transmute the very instruments and appendages of demon worship to an evangelical use, and feeling, also, that these usages had originally come from primitive revelations, and from the instinct of nature, though they had been corrupted; and they must invent what they needed, if they did not use what they found; and that they had, moreover, with them the very archetypes of which Paganism attempted the shadows; the rulers of the Church, from early times, were prepared, should the occasion arise, to adopt, or imitate, or sanction the existing rites and customs of the populace, as well as the philosophy of the educated class. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus supplies the first instance on record of this economy." (358).

We doubt whether the bantering spirit of Swift could have devised a more cutting sarcasm against the doctrines and practices of Rome than these grave and serious assertions of one who has now joined that communion, and means his book to be an apology for the notorious innovations and corruptions of the Papal system. We, as members of a purer Church, express the strongest, the most decided protest against every iota of the above; and we shall be greatly surprised if the Church of Rome, by her silence, should seem to approve of such a line of defence. Can she tacitly bear the imputation of developing doctrines, the germ of which may be found in the aspirations of nature, in heretics external to the Church, or in Apocryphal Gospels?—and will she acquiesce under the supposition that her ritual is a transmutation of the very instruments and appendages of demon worship?—or that they must invent what they needed, if they did not use what they found?

Thanks to modern scrutiny, it is now a settled point—it is a fact beyond question—that Rome has innovated both in doctrine and practice. But she has hitherto concealed and mystified the matter by the supposition of unrecorded traditions of the Church—a supposition which may very safely be made, because it is in its very nature one which it is impossible to disprove. How the Church of Rome will receive an argument which is diametrically opposite—which assumes for its basis that the innovations of practice and doctrine are indisputable—yet remains to be seen: she will not esteem this "Essay" to be a gain, or "a solution of such a number of the reputed corruptions of Rome as might form a fair ground for trusting her where the investigation had not been pursued." (29).

We regard this whole theory of development as powerless from its utter absurdity; and we think it, therefore, quite unnecessary to engage in such a work of supererogation as examining it in detail would be. For the same reason, we pass by the seven tests of development, since, when a thing has no existence, seven tests for a nonentity are of very little worth or interest; and we pass on the more willingly from entertaining a conviction that broader views, and deeper principles, than those entertained in this volume, are the best corrective of its errors; and that, if the writer had extended his view to the history of the whole Church, instead of a fraction of it, or to the history of mankind, as well as the present dispensation, he would have perceived that his argument is untenable.

It is far more important, at all times, to correct principles that are erroneous than errors of detail; and, on the present occasion, when we can neither hope to reach Mr. Newman, nor the Church to which he has joined himself, we would advert to certain errors which he held in common with Rome while yet a member of the Church of England, that we may warn others of our own communion, lest they also get entangled in the same snares.

The first error we would point out is, the false estimate of man, as though he were able to devise or perform things acceptable and meritorious in the sight of God—to work out, in short, his own salvation. This error pervades the whole Roman system; and it equally pervades the work before us, and all the writings of the author, although he has drawn a veil over it which may entirely conceal the error from himself, and from inattentive readers. This is the meaning of the aspirations of nature, and the instinct of nature, anticipating the development of truth in the Church, as though man was

able to discern and partially realise a truth before God had revealed it to the Church, or had prepared, in his providence, the means and instruments necessary for its development.

The correction of this error will be found in enlarging our view of history, and turning from those fancied developments of historical Christianity, those partial views of a fraction of the Church as exhibited in Rome of the nineteenth century, to study those real developments of human nature which are to be found in the history of the whole Church, and the history of all mankind. Look at man from the beginning—contemplate our race as a whole!—this is the only way to determine what are the instincts of nature: and in this contemplation we shall find that the tendency has always been downward—the development has always been that of corruption and wickedness—never that of holiness and truth. Man was created in the image of God: this admits of no higher conceivable form of the mere creature Man; but even then he kept not his first estate, but fell. Disobedience to God was the first downward step—Cain slaying righteous Abel is the next step—till evil, more and more developing itself, God could bear with man no longer; but swept off the whole race of sinners by a flood. Then, under the law, and among the chosen people of God, the worship of the golden calf was the first development of the instincts of nature; and this beginning was consistently followed by the ten provocations which excluded all that generation from Canaan, and doomed them to perish in the wilderness. And even in the land their continual propensities were developed, by the alternation of sin and chastisements, under their judges and kings, till after God warned them, in vain, by his prophets—and, last of all, had sent his Son—all of whom they rejected, and killed the Heir! God was constrained to destroy those wicked husbandmen, and burn up their city.

Now the flood, and the destruction of Jerusalem, are made by our Lord himself the types of the ending of this present dispensation; and he also forwarns us that tribulation, affliction, and sorrow shall be the lot of all his faithful followers until the end. The true disciples shall be few, and hated of all men, for his sake; but he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved. Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. The kingdom is a mystery as yet—it is only spiritual: it cometh not with observation—it is within: and the first step towards its manifestation is an act of judgment, similar to that of the flood, and of the destruction of Jerusalem, which is also re-

ferred to in the parable of the tares, and is the gathering out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them that do iniquity, and casting them into a furnace of fire.

The radical fundamental error of Mr. Newman is that which has ever been the bane of carnal men's religion, and pervades the whole Papal system; viz., not distinguishing between natural and spiritual, between earthly and heavenly things; between the kingdoms of this world and the kingdom of heaven; between the world that now is and the world that is to come. This error shows itself doctrinally in such errors as those which were repudiated by St. Paul in the followers of Hymeneus and Philetus, who said that the resurrection is past already. For the notion that any saints have ascended into heaven before the day of judgment, which judgment is ushered in by the great events spoken of in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, of which the raising the dead and the change of the living saints is the most prominent act, amounts to passing by that judgment day—is a holding that the resurrection is past already. The error shows itself also in falsification of Scripture, by applying prophecies which are avowedly intended for a future state of things to the present state of things, which cannot be so applied without distortion and equivocation, which is nothing less than handling the word of God deceitfully; and that not only in the prophetic passages which do not apply to the present time, but in all those passages which really do apply to the present militant state of the Church, but would not apply if the triumphant state of the Church were already begun; and it shows itself practically in so confounding matter and spirit in all things as to lead to the avowed deification of matter, and therefore to idolatry, not so gross as that of the heathen, only because men's minds are not so gross, but as real, and ready to become equally gross when received by illiterate and superstitious disciples.

The triumphant state of the Church which Rome is endeavouring to realize, and which Mr. Newman supposes to be the fulfilment of prophecies, and points to as a power visible in the world, and sovereign over it, is without its principal feature—it is a body without a head. For all those prophecies which have reference to that kingdom presuppose the return of the King: till then the Church is a widow, not a queen, and it is made the characteristic mark of apostacy in the Church, when she says in her heart, I am no widow—I sit as a queen, and shall never know sorrow: and as we have just said the coming of Christ is as a refiner's fire to purify the Church, and cast out of it all the false professors and hypo-

crites. He shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel: when he also cometh to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe.

And not only the sensual and the carnal, who mistake things altogether by attempting to realize the kingdom of heaven in the visible Church, but even the spiritual need continually to be reminded that this world cannot in its present condition pass into or become the seat of the kingdom of Christ. On the earth itself, as well as upon man, the curse came through the sin of man. Man was redeemed by the death of Christ; but the soul only, and not the body, of man, has hitherto experienced the effects of that redemption. The body of man is still subject to pain, disease, and death, and receives not its redemption until the resurrection: and the earth must pass through that baptism of fire which St. Peter speaks of, and is contained in all the prophecies: when the Church has done her present work, that judgment shall come.

About five and twenty years ago, one whom we were proud to rank among our friends presented to the late Mr. Coleridge a volume of his sermons, in which he had spoken with enthusiasm of the inherent power of the Gospel, when faithfully preached, to make all men Christians, and render the Church co-extensive with the world. The book was returned by Coleridge, with words written on the fly leaf to the following effect: "Tell this young man that the world is not to be *converted*, but is to be *destroyed*." These words had an immediate influence in changing the whole theology of the person to whom they were addressed: and this is precisely the thing which such as Mr. Newman need to know. The Papacy, we fear, will only learn it too late, when, in terror, its votaries shall call on the mountains to hide them from the wrath of him whose throne they have usurped, whose reign shall then begin, when the great day of his wrath arrives.

The grand, and glorious, and tremendous acts of that foreordained, that predicted day—when he who made the world, and who died to redeem it, shall come to demand of every man an account of his stewardship—that awful day has been anticipated, burlesqued, and rendered nugatory, by the Papal inventions of purgatory and intercession of saints. The truth of God is so complete a whole that nothing is redundant—nothing is wanting; and each thing is foreordained, like the materials of a building of which every stone should be wrought at the quarry for its own place, and that, a different kind of work in every stone: any one such stone being displaced does

not agree with any other place; nor can its own place be filled up by any of the other stones. That anticipation of the kingdom of heaven, which we have just spoken of, is not only false in itself, but draws after it the other falsehoods of purgatory and canonization. The Pope, as Christ's vicar, anticipates the day of judgment; and, by a decree of the Church, puts whom he willeth into purgatory—ranks whom he willeth among glorified saints—and makes these his creatures instruments for delivering any he willeth from his own purgatory, and for translating them to his own imaginary heaven—the whole being one tissue of fiction—being entirely contrary to Scripture, and therefore wholly inconsistent with all true theology.

The earliest prophecy upon record declares, that the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints to execute vengeance upon all—that is, upon all who are not enrolled among his saints. And we are also told where those saints are to be found, and from whence they are gathered to attend his triumph—some have been asleep in Christ during the intermediate ages—some are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord. And the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we, which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Therefore, it is manifest that Scripture gives no sort of countenance to the heaven and hell which the Romanists dream of in their glorified saints, and their purgatory: and that the heaven of Scripture is as yet exclusively the abode of God and the holy angels—the hell of Scripture being prepared *for the devil and his angels*—and that, as the eternal abode of the just on the one hand, and the place of torment for the wicked on the other, the heaven and hell *for men* are *constituted* at the coming of the Lord, at the end of the world; when he shall send forth his angels, and sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire—there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth: and then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

And these Papal notions, concerning the glorification of saints, and the existence of purgatory, are not only contrary to all the prophetic declarations of Scripture, but they involve false theology, and are a denial of that doctrine which forms a fundamental article of faith in every creed—viz., the resurrection of the body. All Christians, even the Romanists themselves, allow that our bodies shall not be raised until the last

day; and most of them would without hesitation allow that our spirits, parting from the body, remain in the place of separate spirits until the final judgment. For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself; and hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of Man. Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation. For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. The spirit is not the man—soul and body must be reunited to make the man, and it is in the resurrection that this reunion takes place: so, before the resurrection day, no individual receives the final reward or punishment. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive; but every man in his own order: Christ the first fruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming. And St. Paul declares that this doctrine is the very pith and marrow of the Gospel which he had preached to the Corinthians, and by keeping which in the memory they should be saved, and should not have believed in vain; but, if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.

The mistake concerning the resurrection, however, is not the only mistake chargeable upon the Papal Church in this matter; for all their notions concerning the relation which spirit has to matter seem to be erroneous—whether we regard their assertions respecting flesh itself, and mere matter, as in the immaculate conception, and the doctrines held concerning relics of departed saints or their dresses and instruments of martyrdom—or whether regarded in the mysterious union between God and the creature, as in the body of our Lord.

The doctrine of the immaculate conception, and the supposed need of flesh of a holier kind than that of fallen man in the mother of our Lord, is founded on a total mistake of the work of redemption; which was for the recovery of that which was fallen, and the renewal of the image of God in that very nature which had sinned—not for bringing in another nature, so as to leave ground for the atheistical assertion that God had failed in the first creation of man. The truth vindicated by the incarnation was that God had not failed; and, therefore, the fallen nature was assumed by the Son of God,

that first in his own person, and then in us, made members of his body the Church, the truth might be vindicated, that, though fallen, we are still capable of being renewed by the Holy Ghost, after the image of him that created us, in righteousness and true holiness.

The incarnation was not a mere condescension on the part of the Son of God, but it was a grand turning point in revealing the mystery of God: great was the mystery of Godliness. God was manifest in the flesh—in *our* flesh—the only flesh in existence which he could take, or the taking of which would be an opening of the mystery. And this stupendous act of our Lord was not only *for* us, but was preliminary to an act about to be done *in* us: he sounded the lowest depths of the fall in order that he might lift us up again into union with our Creator and our God. The coming of Christ was not only the *announcement* of salvation—*that* might be made by an angel or a prophet—but it was a step necessary *to accomplish* our salvation: he took not on him the nature of angels but the seed of Abraham. And Christ took flesh, not because it was redeemed—not because it was holy—but in order to redeem and hallow it. Besides, it is a total mistake to suppose that the condition of the nature assumed has any real bearing upon the mystery of the incarnation. The mystery and marvel is that any creature, however high and holy, should become impersonated with the Eternal Son of God; and this mystery is not increased or diminished—is not touched—is not at all affected by the condition of the creature, or whether it be fallen or unfallen. The *love* is the greater which God commendeth to us as *sinners*; and our being sinners was the very cause which evoked, and the necessity which compelled the interposition. But the real cause of wonder is, that the infinite and finite natures, the incomprehensible and the comprehensible, the unchangeable and the changeable, should be by any means, or under any conditions, united; and so united as to communicate, each to the other nature, these contrary attributes in the same person: and yet the natures to be still perfectly distinct and unconfounded—each completely entire and unalterable—one person of two natures, yet every act the act of the one person, and a manifestation of both the natures. No man hath ascended up into heaven but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven—*i.e.*, both on earth and in heaven at the same time. "For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me"—*i.e.*, having a will as man, and yet, as God and one with the Father, having a divine will also. And like

as in the agony he prayed—if it be possible let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done.

And no mistake in theology stands alone; every single error draws with it a train of erroneous consequences. Every mistake concerning the incarnation of the Son introduces a similar mistake concerning the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Christ is our example, and, therefore, took our nature; we are his witnesses to the world, and, therefore, empowered to follow his footsteps. It must be so, because the Church is the body of Christ. It must be so, because the indwelling spirit is God—proceeding from, coequal with, the Father and the Son. And the mistake shews itself in the same way, and evinces the same confusion of thought concerning the Church; for those who hold the immaculate conception, and the unfallen humanity in the instance of the Virgin and of the body of our Lord, will carry the same error into their faith concerning his mystical body, the Church; and will contend that the temple must be hallowed before God can come to take up his abode therein—in a word, will say, as the Romanists generally do, that we hallow ourselves, and then God will dwell with us. But the doctrine of Scripture is, that we can do nothing of ourselves, or for ourselves. Man, in a state of innocence, fell; and it is perfectly absurd to suppose that fallen man can reinstate himself. Regeneration, conversion, and sanctification originate solely, and advance entirely, through the Holy Ghost giving us faith to lay hold of, and applying continually to our souls the meritorious sacrifice and continual intercession of Jesus Christ. Our Lord hath said, "Without me ye can do nothing;" and he hath also said, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God: except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit."

The Romanists are not so explicit, or, at least, are not so clear and intelligible, as Mr. Newman on these points; and we are glad to avail ourselves of his statements to shew where the error comes in—only premising that we have little doubt of Mr. Newman's basis being more sound, as well as more clear, than that of the Romanists—an advantage which he owes to his having been trained in the Protestant schools. Mr. Newman is speaking of "the view which Christianity takes of matter as *susceptible* of grace, or as capable of a union with a divine presence and influence," and we pray our readers to mark this; for, to be susceptible of grace is a very

different thing from being capable of union with a divine presence and influence—as different as being in the active or passive mood. But he proceeds to say:—

"Christianity began by considering matter as a creature of God, and in itself 'very good.' It taught that matter, as well as spirit, had become corrupt in the instance of Adam; and it contemplated its recovery. It taught that the Highest had taken a portion of that corrupt mass on himself, in order to its sanctification. It taught that, as a first-fruits of his purpose, he had purified from all sin that very portion of it which he took into his eternal person, and thereunto had taken it from a Virgin womb, which he had filled with the abundance of his Spirit. Moreover, it taught that, during his earthly sojourn, he had been subject to all the natural infirmities of man, and had suffered all those ills to which flesh is heir. It taught that the Highest had in that flesh died on the cross, and that his blood had an expiatory power; moreover, that he had risen again in that flesh, and had carried that flesh with him into heaven, and that from that flesh, glorified and deified in him, he never would be divided" (370).

All, so far, is capable of a perfectly orthodox sense, because it was not mere matter, but the human nature, which our Lord took into union: it was the body, soul, and spirit of man that were united to the eternal Word at the incarnation, and that were carried with him into heaven, and not mere inert matter. Flesh, as spoken of here, must have the large sense of including the soul and spirit as well as the body of man; and it is not because the flesh is raised, or glorified, that it can be called deified, but solely because it enshrines the person of the Son of God: so, also, the blood of the cross derives its expiatory power from him alone, as the token that he had died, and had undergone for us the penalty we had incurred: it was his death that expiated. Such an union of godhead and manhood, as took place in the person of Christ, is without a parallel; it was not so even in his virgin mother; it hath not been so in any child of Adam; it never was so, save in the single instance of the Lord, who alone can be called Immanuel—alone is by union of the two natures God with us. It is, therefore, quite beside the purpose to adduce the incarnation as an instance of matter rendered susceptible of grace; for it was manhood, not matter, that was impersonated with the Son of God; and it is blasphemy and idolatry to infer from this first mistake that the saints are advanced to such a place of dignity as the God Man, by virtue of his having taken our flesh; or that because he is both one with us and God over all to be worshipped and adored, men can, in any sense, become objects of adoration to their fellow men, and that in

the ridiculous form of accounting them both dead and alive, and seeking their prayers and intercession as though they were already risen with Christ, yet reverencing and even worshiping their relics, as if their bodies were waiting for the resurrection. The following words join on to our last quotation:—

"As a first consequence of these awful doctrines comes that of the resurrection of the bodies of his saints, and their future glorification with him; next, that of the sanctity of relics; further, that of the real presence in the eucharist; further, that of the merit of virginity; and, lastly, that of the prerogatives of Mary, Mother of God" (371).

It is quite true that the resurrection of the body is a consequence of the resurrection of Christ, but even this is not correctly put; and all the other supposed consequences are altogether false. Not only his saints, but all mankind, must rise, at the command of the Son of Man, to give an account to him, as their Judge, of the deeds done in the body; and according to that which each has done, and the spirit in which it has been done, shall each be rewarded or punished. Each must answer for himself in that day—no man can answer for another—no other answer for any man at the bar of Christ; and there will be different degrees of glory proportioned to the different degrees of diligence and constancy in the Christian faith and warfare. By the grace of God it is that we are enabled to be diligent and faithful; but what has this to do with matter being susceptible of grace? It is the living men who are thus susceptible, and it is confounding all theological distinctions to speak of matter as thus susceptible. Grace is not an attribute of matter, but of mind. We speak of a gracious God, and of a gracious man; but who ever before has spoken of a gracious block of stone, or a gracious tree, or a gracious brute of any kind?

And even in the heart of man grace is no spontaneous growth, and still less attainable by the works of the flesh. The word *grace* may be used loosely and generally in common parlance; but no scholar or divine ever employs it in a vague or indefinite sense. The Holy Spirit is the sole agent in every work of grace, and the presence of grace implies the presence of God—of the Holy Ghost—who is the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son. "It is but enunciating in other words the principle we are tracing (says Mr. Newman), to say that the Church has been entrusted with the dispensation of grace"—an assertion concerning the Church which is perfectly correct, as long as the dispensation of

grace is accounted synonymous with the dispensation of the Holy Spirit: because, so understood, it implies that the mode of dispensation, as well as the grace itself, is in the hand of God; and that as the grace originates with God, and is a free gift, so the channels through which alone it will be communicated are ordained of God, and the Church has no power of dispensing grace, save through those fore-ordained channels: she can neither pass by those, nor open new channels at her own pleasure; for the Holy Spirit is God, and is not at the command or under the controul of man. We may by our waywardness grieve, and by our hardness of heart quench the Holy Spirit—this kind of spiritual suicide is in our own power; but to win the blessed Spirit back again is not in our power, any more than the suicide has power to resume his life. And God hath not only ordained the means of grace, but hath told us what they are, and hath placed them within our reach; so that we come to the Church not in ignorance—not in unbelief—but come to ask for those very things which God has given her to dispense, and come believing in the faithfulness of God, and this faith is rewarded in the fulfilment of all his gracious promises.

It is melancholy—it is humiliating to be obliged to return to these first elements of Christian truth in dealing with the writings of one who from his learning, and his standing in the Church, ought to have been a master in theology; and we know not what to say of the words which immediately follow the above, and which give them a meaning which would shock the very pagans, if their superstitions were treated with similar levity. We can only say that we believe the writer of the words we now quote to be both spell-bound and besotted: "*For if she can convert heathen appointments into spiritual rites and usages, what is this but to be in possession of a treasure, and to exercise a discretionary power in its application?*" (365). If? indeed! But who, save an idiot, would grant so monstrous a proposition? The Romanists have been forward enough in asserting a discretionary power in their Church; but never to the subversion of unity of faith, or break tradition, and apostolic succession. But here we have a discretionary power claimed without any restriction, and dispensing with all tradition. And the power thus absolutely claimed is power over the Spirit of God!—and to do what?—to convert heathen appointments into spiritual rites and usages. Piety revolts in transcribing—the heart sickens in reading such words.

But we cannot conclude our weary task without noticing another class of errors common among Romanists, in the con-

sequences which they draw from the incarnation, which errors are adopted in the work before us, viz., those which proceed from confounding the offices of the second and third persons of the blessed Trinity. The personal subsistence of Christ is that of incarnation, by which the entire Godhead in the person of the Son is inseparably united to manhood, so as to make of the two natures One Person—not such is the subsistence of the regenerate, although they are members of his body. Regeneration is by the Holy Ghost: it is the office of the third person of the blessed Trinity, and the Spirit operates, not in the way of incarnation, but in the way of influence and in-dwelling —not for incorporating us with himself, but for working in us a renewal of our natures, and conversion, and progressive sanctification; and this by no physical change, but by spiritual influences. The union of godhead and manhood was complete and inseparable at the moment of incarnation; but beside this, which may be regarded as distinctive of him as the Son of Man, there was also in him the fulness of the Holy Spirit. In that which is distinctive of him we have no part: as the incarnate one he stands alone; but in his being filled with the Holy Ghost we do partake with him—we being severally filled according to our place in the Church, and according to the measure of faith in each, with the same Spirit which Christ is endowed with in all fulness; and which, on this account, and because dispensed by him, is often called the Spirit of Christ, although it is the third person of the blessed Trinity—the other Comforter whom Christ promised to send to abide with the Church for ever.

Christ is the eternal Son—God manifest in flesh—he in person—he the God Man, is entitled to all worship. But in this respect the creature-form he wears, and which he has made his own, stands alone. No other creature hath been thus appropriated by God—men, however filled by the Holy Ghost, stand not on the same platform: and, in the worship given to Christ, no saint, no angel, no created being whatsoever has the smallest shadow of claim to the least degree of participation. It is the living God we worship therein, and not the outward form: but because that form is the only manifestation of God, it is the only object in the universe which is entitled to worship; for it is the only incarnation or embodying of the abstract God.

The worst of the practices borrowed by the Roman Church from the heathen—that which is most fraught with dishonour to God, and that which has brought in the most mischievous rain of evils among the people—has been the worship of saints

and angels, in imitation of the demi-gods and false gods of pagan idolatry. This idolatry, we are sorry to say, Mr. Newman justifies, and his arguments given at length amount in substance only to this—that our tone of worship is too low; and that, although the Romanists do offer the same worship to the saints which we offer to the Lord, yet the Romanists, in their worship of the Lord, rise far higher than we do. "And next (says Mr. Newman) it must be asked, whether the character of Protestant devotion towards our Lord has been that of worship at all, and not rather such as we pay to an excellent human being—that is, no higher devotion than that which Catholics pay to St. Mary, differing from it, however, in being familiar, rude, and earthly" (438). We judge not Romanists—we justify not ourselves; but we do assert that all the worship of which we are capable we render unto the Lord; and we assert, without hesitation, that the man who renders the same kind of worship to any saint or angel is an idolater: for it is not a question of degree, how much more or less of the same kind of worship one man may offer than another; it is a question of kind, and the smallest degree of the same kind of worship which is offered to God, being offered to any creature, makes that individual who offers it an idolater.

We have always suspected a mistake of this kind in all who, with any sincerity of purpose, relied upon the Roman quibbles concerning *dulia* and *latria;* and Mr. Newman here justifies our suspicions. Nay more: his own conscience bears witness to the truth, that he is, after all his reasonings, guilty of the sin of idolatry, and that, to avoid the penalty, he must make void the second commandment in the decalogue, which stands the eternal record of God's anger against those who profane his holy worship with any kind of admixture. "It may reasonably be questioned (says Mr. Newman), whether the commandment which stands second in our decalogue, on which the prohibition of images is principally grounded, was intended for more than temporary observance in the letter. So far is certain, that none could surpass the Jews in its literal observance; yet this did not save them from the punishments attached to the violation of it" (434). It may far more reasonably be argued that no man would raise such a question who did not first feel himself to be under the ban of that word of God. Men are first seduced into a breach of God's commandments, and then cheat themselves into a false peace, by making the word either wholly void, or inapplicable to their own case; and the ignorance of the Jewish history is no less remarkable than the daring hardihood of the question:

for it is quite certain, on the contrary, that the Jews were continually violating the letter of the commandment, and as continually punished on that account, until they were carried captive into Babylon. This long chastisement did indeed cure them of idolatry, but neither were they afterwards punished for that sin. The destruction of their city and temple by the Romans was in consequence of their rejection of Christ and the Gospel, as he foretold it should be, in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters of St. Matthew.

We will merely quote from Deuteronomy words spoken by Moses forty years after the giving of the law, and leave our readers to judge for themselves whether the second commandment was intended only for a temporary observance:—"Take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life; but teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons: specially the day that thou stoodest before the Lord thy God in Horeb. And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude, only ye heard a voice. And he declared unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even ten commandments, and he wrote them upon two tables of stone. When thou shalt beget children, and children's children, and ye shall have remained long in the land, and shall corrupt yourselves, and make a graven image or the likeness of anything, and shall do evil in the sight of the Lord thy God, to provoke him to anger; I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye go over Jordan to possess it" (iv. 9. 12, 25). "These are the statutes and judgments which ye shall observe to do, all the days that ye live upon the earth. Ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods: and ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire: and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place. Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God. Take heed to thyself that thou be not snared by following them, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou enquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods?—even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God: for every abomination to the Lord, which He hateth, have they done unto their gods. Whatsoever thing I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it" (Deut. xii., 1, 29).

The excuses offered for idolatry are always the same—a desire to have some sensible, tangible object whereon the devotion may be fixed and concentrated, and the difficulty of apprehending an abstract God; and it is always alleged that the idol itself is not the object of worship, but God himself, by means of the idol. Even the Israelites, when they made the golden calf, did it under these pretences; for Aaron made proclamation, and said, "To morrow is a feast to the Lord;" and they said, "These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt" (Ex. xxxii). But did Moses accept this as an excuse for their idolatry?—quite the contrary. He had witnessed, in the mount, the anger of the Lord against their sin, and he ground the idol to powder, and made them swallow that abomination which they had called their god.

The heathen multitude, who witnessed the miracles wrought by the early Christians, regarded these holy men as of a superior order of being, and were eager to render to them divine honours; "which, when the apostles Barnabas and Paul heard of, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out, and saying, 'Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein.'" It is easy to conceive the tenfold indignation which would have been felt by these holy men against those who are not heathen, but Christians, and had been turned from these vanities, if they should return to them again, and if, with the superior light of Christianity, they should be guilty of even greater absurdities than the heathen; and not only make idols of living men, but of dead men's bones, and the whole museum of Roman relics.

We have but one more point to dispose of, and that is, the miracles said to be wrought through the mediation or instrumentality of these saints of the Roman calendar, and by means of their relics, or in consequence of the pilgrimages which are made to their shrines; and we will not stop to enquire whether the recorded wonders are all real miracles, and not partly trick—partly the effect of imagination. We will concede to Mr. Newman that the evidence in favour of some of these miracles is such as would, in other cases, establish historical facts; but this, by no means, decides the question; for, granting the miracles to be real, there is something far higher than they: there is truth itself, and the truth is the test of the miracle—not the miracle the test of the truth.

This principle is taught even in the Old Testament—even when religion was of a more external and of a less spiritual character; for God commands the children of Israel, saying, "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul. Ye shall walk after the Lord your God, and fear him, and keep his commandments, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him; and that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God: so shalt thou put away evil from the midst of thee." Even the Jews, who were living under so much less clear a dispensation, were required to love God with all the heart and soul; to suffer nothing to obstruct them in this their first, their paramount duty of serving God alone; and not to hold parley with any man—not to give the least entertainment or consideration to any propositions, the tendency of which was to divert them from the worship of God: yea, though those propositions were supported by miracles, or had the most plausible credentials, they were at once to be rejected, and were to be regarded as temptations, or as trials, whether it was God himself that they believed and loved.

The New Testament differs from the Old as much as the spirit of a man differs from his body. Under the Gospel dispensation, we enter into the possession of those spiritual realities, of which the Old dispensation contained only the shadows and symbols. But we only spiritually realise them as yet, and only so far as we mind or cultivate the things of the spirit. Spiritual life, like every other living principle, is strengthened and enlarged by exercise—therefore, it is good for us to have trials; and we are surrounded by spiritual foes ready to assail us whenever we are off our guard—therefore, constant vigilance is necessary.

Our greatest trials are those which are spiritual; therefore, we are admonished to be sober and vigilant, because our spiritual adversary, as a roaring lion, seeketh whom he may devour; and we are especially reminded, by St. Paul, that we wrestle not with flesh and blood alone, but with principalities and powers, with spiritual wickedness in high places; and, therefore, that we need the whole armour of God. But as it

is certain that we are not lifted up into the air to contend with the prince of the power of the air—as it is certain that our warfare is upon the earth—so the principalities and powers we have to wrestle with will appear under the imposing form of men of eminence in literature, or men of high station in the Church. We are forewarned that Satan would be transformed into an angel of light, and that his agents would appear in the same specious forms—that is, we have to expect that not from without, but in the very bosom of the Church, our greatest trials would arise, brought in by men whose reputation for learning and piety has set them above suspicion, and who would not be themselves aware of the evil tendency of the things, but may, in all sincerity, believe them, and in all simplicity desire to see them introduced and propagated; and from the clear testimony and express declarations of Scripture, we may not doubt that many of those who bring in false doctrine and superstitious practices will do it under the influence of Satan, and will often be supernaturally empowered to work miracles in support of the errors they propagate, so as to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect.

The only safeguard against deception—the only sure footing on which to stand—is knowing, believing, holding fast the truth. Many of the first disciples, who had been attracted by the miracles of our Lord, were offended by the words of truth he spake. From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. Then said Jesus unto the twelve, "Will ye also go away?" Then Simon Peter answered him, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe, and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the son of the living God." Afterwards, Jesus said to those Jews that believed on him, "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." And his final testimony before Pilate was, "For this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." And on the other hand it is written, "Though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him" (John xii. 37). And in immediate connection therewith, "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not; for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him; the word that I have spoken the same shall judge him in the last day; whatsoever I speak, therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak" (47-50).

So, also, St. Paul, and all the preachers of the Gospel, make it their constant care, not to preach themselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and so to preach as not handling the word of God deceitfully; but, by manifestation of the truth, commending it to every man's conscience in the sight of God; and yet, knowing that to some it will prove a savour of death unto death, as unto others a savour of life unto life. And the cause of the failure is declared to be, that the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them. To the Galatians he saith, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you? that ye should not obey the truth;" and warns them, that, if an angel from heaven should preach any other Gospel, he is to be held accursed. His preaching had been by pureness, by knowledge, by long suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left; and he warns the Church against a deceiver, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; *because they received not the love of the truth* that they might be saved; and, for this cause, God shall send them strong delusion, *that they should believe a lie.*

This was Mr. Newman's own persuasion concerning Rome as long as the truth had any remaining hold upon his spirit: he has now abandoned the truth, and is under a strong delusion, imagining all the while that he is advancing in the knowledge of the truth, though he has now professed his conversion to a Church which, in his better mind, he had denounced as heretical and apostate, but with whose doctrine he now wishes all his thoughts to be coincident. It is a melancholy picture; but it affords a lesson most seasonable, as well as most important—seasonable as belonging to these last and most trying times of the Church; important, as warning us against mingling or corrupting the truth, and as a caution not to tamper with spiritual things beyond our depth, lest we fall into some snare of Antichrist.

This work on "Development" is a warning to all whom mere learning, and standing in an university, might tempt to launch out into untried spiritual regions with no other guide than reason. The conscience of a man is called the candle of the Lord, but this embraces more than mere human reason; it is that higher faculty of wisdom, the beginning of which is the fear of the Lord; and upon which heavenly wisdom, through

the Holy Spirit, continually acts, to guide, to enlarge, and to lead into all truth. Wisdom rightly apprehending the truth—first as it is revealed in the person of Christ, next as recorded in the whole word of God—is able to trace the hand of Providence around the Church, and the faith of Jesus Christ, in its unity, as taught by the one abiding Comforter, throughout all ages: the same in the first ages, because then the Holy Spirit was given; the same now and in all intermediate time, because it is by one and the self-same Spirit. "If ye love me, saith Christ, keep my commandments: and I will pray the Father and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever. When he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth, and he will show you things to come."

But the possession of this positive truth is our means of stability; and not only so, but it is also a test by comparison with which all falsehood may be detected, and we are enabled confidently to repudiate and denounce whatever heretical perversions of the one faith of the Church may from time to time be broached, and to reject any superstitious additions to the doctrine and practice of the Church that may have crept in during the lapse of ages of darkness and ignorance. Mr. Newman was not thus rooted and grounded in the truth—it was not a living principle within him—it was not a solid foundation on which faith could be built up. But he, looking upon the mere externals of the Church, regarding it only in its economy and polity, has produced a book which an unbaptized man, or a heathen philosopher, might have written nearly as well: nay, in some respects better, for such men would not have been seduced into the same equivocations and sophistry.

By assuming that all the doctrines and practices which are recorded in the history of the visible Church are *ipso facto* of the same divine authority with those which can be traced to Scripture, Mr. Newman has confounded all distinctions between truth and falsehood in these matters. He dares not be consistent, for he does reject some things, and does qualify others: but if he were consistent, and if his principles were carried out to their legitimate consequences, it might, on such grounds, be denied that any heresies, any superstitions, had ever existed; for no test to detect them, nothing to discriminate between truth and falsehood, would remain. Mr. Newman rejects all former tests, loose as some of them are, as being too stringent for his purposes, and as condemning or excluding many articles of modern faith and practice, which he would fain justify and retain: but in doing so he has in-

troduced principles so loose that nothing which has ever been held or practiced by parties of any consideration in the Church can be consistently excluded. This principle of development would give countenance to every heresy and superstition which has existed, or shall exist, in any portion of the Church considerable enough to hold a place in history.

Again, we repeat it—the truths of Christianity depend not upon—are not to be decided by—a majority. It was not so in the time of our Lord—it was not so in the times of the first apostles. Nay, the Church was warned that they should be hated of all men for the truth's sake: yet the word of comfort is—"Fear not, *little flock*, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom: in the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." But for this assurance, how could Paul have stood when all in Asia had forsaken him, and when at his second answer no man stood by him? At other times it has been observed, with astonishment, that Athanasius stood against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius: and that Christendom wondered and groaned to find itself Arian. And so, in prophetic language, it is said at one time that all the world wondered after the beast; and at another time that he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by means of those miracles which he had power to do: and he caused all, both small and great, to receive a mark in their right hand or foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.

We have in this book the evidence of what is meant in the warnings given by St. Paul against becoming spoiled by false philosophy. The form of sophistry is changed in the lapse of ages, but it is in substance the same. Many of the early fathers caught the infection directly and immediately from the Greek writers: the schoolmen derived their sophisms partly from the Platonizing fathers, partly from the Greeks, but added disingenuousness to sophistry: and the modern doctrine of "Development" is an amalgam of the three, and baser in its quality than any of the ingredients:—

"Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ, for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily; and ye are complete in him" (Col. ii. 8). "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding the head" (18). "Keep that which is committed to thy trust: avoid profane and vain babblings,

and oppositions of science falsely so called: which some professing have erred concerning the faith" (1 Tim. vi. 20). "Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a child thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus" (2 Tim. iii. 14).

These things being so—however much we may lament the step which Mr. Newman has taken on his own account—on account of the Church of England, it is a favourable sign for her that he has left our communion. While any of her members entertain such opinions, they must have the effect of a festering sore rankling within. It is good that such humours should come to the surface—it is better that they should break and discharge themselves. When the body is infected with the plague, if it shows itself only in blotches or plague-spots, the danger is great; but if the constitution has vigour enough to expel the virus, the plague-spot will gather to a head, and the deadly virus may be ejected, and the patient may recover. It is always a favourable sign when the vital principle is strong enough to slough off the parts which may have mortified or become corrupt, from whatever cause.

"There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you." (1 Cor. xi. 19). "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us." (1 John ii. 19).

And it augurs well for the spiritual vigour and inherent vitality of the Church of England, when those who would corrupt her doctrines, or would introduce superstitious novelties into her sacraments and ritual, find themselves constrained to leave her communion. The Church will not only regain her proper and becoming attitude of tranquility and peace, by the removal of these causes of irritation; but, as after the recovery from sickness there is a reaction which has the appearance of new life and vigour—and which gives a zest to the enjoyment of health which makes it almost worth while to be sick for the sake of the pleasure of recovering—so we expect that, when the present excitement shall subside, the Church will be found to have gained by the trial, and come out more vigorous than before; and by the reaction will receive an impetus which will carry her onwards with greater speed and steadfastness in the right direction, after having overcome all the efforts which have been made to impede her straight-forward course, and divert her into the paths of error.

ART. II.—*Remarks on the Athanasian Creed, and Justification by Faith.* By A BISHOP'S CHAPLAIN. London: J. G. and J. F. Rivington.

THE history of the creeds of the Church is but the history of the laws by which human thought is inevitably governed under given conditions. Creeds of some kind, written or unwritten, every society must hold, as one essential condition of its existence. Unwritten creeds (such as are professed by certain religious societies which most vehemently abjure ours) are but ready-made instruments of tyranny and oppression; though we do not say they are always employed for that purpose. Written creeds court universal judgment, and must, therefore, ultimately stand or fall by their own native truth. The Church of England is said to have an unwritten creed. This is not true: the Prayer Book contains her only creed; for though parts of it are distinctively and popularly called *creeds*, yet they are no more her creeds than the Thirty-nine Articles, and the sentiments embodied in the single sentences of the prayers. There is, however, this important difference to be noted, that the Articles, and the so-called creeds, contain systematic divinity—the contents of the New Testament systematized; that is to say, what was not given forth to the Church, in the original documents of revelation, dogmatically and systematized, has been by the Church reduced to system and put forth dogmatically: and for this the Church has been vehemently assailed; that is, she has been condemned for not having drawn up the formularies of her faith in the exact terms of Scripture, and then permitting individual subscriptionists to supply the interpretation. This, it is said, would have produced Christian unity. For in such a society the Socinian, who quotes the words of Scripture for his creed, and the Antinomian, who defends by its words his creed, might, it is said, have worshipped together within the same walls in brotherly love; and thus the scandals of a divided Church might have been obviated. It cannot, however, be needful to pause for removing from our path such an hypothesis as this, which sets up unity in words over unity in thought; which assumes the naturally impossible—namely, that two men can kneel side by side, in the most solemn hours of human life, and treat each other with the respect due to rational beings, whose object and the means of pursuing it in effect are the same, when one of them is worshipping God upon the supposition that Christ is man, and the other is worshipping Christ him-

self as God. We can realise unity upon such divided terms in an assembly of parrots, with whom certain words are but one chance form of chattering instead of another; but not in an assembly of reasoning and deeply-moved men, with whom words are the symbols of solemn thought. If we could bring four earnest-minded men together, of the closest habits of friendship, with but one creed in literature, arts, science, and polity; and if, after discussing the true character of Christ, two of them arrived at the conclusion that he was an archangel, the highest order of created beings, who had voluntarily degraded himself to the conditions of humanity for the welfare of our race; and the other two concluded that he was God, manifested in the flesh; from the moment this decision was arrived at and proclaimed, they would profess separating creeds, making it as possible that there should be a physical unity between fire and water, and between light and darkness, as a spiritual unity between these opinionists.

If it had pleased the divine Author of the Christian revelation to put it forth in dogmas, and systems, and definitions, creeds or formularies of belief (which, being human, are liable to error) would have been superseded. Had the inspired writers of the Gospel histories and epistles been directed to draw up their compositions according to some elementary and progressive arrangement, many *apparent* difficulties and dangers might have been avoided; but as the *literary forms* in which the All-wise caused his revelation to be delivered to us absolutely excludes all this, hence it can be proved that the Church must construct creeds.

The totality of our written revelation is made up of a series of historical books, composed upon principles but little followed by secular historians: the prosaic and poetical writings of prophets, consisting of temporal and spiritual predictions, clearer and darker, intermingled arbitrarily with moral and doctrinal teachings: what may be termed four biographies (Memorabilia, rather) of Jesus Christ: a series of letters written to meet accidental emergencies in individual infant Churches: and one book of dark mysteries. Now, the *literary forms* of such compositions, by their very nature, excluded system. It seems evident that the peculiar commission of authorship, given to the inspired writers of the New Testament, expressly and purposely excluded the means of writing what we call a system of divinity. Their absorbing object, so far as we can judge by tokens which would certainly not mislead in human compositions, was to meet present moral, spiritual, and ecclesiastical events, which they saw actually pressing down the Church

when struggling for her very existence. We have not been able to discover a vestige of evidence that either of the evangelists, or letter-writers of the New Testament, proposed to himself the limiting task which Thucydides declares was that for which he worked—to write a history in which he preferred to seek the benefit and applause of distant ages to the fading crown of an Olympian victor. Certainly, it is impossible not to regard with admiration and respect the sublime declaration of the Greek historian, that he was content to forego (such was his meaning) the praises of a giddy, thoughtless, unjudging age, for the prophetic enjoyment of contemplating his great work standing before the impartial tribunal of posterity, and receiving its homage of praise from them whose praise alone he coveted—the wise and the good of all times and all climes. It was, then, the first object of this great man to write for posterity, and not for the wants of his own generation. Guided by this, his published principle, we can understand why, in framing his work, he introduced into it a subtle logic that must have baffled the attention of the ear, since it so often taxes to the utmost the attention of the eye: and guided by it, we can understand how, with self-conscious reliance, and in a spirit of prophecy which is the gift to such minds, he gave it a name which the judgment of posterity has so willingly confirmed—*κτημα ες αει.* But not one of the inspired historians professes to have so written. They seem to have had but one immediate object before them, with which no ulterior purposes was permitted to interfere. Each addressed one section of his contemporaries, moved by an earnest impulse to meet palpable and pressing wants and dangers, but with no suspicion of the ulterior uses that would be made of his brief composition—that it was to be a *κτημα ες αει* to the Church of Christ. We can find no internal evidence (and it could hardly have escaped us) that those writers comprehended the fulness of their great mission, as contributors to what we now know to be the canon of Scripture. They wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost for the present circumstances of individuals, whose condition and dangers, in the infancy of the Church, were painfully known to themselves, and about which they were absorbingly anxious. Each of the four biographies of Christ was written, according to our judgment, sufficiently independent of the others, to lay claim to the characteristics of an independent document—each having been drawn up in reference to some distinct temporary object. St. Luke, in the short preface to his work, simply explains that his immediate object was to correct the errors into which false

histories of Christ had led his friend Theophilus, and of course the circle of his acquaintance; but we can find no traces of a latent conviction that he was writing for an admiring posterity. Nor, on the other hand, was it their object to write a history of the origin and progress of Christianity; but merely to collect memorials of the sayings and doings of Christ. In such biographical notices, then, system would have been out of place; but without system there must be creeds.

Similar remarks will define the true character of the epistles. They were all written, according to the transparent purposes of their authors (confining ourselves, of course, in this estimate, to *their own* share, as free agents, in a voluntary work) to meet actual exigencies of the Churches founded by themselves. Indeed, we can hardly suppose it possible that St. Paul should not have wished to bury in oblivion such parts of his letters as charged his converts with the commission of foul offences, instead of providing for their perpetuity; for he might naturally hope that the peculiar circumstances which elicited parts of his letter were some of them evil enough, and surely uncommon enough, to require but one public exposure to put them down for ever. He was but little likely, so far as his own temperament was permitted to have its natural influence, to be swayed and tied down by the reasoning of Thucydides, that as human nature is evermore the same, in the revolution of the circle of human affairs, similar evils, which had marked his own eventful times, and had graven themselves on his memory and on his heart with a pen of iron, would again make their appearance, for which he trusted his history would then supply the requisite experience; or, as Solomon states it, there is nothing new under the sun, for that which has happened shall happen again. We have never been able to discover, from one stray thought or remark, that any such sentiment was lying in the apostle's mind. It was overruled, by the directing inspiring Spirit, that St. Paul, who thought he was addressing his Galatian converts for the correction of present evils, should also, beyond his own human purpose, be giving directions to the Church of the bodily-absent but spiritually-present Christ, until his coming again to substitute for the necessary cloudiness and brevity of the affectionately written letter, the living, ever-flowing, lucid, unmistaken, and full discourse, face to face, of the former letter-writer.

It thus appears that the literary forms of composition (which we must believe were as much a part of what is popularly called inspiration as their contents) chosen by God for conveying to his Church a discovery of the laws and objects of

the Christian dispensation, excluded, by their very nature, what is called systematic theology; and thus, by the inevitable laws of human thought, he must have intended to recognise the powers of his Church to form the supplementary creeds.

It is plain we are not now in a condition to affirm that a systematic statement of revealed doctrines and practices would have been better for the Church, because, in that case, definitions and practical directions for the performance of new rites must have been given. The fact, however, is otherwise, whether we can reconcile it to our reason or not; for nothing can be clearer than that the New Testament epistles were written in the *form* of temporary documents to serve temporary purposes; and, as the writers have strictly confined themselves to the requirements of this literary structure, it is absurd to complain of the omission of formal definitions of new terms and explicit directions for the performance of new rites. For how can it be supposed that St. Paul could have given minute directions as to the external *modes* (though there is a wrong and a right way of doing every act) of performing baptism, when each one of those to whom his letter was addressed had been baptized himself, and saw the rite constantly applied to others, and therefore knew the right modes, as well as the apostle himself. And where could have been the propriety—necessity there could not be—of giving directions, in a letter written for other purposes, for the right administration of the *κυριακον δειπνον*, (as to its external modes and limits) to men who were themselves partaking of it, probably, every week?—And where could have been the necessity of St. Paul's giving formal lessons upon the intention of Christ to establish episcopacy, when the writer of the letter was himself the acknowledged and received bishop of his correspondents, practising the solemn rite of ordination, and qualifying others for practising that and similar peculiar episcopal duties, which no uncalled person of those times would have dared to venture upon? Contemplating, then, this literary form of the apostle's writings, and admitting that this character must have been as much the result of a divine arrangement as their contents, to look in them for elementary definitions is even absurd. The conclusion, then, seems forced upon our convictions, that, in the estimation of the Highest Judge (himself the secret dictater of these Christian records) that want of fullness in his revelation, which the chosen forms of delivering it excluded, might be compensated for in some other way: he has thus, fundamentally, recognized the necessity of external aids, of some kind, in making his revelation available to the

practical wants of mankind. And both the existence of these aids, and their sufficiency, can be proved. For though the *doctrines* of the New Testament may be misconceived, ample as the means are for conducting the religious and humble mind to a true knowledge of them; yet *practices*, involving external characteristic circumstances, could not at once so easily get wrong; and, therefore, though it must be absolutely necessary that a divine revelation, however promulgated, should distinctly and authoritatively recognize such new practices as baptism, the Lord's supper, and episcopacy: yet the outward forms in which these were to receive their vitality, he, who knew that they could not be practised without definite forms, and would know what we know, that the first Christians would most sacredly and anxiously adopt the true ones, according to the examples set them by the apostles, might trust to his Church to send down the stream of time. For the hereditary clinging of human nature to customary practices, even when unimportant, might be relied on for a limited period to protect those which were so deeply important from being radically altered or entirely lost. That the providence of God trusted thus much to the invariable laws of human nature; that he thus far put a public honour upon his earliest Church, and recognized her life and powers, by making her not only the depository of his revelation, but also a witness that *certain* modes alluded to in it, are the true ones, is most clear. Men call this tradition: and we think this reasonable view of the extent to which he trusted the faithful servants of Christ, *i.e.*, his Church, by confiding to her absolutely necessary explanations, calculated to reconcile us to the *apparent* evils of an unsystematic revelation, requiring, *ipso facto*, creeds. Certainly this view (not hypothesis) of the actual state of the revelation implies the existence of a Church; and one, too, composed, first of all, of such faithful members as God, who had chosen the peculiar forms of his revelation, and had equally chosen out of the wide human family its early guardians, would take care should not be allowed to falsify it, either intentionally or unintentionally. The Hebrew Scriptures imply a visible Church, regularly organized. Had the Christian Scriptures been delivered by clear, simple definitions and progressive system, then one man might have understood them as well as another, and the inference would be, that each man was required to work out his own salvation, independently. But as the form adopted is totally opposite to this, hence the inference from it must be totally opposite, too; that is, the form implies, *ipso facto*, an organized Church,

which must be trusted to put forth creeds, but not arbitrarily. And this power she long held as a sacred trust, amenable to reason, and the proofs of history. For never did God's true Church do, what man's false Church has done—set up faith to mock and deride reason. The Church at first only supplied her children's wants. They came to her, with the Christian's charters in their hands, and asked her to decide (*e.g.*) if baptism included infant-baptism. She has put forth her creed that it does; and those who reject, *in toto*, this commission to the earliest Church, and will stand or fall by the naked self-explaining letter of revelation, cannot prove infant baptism. The Church, and the Church alone, has published this creed.

Christ gave a commission to his disciples to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This the historian of his sayings and doings was required to set down, simply as he heard it, without subjoining, for the benefit of others, what of course made no part of the communication to him, specific directions as to modes and limits of the rite; because it was addressed to those who were already familiar with its practices. If the writer had added any such explanations, he would have overstepped his duty as the simple chronicler of the sayings and doings of Christ. But a difficulty starts up here, which requires to be removed. This commission, without controversy, appertains to Christ's ministers through all time. But what means have we, who *read* the commission, of learning what they who *heard* it were perfectly familiar with—all the circumstances of the rite?

We will seek a reply to this of him who denies the authority of all tradition. This self-sufficient interpreter who, taking up the New Testament as an independent document, affirms his power to comprehend it without one ray of exterior light, reads in it of an institution called *baptism*; but what is it? What is that outward form in which it shall receive its necessary and appropriate objective vitality? In turning over this book for definitions (where definitions were purposely excluded), he will naturally stop at the Eunuch's case, recorded by the historian of the Acts, as supplying what he seeks for. But upon examination he only learns from it that water, applied somehow, was one element of the rite. And will his self-confidence carry him so far as to determine from this what the decent ("let all things be done decently and in order" is an extract from the book which certainly does not require the help of tradition to explain it) ceremony? Is it immersion?—or is it what may be called the abridgment of immersion, sprinkling? Thus we see that the best case in the book leaves

room for conjecture, but supplies no proof. But this is only one undefined circumstance in the case. This question follows—to *whom* shall the rite be applied? He reads that inspired men applied it to the matured, reasoning, converted Eunuch; and, in another remarkable instance, at Philippi. But *they* could not mistake a true heart-conversion; whereas the man who now says he can as confidently decide upon such a case, and upon that presumption imitates Paul and Philip, thus taking upon himself an office claimed by God alone of heart-searching and reins-trying, is rash, presumptuous and ignorant. This book, then, does not formally enable him to determine to *whom* he is justified in applying this rite.

Yet one more difficulty remains. Where will this rejecter of external aids find, in the New Testament, his *authority* for baptizing infants? We have somewhere seen the baptism of the gaoler's *household* adduced as evidence. But to rest upon this story as a *proof*, is inexpressibly puerile; for nothing can be less definite than the language on which this conclusion rests. There is no mention of his being even married. The historian merely says—"Then spake he unto them the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house"—"he and his." But who were in his house? And wherein lies the especial force of his speaking to infants, supposing they had been in his house, for he spake the word to "all?" In fact this household might have consisted of servants of the establishment, for aught the history proves, or of relatives; or any such hypothesis as we like to set up. As a *proof*, then, this example, *per se*, is utterly valueless. But grant us only (what we can prove) that the practice of the early Church was to baptize the children of Christian parents, and then we have no objection to admit this example as good hypothetical evidence. But the *onus probandi* is thus thrown upon the Church. And it is in virtue of her commentary upon the text of the New Testament that her ministers can relieve the aching heart of the mother by offering to her dying infant the benefits of Christ's death, through baptism, of which they know nothing but that if it lives it will breathe, eat, sleep, *and sin*, all being its natural acts. Certainly the man who rejects such collateral explanations of the rite, as the Providence of God has so visibly supplied, is not *authorized* to give one word of comfort to the mother's heart as she hangs over her dying babe. He can only *authoritatively* tell her, if he is not insincere or ignorant, in the awfully expressive metaphor of Scripture, that yonder child, struggling with death-convulsions, was "shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin;" and that wherever, and

under whatever form of life, it is expanded, fostered, and reared, it must be reared a rebel against God, as the acorn must expand itself into the oak; unless God changes its nature (which is begging the question, and so confessing the ignorance with which we charge him) by granting it the blessings of regeneration, irrespective of human co-operation in the use of appointed means; and thus placing it out of all the conditions and disadvantages of humanity, freeing it from the revealed law, that the sins of the father are the child's inalienable heritage: statements which none but the trifler with the secret counsels of heaven will dare to make. It is beside our purpose to plunge into the mysteries of this subject: but we must ask the self-interpreter of the New Testament, who refuses to accept the commentary of the early Church upon the term *baptism*, to give us his *authority* for affirming the salvation of the dead infant. To say that it never committed actual sin proves nothing. It is a *germ* to be expanded, according to its native qualities, in another clime. Adam's tainted nature is a universal heritage, or it is not. If it is, then the infant has it; and, unless the same change is effected in its nature, by a distinct act, as is effected in the nature of the accepted and safe disciple of Christ, then all the *theory* of salvation, upon which the self-interpreter relies, fails when applied to such a case, and his assertion of its eternal safety is reduced to a bold guess. Our Church has put forth this creed:—"It is certain, by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." How she arrived at this knowledge we have explained, by proving her divine commission to put forth creeds. Upon this authority, her ministers unwaveringly perform the rite; and very often feel that few happier duties devolve upon them than baptizing an infant one day and burying it the next.

We have described with some care and detail, as our main object absolutely required we should, the peculiar *literary form* in which the different books of the New Testament were authoritatively written; and we venture to add, that no deliberative gathering of human wisdom would have conceived, or, if conceived, have dared to adopt it. It is altogether *sui generis*. Its very peculiarity is one proof of its divine origin. For that anything so momentous as Christianity should have been committed to such (apparently) insecure vehicles seems almost incredible, and aids the mind, accustomed to weighing evidence, in referring it directly to the highest source of wisdom. One fact at least is certain—that this literary form excluded definitions, because the writings were simply addressed to such as did not need them. We find the rite of baptism unequivo-

cally enjoined; but the exact modes of administering it, and other limiting circumstances, are not described, because all these, at the time when these writings were put forth, were in full and public operation. And if we possess the means of ascertaining what that practical operation was, then the works of the New Testament are just as useful and complete to us as they were to those for whose immediate advantages they were compiled. But if we are without the means of proving what this practical operation was, then we have to encounter the startling difficulty that the New Testament is a different book to us from what it was to them. They had a key to it which we have lost. We suggest this consideration to him who rejects the authority of the early history of Christianity, as a fair means for testing the soundness of his opinion. But, however, such is not the case; for we have not lost the key; and the New Testament is not therefore a different book to us from what it was to them; for we can know what the practical operations of the Church were.

The same mode of reasoning away our difficulties, when baffled by the indistinctness of the naked letter of revelation, establishes another element in the creed of the Church—her form of government. To say that episcopacy (we are not speaking of prelacy) is an open question, because of the *apparently* indistinct mode of its announcement, is only to say what has been said of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. But it happens (and the distinction is important), that this alleged indistinctness belongs not to the fact, but only to the mode of delivering it, which admits of easy correction by an appeal to history. This indistinctness, however, with which such bold liberties have been taken, admits of the easiest explanation. For when St. Paul wrote his letter to the Churches of Corinth, and others, he was writing to those who had already accepted the episcopal forms of government, and who, therefore, could want no formal explanation and justification of its characteristics. His converts saw him fulfilling a bishop's peculiar duties, which was much better than writing about them. They had seen him, in virtue of this office, acting with a high authority, which is not conceded to men upon insufficient grounds. They saw him giving forth laws to the Church. They saw him ordaining other bishops, as Timothy, who ordained ministers, whom the people gladly accepted, as spiritual teachers and guides, without one word of murmuring, as if *their* rights were thus invaded, because other qualified persons undertook to judge of what *they* were unable to judge of—the qualifications, namely, of claimants to be teachers of Christ's doctrines, and administrators of his solemn sacraments. We

think, however, that there is less painful indistinctness, as to the practical workings of episcopacy in the letters of St. Paul, than about the two sacraments. But still the history of the Church is the history of the development of episcopacy, and is, therefore, a verifying commentary on the allusions to it, and the fragmentary description of it in the New Testament. For we cannot, and must not, and will not forget, that the thousands and thousands of sincere converts to Christianity (about whose names Church history is almost silent; for, unlike the world's heroes, the Church's heroes are ignoble and unknown; they live in cottages and not in palaces; they are reckoned by numbers and not by name), who perished in the early persecutions under Nero, Trajan, Domitian, Diocletian, &c., were converted, reared, matured to brave the fires, the wild beasts, and the wilder and more fiery passions of men, by ministers who had been first of all trained to do their work, under the soul-strengthening assurances of an episcopal mission. With those facts—affirmed, proved, written down by pens sacred and profane—how could the Church hesitate to put forth, with authority, her creed upon episcopacy, as the true interpretation of the Greek Testament word ἐπίσκοπος? Men call this the Church's tradition—we have called it the Church's creed.

In stating more definitely the philosophy of the doctrine of tradition, we remark, however, that the importance of clear views of it is more for the welfare and support of the learned teacher than of his confiding scholar. Not that it is otherwise than deeply important to the scholar, to know that he is listening to one who has authority to be his teacher, and not to one who can produce no other credentials of his being an ambassador of Christ than those forged by himself, or given by others who cannot prove their right to bestow them. Christ's commission, "Go ye unto all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," yields the happiness of authority to both parties. It is the lawfully ordained minister's authority for teaching: it is the people's authority for being taught. It is easy—nothing is so easy—to delude the multitude. A clever man, who has succeeded in establishing a popular newspaper, lately told us, that he was wavering between that and setting up a new religion, being confident that he could have saved a fortune by either means. So easy is it for persuasive lips, when the theme is religion, to which the frail heart of man responds as naturally as the eye to light, and the ear to sound, to gather admiring, eager, and acquiescing followers, whose judgment, however, as testing the truth of the opinions, it

must often be fearfully felt cannot for one moment satisfy the awakened conscience. For if the teacher's errors may not destroy the deluded, will they not most righteously destroy the deluder, who has voluntarily undertaken to teach, and therefore to search out, *the truth?* It is, therefore, before all things important, that the teacher, who has made himself responsible before God for the creed of his flock, should be sure of the grounds of his evidence, that his version of certain practices and doctrines *alluded* to in the New Testament, but not defined, are capable of moral proof—that teachers and people are not resting upon human will-worship. Mere conjectural interpretations—a Church's (the Romanist) arrogant demands that we should believe at the costly price of denying our senses, our reason, and history—propping ourselves up by great human names—all such shelters as these must be, and ought to be, and are to him who feels the tremendous consequences of error in religious teaching, like the ruined mansion to which, deceived by distance, the storm-caught traveller flees, enters it with hope and sinks down in it, or quits it in despair. To be left to conjecture only, for example, that the Church's development of episcopacy *may* be the idea involved in επισκοπος, can leave no peace to him who knows that the unchecked evils of the democratical principle in the Church of Christ must lead to its certain destruction—no arm of man could stay it. The inquiry then, philosophically conducted, is mainly for the teacher. Indeed, to suppose (as some preachers seem strangely enough to imagine) that the dwellers in our villages, the yeomen, and shopkeepers can or are required to comprehend the niceties of this mode of ecclesiastical rule, and its entire concordance with the true demands of human nature, any more than they can the niceties of the monarchical form of government, is a conception both useless and erroneous. There ought to be another far more convincing proof for *them*—even its influence on the energies, physical, moral, and spiritual, of the teacher who claims its advantages. To him the full importance of knowing it cannot be written down in words. He may feel, but cannot tell how, in the hours when nature's props fall under his sinking heart, he values his claims as belonging to this order; the shelter it affords his human weaknesses; the strength of his position, and the ultimate grounds of his claim, through it, to be a truly accredited ambassador of Christ, who can securely feel that when men refuse his message, they refuse not him but his Master. The moral courage which attends him alone, who is conscious of the righteousness of his cause, and of his own pretensions to

be its advocate, (without which dangers cannot be braved, and all consequences spurned), depend upon the force of his own convictions, and not upon his reliance on the convictions of others. Great, we know, is the enthusiasm-producing force of convictions, answering to convictions, as deep answereth to deep. But the Christian martyr must go to the fires sustained by his own convictions; and when they are based upon proved truth, the shouts of the infuriated mob, and the crackling of the burning green-wood faggots, and the thick smoke, and the lurid flame, do but quicken them: for how few, if any, comprehended the claims of Christ, when he, in his calm and onmoving strength, went forward to change the creed, and to destroy the temple, both of Jew and Greek! Upon his own convictions, then, must have rested all the courage and strength (which again and again, however, by those laws of human nature which still exist for his followers, forced the profoundest homage of his foes) through which he endured the cross, and despised the shame. In like manner his ambassador requires such evidence as shall constitute his convictions an everlasting fresh spring, at which his failing and fainting heart may drink and be renewed; for the truth of the Church's creed, that the apostolic (*i. e.* the divine, for the apostles could not err) form of Church government under which he has gone forth to the unequal conflict, was episcopalian. This may be the more important just now, because we have lately seen, with indignation, that certain episcopalian clergymen are mourning because a modern association has not *openly* published its *secret* tenet—that the New Testament recognizes *a* system, but not a *special* system. This is just what the jumper affirms—that revelation leaves to every human being the choice of a system for himself. And this, we doubt not, was the statement of the ancestors of a family, known to ourselves, when they embraced a dissenting system, ignorant that the same principle, with a different application, but quite as defensible, would carry their descendants through the usual gradations of error, until, as in the case of their living representatives, they settled down into the coldest Unitarianism. This is but cause and effect; as it is but cause and effect that the Jumper should make the gin-drinker. In fact, the sentiment of these clergymen is just that which the Socinian, the Arian, the Antinomian, the Out-of-door's worshipper, the Adamite, the Swedenborgian, and Mahomet himself (for the prophet flatters Christ and his gospels) demands for his own unerring, deified reason; makes what use of his own fancies require; and by it, ultimately, scatters cruelly Christ's flock.

But there are still more pressing reasons for satisfying ourselves of the real claims of tradition upon our belief. For the war-trump has been sounded by no ignoble enemy; nor is its note so uncertain that we can find excuse for not girding ourselves for the battle. The times, we fully believe, are emerging out of the dark futurity, when supports, which are now trifled with, or undervalued, or overlooked, will be sought for with intense anxiety. We think that the treason within, which has forced upon so many an investigation into the truthfulness of the claims of our Church to be a plant of the Lord's right hand, is not without its clear prophetic purpose. Many who once took for granted the truth of their position, upon the evidence of others, have proved it for themselves, and could now rest upon it in the fires of persecution. But we want that all should know it; and for their sakes we now step on briefly and confidently to the proof.

We have proved (for we are not referring to hypothesis, but to a point demonstrated) that the divinely adopted *forms* of the New Testament compositions imply, in certain instances, a commentary. For example, the actual published history of the earliest Christian επισκοποι is the commentary upon the indistinctly defined term επισκοπος. There are but two methods of proving the meaning of the Greek Testament word επισκοπος. The choice lies between this kind of proof (naturally supplied by Him who knew we could not do without it); or the arbitrary rule of the latitudinarian and random interpreter, who affirms (and truly enough upon his own hypothesis), that the Greek word επισκοπος may mean *any* kind of governor, qualified or unqualified, self-called, or called by God and man, or by neither. In this man's Greek lexicon to the New Testament, the meaning of the word επισκοπος is absolutely his own simple opinion. By the reverer of the voice of history, the meaning put down is a fact; and, whereas the ideal meaning put down by the first interpreter may be exchanged for twenty others, without passing over the limits of the sensuous root, the meaning of the latter cannot be changed without his utterly casting away the rule of his interpretation. This is the natural unity of truth: the former is the natural compound of error. It is as if two compilers of dictionaries should have to explain the term *Major* in the literature of a people who had no standing army, and knew nothing of military ranks; and one of them, referring to the Latin root, should satisfy himself with defining it as meaning some one *greater* than a common soldier—thus leaving his definition to oscillate between a drum-major and a general; whilst the other, investigating

military records, should accurately define the office of a Major, by an enumeration of the exact duties appertaining to it. Or, as a resuscitated Roman could not understand the law Latin word *cancellarius*, without history—no more can a reader of the Greek Testament now understand the full import of ἐπισκοπον without history. History gives the meaning to both.

This Church topic is now become too momentous to be left to the caprice of belief or unbelief. For we cannot too urgently remind those who would rashly condemn our thus mooting so disputed a theme, that upon tradition the Church of Rome rests her claims, and, in virtue of it, summons to her standard many of our wavering and half-instructed members. For to suppose that this—the most powerful of all the pillars of that Church—rests upon an utterly artificial and fictitious foundation, is contrary to what has become an axiom (at least in our own experience), that there is no error which does not contain a truth. Moreover, as it is required of philosophy to explain all that man has thought or done, so it must explain his errors; and thus we shall arrive at the truth. Also, to know the whole abuse, we must first understand the use. To measure a falsehood, we must first get the standard of the truth it has distorted. Well then may Rome's more deeply thinking sons sneer at the unguarded rejection of the whole truth by some of our own Church who ought to know better. Well may she ask—"Can such a denial, capable as it is of refutation by an appeal to first principles, prove a truth-holding Church?"

Our anxious desire is, for the advantage of so many who will never need our help as they do now, summarily to place the doctrine of ecclesiastical tradition upon its true foundation: to ascertain and rigidly draw its natural boundaries; and so to demonstrate that it is not the awfully unproved and unproveable doctrine as set forth by the Church of Rome, which is converted by her into an instrument for arbitrarily drawing upon the terrors of the unseen and unveiled world, and by which she can, therefore, tamper with the hopes and fears of the conscience-stricken sinner, and bind down, in chains of the most abject and cowardly slavery, every faculty of his mind, and every affection of his heart. We most solemnly believe that the time is arrived when the junior clergy of our Church must go forth to the conflict armed with better weapons for combatting this error than a mere headlong denial of the whole claim, which, at present, is the only weapon of a large number. We believe that the future safety of very many is only to be insured by giving them a true comprehension of the extent of the claims and limits of this

doctrine; for it is Rome's strength to destroy, or her weakness by which she must be destroyed. Only let us reduce these exaggerated claims to their true and proved dimensions, and her power for evil is gone. It is easy to imagine a reasoning young minister encountering in his virgin discussion of this subject a skilful Romanist, and it is as easy to describe the sequel. His ignorance soon bends low before arguments which he cannot refute: a light has burst forth upon his mind, and he is surprised, puzzled, uncomfortable: he feels the mortification of defeat—he begins to accuse his Church of having left him in ignorance—his confidence is shaken, and he is soon prepared to deny the reason that God has given him, because it denies the faith that Rome requires of him; and then we read of a new pervert: nor can we lose ourselves in astonishment at such an issue. He received the first true account of a solemn truth from one who, beyond all denial, has carried it where it casts aside human proofs, and rejects all appeals to human reason; and hence he not unnaturally (remembering the facilities afforded by men's unsubdued frailties) embraced the whole creed thus strangely and fascinatingly set before him, and then Rome had caught him in that carefully woven net which makes him her own—body, soul, and spirit for ever. This fatal issue might, we believe, have been avoided in some recent cases, had not unjudging friends taught that it was enough to refute an absurd tenet with a sneer; or a denial, where rigid demonstration was possible, and therefore requisite. This state of things can be tolerated no longer; for God will no longer wink at the times of Protestant ignorance. The days are gone by, to return no more, when Protestants could idly and ignorantly fall back upon their hereditary creed, that Rome was Antichrist. We pass on now to our proposed discussion of the limits of tradition.

That there are certain terms in the Greek Testament (and this, it must be kept in mind, contains the Christian's only charter; *the contents of this book are the sole subject of discussion*), which all would be thankful to see fully defined and explained, is not even disputed; for that the Testament itself affords no certain definitions is proved by the endless interpretations put upon them by such as pretend to reject all external aids, and think their own *will* (reason is not the word) a trustworthy guide. We have amply demonstrated that the divinely chosen form of the New Testament compositions absolutely, by those conditions of literature which are as little violated in the Bible as in human works, excludes

such definitions. We have shewn, *e.g.*, that the epistles of St. Paul, which contain such words as επισκοπος, βαπτιζω, κυριακον δειπνον, were addressed, for other purposes, to persons who no more wanted to be told by St. Paul, than St. Paul wanted to be told by them, that the *practices* of baptism were, either infant, or adult; and if adult, under what circumstances; and what were the terms of admission to the δειπνον, whether none were to be admitted but such as a self-chosen body of frail sinners judged had ceased to be sinful. All this, we submit, is established ground; but we may yet further shew its security.

St. Paul, in his letters to the Corinthians—converted, baptized, communicating, Episcopalian (for St. Paul was a bishop) Christians—could no more, without subjecting them to the appearance of forgery in the eyes of posterity, have formally enumerated all the particulars of baptism and episcopacy, than Cicero, in a letter to a Roman senator, in which the word *Consul* occurs, could have paused to explain what rites and practices that term implied: or, to take a particular case, let us suppose a certain amount of knowledge, of the Latin language, to be communicated by means of Cicero's letters alone, without permitting access to any other illustrating literature, the letter in which he congratulates his friend Curio, *de tribunatu*, is read; but the learner wants to know all about the trappings and duties of this office. It is unfortunate that there is no explanation in the letter. The misfortune, however, belongs inevitably to the form of composition in which the term occurs. But for this learner to complain, because the writer did not swell out his letter, by narrating all the facts of the office to his friend, who comprised them all in his own person, would have been no more reasonable than it is for the reader of St. Paul's letters to complain of him for not swelling out his letters by a forced and unnatural description of all the circumstances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper to persons who had themselves been voluntarily baptized, and were voluntarily communicating. But Cicero's silence would lead no one to think that this *tribunatus* was an office which Curio took up by chance, presenting no defined duties. No more should St. Paul's silence lead others to think that baptism, and the holy communion, and episcopacy are just what people's caprice chooses to make them.

But, how would this one-book Latin scholar proceed to correct his ignorance? Of course, by reading other contemporary, historical, and similar writings, in which explanations of this *tribunatus* would regularly occur; and now he returns

to the letter, and is no longer puzzled by his ignorance of the duties which Curio, the tribune, had to discharge; and, *cæteris paribus*, the same must hold good of the reader of the letters of St. Paul. He reads the early history of the Church, preserved to us by God's good providence, and there he meets with the sayings and doings of the επισκοπος. He now turns back to the letters, and fully understands the duties that Timothy, the επισκοπος, had to perform.

The materials are thus placed before us, by which we can accurately and rigidly draw the limits of the Church's tradition.

The word βαπτιζω refers to practices which no one will pretend to say are fully drawn out in the New Testament; but the earliest history of the Church accurately describes these practices; and thus we can write down the import of the word in our lexicon to the Greek Testament. Those who refuse their faith to the unimpeached credibility of the early history must take all the consequences of their scepticism, and defend, if they can, the canon of Scripture. God entrusted entirely to his Church to form the canon of inspiration; and we believe, and so do they, in her fidelity; and he trusted her to explain what he, in his wisdom, deemed it right to leave unexplained; and *we* rely on her fidelity. The same instruments were employed about both—the same principles are involved in both. This is the limited creed concerning tradition of the Church of England.

But the Church of Rome appeals to tradition for certain practices and doctrines, *e.g.*, Mariolatry, Purgatory, the Seven Sacraments, &c. But where, in compiling a lexicon to the Greek Testament (our only charter—the hallowed shrine of God's last revelation to our race), do we meet with words and terms, of which we cannot write down the meaning, without a knowledge of these practices, as we cannot write down the meaning of βαπτιζω, without a knowledge of the practice of infant baptism? There are no such words!—and thus we prove the false claims of this tradition; and thus we draw the limits of a true tradition.

This, then, is the true philosophy (*i.e.*, the whole explained truth,) of our tradition. The Greek Testament contains the last written revelation of God's will to man; for we utterly reject unwritten revelation, as incapable of proof; but its literary forms, of necessity, leaves the import of certain official terms only partially developed. When mistakes were utterly impossible, history records the practical development of these offices. By this means, the proof of the import of these terms

becomes complete. There is collateral light enough thrown upon the word in the Greek text to render mistake, as to the individual historical practice which it suggested, impossible; and there is a *peculiarity* in the practice, as developed by history, which compels us to seek for a true account of its origin and character in the New Testament. Thus, the word and the practice mutually identify each other; for, what is the fact of the practice of infant baptism, with its alleged privileges, by Christ's holy servants in the early Church, upon supposition of no revelation, but some half-blasphemous mummery? But the revelation, in its peculiar form, solves the difficulty. By an examination of all the passages in it, in which the word βαπτιζω occurs, we obtain as much meaning as they jointly yield; and the result is found to be this—light and darkness mixed up, as to the possible amount of import. We pass on to the records of the actions of Christ's holy servants, who, by no stretch of a lawless imagination, can be supposed to have created such a singular ceremony; and here, too, the result is, light and darkness mixed up. Then we turn back to the New Testament, and join these together, and the result may be thus stated:—The darkness, in both cases, is destroyed, as naturally as impossible quantities in algebra when brought together destroy each other; and nothing remains but clear light. It is a moral proof of the highest order that infant baptism is a Divine institution.

The natural order, then, for proving the limits of a true tradition, is this:—First, a term occurs in the written revelation which manifestly requires something to complete the imperfect explanation. The history of the early Church (which would not have been a Church but for its *practising* the directions of the New Testament) is the most natural solution of the difficulty.

The natural order of proof for a false tradition is this:—Practices are adduced (referred to periods in the Church when innovations could not be proved) to which there are actually no corresponding terms in the revelation: hence they are human forgeries.

The historical practice of episcopacy, in the earliest Church, is the traditional (*i.e.* the historically recorded) phenomenon. The solution of it is the word επισκοπος, with its imperfectly developed import in the New Testament.

Again: the word επισκοπος, in the revelation, with its partially developed meaning, is the phenomenon. The traditional (*i.e.* the historically recorded) practice of episcopacy is the full solution. How complete!

But, again, the practice of kneeling down to and worshipping images, in the Romish Church, is the phenomenon: and where is the solution? Certainly not in the Greek Testament. Is this it, then, from the Hebrew revelation:—"Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image—thou shalt not bow down to it—thou shalt not worship it."

But we must tax our readers' patience, ere we quit this important subject, whilst we exhibit it by another illustration.

It was by divine arrangement that the New Testament should be written in the language of Greece, and in a peculiar dialect of that language. The question we now propose, requiring its solution upon independent grounds, is this:—how were nations of other tongues, modes of thinking, manner of life, and other distinctions, to be made acquainted with its contents? The superficial reply of course will be—by translations. Yes; but how were translations to be made, and who could make them? What are the necessary qualifications? Could the perfect master of the Greek of Thucydides and Æschylus, or what might seem more to the point, of Plato, undertake, in virtue of such attainments, to translate into the language of another race the epistles of St. Paul? We may give, first, an indirect reply to this, by quoting the declaration of some who ought to know what they say—that no unchristianised Jew, however high his attainments, can translate the Hebrew Bible into his own vernacular language (*i.e.*, of the nation amongst which he has been reared), so as to make it intelligible to Gentile readers. The meaning of this is, that Christianity is the only key to the Hebrew Scriptures for the Gentile reader, and not the literal rendering of it, word for word. And we may give, secondly, a direct reply to this question, by affirming that it would be vain to search the whole range of Pagan Greek literature for the New Testament *ideas* corresponding to such words as ἅγιον δειπνον, δικαιοσυνη, ἅγιον πνευμα, επισκοπος, and the like. And yet Greek scholars do know the meaning of such terms (though they are not formally defined in the Greek Testament), and confidently write them down in Greek lexicons, and translate them into other tongues. How, then, came they to know the force of such peculiar, technical terms? We pause not a moment for the reply—they are indebted to the aids of early Christian literature, which records the early practices and doctrines of Christianity to which these terms allude. A Greek lexicon to the New Testament, therefore, is a work of tradition; and he who abjures this doctrine altogether must deny the *authority* of the lexicon. *We* do not now doubt the received import of the

term ἐπισκοπος, because it necessarily satisfies the requirements of every passage in the New Testament in which it occurs, which a false meaning could not do. In other languages this is a mode of proof which fully satisfies: and so it does in this case. But the ready admission of a truth, and the original discovery of it, are very different mental processes, and require different mental endowments: and here the error arises. Light from without has been poured upon the Greek Testament, by which a mere tyro in the language can extract from it what he is fully satisfied was the meaning of the writer; and he affirms that that light comes from within himself. We are told that some one proposed to his friend's ingenuity to make an egg stand on its end. When all endeavours failed, the proposer of the unnatural puzzle took it up, and by crushing one of its ends triumphantly solved the riddle. "Oh, (said the beaten experimentalist) any body could do that." Yes—and now that the Church, having collected the rays of light from the Greek Testament, and from the earliest Christian records into one focus, has set down the import of βαπτιζω, and the like, in our lexicons, any body can understand them; and the accusation is, that it is contrary to the evident purposes of God, to give forth his revelation in such peculiar forms as to imply that the interpreter might have discovered it himself—an error into which the vanquished searcher after the mystery of the egg certainly did not fall.

If, then, this Greek Testament—this phenomenon, which occupies a position encroached upon by no piece of human literature—God's last revelation to the world—the Christian's real charter—were placed, *puris naturalibus*, in the hands of the accomplished reader of Pagan Greek literature, but otherwise not in possession of one traditionary Christian idea—how could he translate it for himself and for others? If—what the abjurers of the true philosophy of tradition affirm—the New Testament does not require one ray of exterior light for its comprehension (and we pin them down to the letter of their declaration; for if it requires one ray, then they must admit the sun from which it proceeds) is true, let them help out of his difficulty this possessor of the Greek Testament. We can imagine the supercilious complacency with which some would take pity upon our ignorance by recommending Mr. ——'s lexicon to the New Testament; a grammar of the same calibre; and, to add a third ingredient to this mixture of tradition which would make it gross enough for Rome herself, a living teacher taken from certain provincial academies or colleges in England.

Most earnestly do we declare that our object is to wrest from its dreadful purposes in the hands of Popery the abuse of a truth, which, limited as we have set it forth, cannot be got rid of. The utter denial of it is the direct means, as we fear, of making Romanists. For Rome knows, and easily proves to others that, unless all the principles of human reason are utterly fallacious, the doctrine cannot, to a certain point, be rejected. Our own humble aim, then, has been to draw its natural limits, by laying open its philosophy, and thus to qualify so many of our own times who have as yet to learn what it really means at all, for sternly rejecting its proffered light, when that light would prove to be but the will-o'-the-wisp leading on the doomed traveller to a quagmire; or the mirage, the fatal dowry of beauty to the parched desert, which creates hopes in the famished traveller but to cruelly mock them, and so deepen his despair. We think—and to this point our own argument goes, and no further—that the philosophy of the sixth Article of the Church is perfect. We have attempted to show that "what is not read in holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed." We have sought to establish this by an appeal to first principles, which we have permitted to carry us on to their natural results; which results we believe to be the sentiment of this sixth Article. But we again ask timid minds to believe that we are not, as has been the case with so many, toying with Rome's basilisk-eyed baits. We are not meekly and fearfully, and in the language of compliment, writing as after all she *may* be right in *her* creed of a boundless, undefined, reason-mocking tradition; or in the most terrible of all her engines—the confessional, and in her other peculiarities. We are not acquitting her of guilt in holding these tenets; for in solemn truth we believe them to be equally opposed to the word of God, and to the true wants and welfare of that human mind for which that word was given. There are certain principles lying in the depths of our nature; or rather they are part and parcel of that nature—*alter et idem*—its *ideas* according to the philosophical conception, without which, though it might be a created soul, it could not but be a stranger to our race and its ways, to our globe and its constitution; and if we are required to believe assertions which contradict them, we cannot—wheresoever we see them, and by whomsoever they are presented to us. Contemplating, then, this natural structure of the human soul, as found in ourselves, we say of some of Rome's tenets, which she deems vital to salvation, they absolutely contradict it; and, therefore, without denying our

own nature, we could not admit them. We must leave hard names to others. Our compassion for our erring brethren, who have delivered up to her witcheries God's best gifts to the human soul—its power of refusing to stain itself with positive evil when imperiously commanded to pursue it for the imagined welfare of Rome's Church though Christ's Church imperiously says that men shall not do evil that good may come—its power to refuse to stain itself by reading professional books which, to Protestant minds, to Pagan minds, to Mahometan minds, are unutterably loathsome, horrible, and devilish—its power...but the view is too painful, and we pause. We are aware that for this freedom of soul they condemn us —a freedom, however, in chains to the clear will of God; but we must remind them that they *once*, at least, have exercised their own reason, and their own will—namely, by the act of relinquishing it for ever to another. There can be no higher exercise of the free-will than this: but let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall. God's judgments are abroad in the earth—may its inhabitants learn righteousness! Let us who remain recollect that, after all, the end of all theology, in whatever forms it makes its appeals to us, is personal holiness, obtained through daily communion with God, by union with Christ, and the reception into our hearts of the heavenly guest: let us exhaust, if we can, the aids offered by our own Church for obtaining all this; and then, if we fail, it will be time enough to suspect that something is wrong out of ourselves: let us study the philosophy of symbols—for the Romish Church is essentially a symbolical Church—and we may prove to a demonstration, upon principles which are as sure as the human mind itself, that the mind is exposed to no greater danger (of its kind) in search after a spiritual religion than when required to pursue it by means of subtle symbols—that it must be next to a miracle if it mistakes not the sign for the thing signified, and the means for the end. This is the sole philosophy of the condemnation of idols and pictures by God himself. It is an error, in other forms, pervading our whole race; for where is the man who is not pursuing in its excess the symbol money?—money, and not that of which it is but the symbol—true happiness?

Let not the plain mind be staggered by the array of learning which is now so fearfully presented by the falsifiers of the true principle of tradition, to enable them to vindicate what can thus alone artificially be defended. We would give them a better definition of divine science than they require us to adopt, who say it must be expressed out of the tomes of the

fathers. We quote for them the definition of John Smith (whom Bishop Patrick has so nobly eulogised), prefixed to his profound speculations:—"Were I indeed to define divinity, I should rather call it a *divine life* than divine science." This is but the echo of the words of Christ—"If any man will *do* his will, he shall know of the doctrine." This divine life is within reach of all who will faithfully use the Church's directions for obtaining it.

Our task, however, is not yet completed. Having proved the true origin of creeds of Church *practices*, we would also show the origin of creeds of *doctrine*, with a view especially of pointing out the natural history of the creed of St. Athanasius.

We are constantly taunted with the successful career of the early Church, when untrammelled by formal creeds either of tradition or doctrine. The solution of this alleged difficulty is simple. The state of human society at the period referred to, in relation to Christianity, has never been, and never can be paralleled again. As contemporaries with Christianity itself, they could not require tradition, which is only another name for history, implying the lapse of centuries. We have no doubt that, in the natural course of things, the early teachers and preachers of Christianity did adopt the simplest forms; for, so long as their task was limited to addressing men to whom every part of the subject was new, the strictest simplicity would be required. The only class of society to which the missionary usually can obtain access is that which, last of all, as a means of teaching, requires or can be profited by, the formally drawn creed.

But Christianity was not to be exclusive. Judaism had been exclusive; and polytheism, with its exoteric and esoteric doctrines, had been exclusive. Christianity came forward to break down every middle wall of partition. It was to be universal; and, therefore, had been framed to take advantage of every human affection. It was called to watch for and avail itself of the development of the state of human nature, under all possible circumstances. It was to know of no distinction of races, of ranks, of intellects. Hence, the time must come when the philosopher, arrested by the fact of its progress, would, in examining its claims, be himself arrested by its power; and then, probably, commenced its real difficulties and dangers. It could master the world's ignorance, but not its wisdom; for when the convinced Platonist succumbed to its overwhelming declarations concerning sin, and its consequences, and its remedies, how would Christianity fare in his keeping? We know that the entire work of sanctification in the

best of Christ's followers is progressive. It is a school of discipline; and, as the peculiarities of our discipline depend upon individual temperament, previous education, and the like—so, when the educated Platonist had passed on from its first glad tidings and the accompanying joy, to become a solitary student of its higher forms, he must inevitably labour under temptations to yield to his former habits of thought, and to make use of his former knowledge; for he had learnt from the Christian records that all his former belief was not false. In his esoteric creed he had already recognised man as destined for a higher state of existence—as in a state of purification from earth's defilements—and of preparation for some nobler scene of action. All this, too, was higher Christian doctrine. Yet, so much had he been accustomed to aim at engrafting such truths upon the base errors of heathenism, that it is impossible not to conclude *a priori*, what we know *a posteriori*, that this intellectual condition must work its evils upon Christianity. He had also before admitted the doctrine of a divine revelation. In a well-known passage of Plutarch, (in whom we recognise the best type of this order), when replying to the sneers of such as objected to the divinity of the oracles, on account of the bad verses in which they were delivered, he puts forth this theory:—"The language and the metre come not from the deity, but from the woman. The god presents only the image to her mind, and lights in her mind the lamp which enlightens the future. The deity uses the soul as an instrument, and the operation of it consists in its representing, as purely as possible, what is imparted to it. It is impossible it should be ever repeated perfectly pure—nay, without much foreign matter."

Now, here are truth and error strangely mixed up together. We may imagine a converted philosopher of this school sitting down to the task of explaining the philosophy (and how could the Platonist help philosophising upon such writers as St. Peter and St. Paul?) of revelation under the influence of such a creed as this, and can have no difficulty in accounting for the origin of dangerous heresies. That Platonism, which led men to a consciousness of their possessing a nature allied to the Divinity, and awakened desires for communion with a world of spirits which it could give no true account of, nor satisfy, and has, in particular cases, prepared the way for Christianity, is, we think, true to an extent not enough recognized; but when those intellectualists studied Christianity, under the influence of such knowledge which they could not wholly forget, and imagined they need not wholly reject, we

can easily account for the earliest, first, mistakes, and then heresies in the Church, which, for the sake of simple minds, hitherto unpoisoned, demanded the protection of definite creeds.

If we turn for one moment longer to another important and influential section of the society of the day, we may strengthen our conviction that the pressure from without soon forced the Church to pass from the simplicity of her first teaching to the complexity of creeds. For the three grand divisions of the Jews of the day, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, could not embrace Christianity without engrafting upon it each some peculiar views which would endanger its purity. When it laid its strong hand upon the Pharisee, we cannot but feel that the disciplining trial of this fair living moralist would be to substitute justification by works for justification by faith, producing, of necessity, its justifying works. He had adopted —we speak of the purer professor—outward religious doings, in virtue of which he fancied he had more than fulfilled all the demands of the law, and so had advanced to higher states of holiness. Now, if Christians, with all the advantages of growing light, have fallen into the error of works of supererogation, can we wonder if the converted Pharisee found this error to beset him? Hence, then, the Church would be compelled to put forth her creed of doctrine, that justification was by faith. We might, in like manner, proceed to show how the converted Essenes—the mystics of the day—would but too faintly struggle with their temptation to extract from Christianity a defence of their beloved monkery. And, now, on another side, heresies of every hue and form must come forth from Alexandria—that singular home of the Jew-Greek and Greek-Jew, of the Jew-heathen and Heathen-Jew.

This rapid sketch of the earliest scenes of danger amidst which the providence of God permitted his new revelation to be cradled will suggest enough to prove, to a demonstration, that creeds were unavoidable. The Church was thus *forced* to make them, whilst the sound of apostolic teachings had scarcely died away from her hearing, and whilst, therefore, she knew that her bold affirmations, though not in the exact words of revelation, were yet in its exact spirit. The *forms* of the Christian books, we again say, were her amply justifying apologists; for we have seen that the dryer methods of exact propositions, and definitions, and systems, were rejected for the life-like method of examples. The *imagined* advantages of the few were thus sacrificed for the real advantages of the many; for the Christian religion agrees with the grand division of the human race—that speculation is the exception,

and practice the rule. *Pectus est quod theologum facit.* In weighing, then, the advantages of that system which might have spared us creeds, we must not forget that, whilst few might have been benefitted, thousands found in the simplicities of the Gospel histories what made them and kept them Christians. What abstract account of the power of Christ to raise the dead could have equalled, for effect, the scene at the grave of Lazarus? It goes straight to the heart; and the heart is the grand material of theology, with which abstract propositions have no concern, unless it be to harden it and to cause it obstinately to send them back again to the cold intellect where their proper home is. It is still true, and will be to the end of time, that to the poor (poor in intellectual gifts and grasp of mind, as well as in this world's goods) the Gospel is preached. In all this we see reasons why revelation should have excluded system; but we also see why the Church was required to adopt creeds. For as carnal men will philosophise upon revelation thus put forth, so, therefore, must the Church meet their false conclusions, for the benefit of those who could not give reason for reason and philosophy for philosophy, with assertions and denials. This solves the mystery of the Church's creeds.

The enemies of the Church, who have so fiercely abused her for adopting excluding (as if there could be a creed which did not exclude) creeds, have only abused her for carrying out the plain intentions of divine Providence. We are not, however, insensible to the danger of thus *teaching* Christianity. In our own most eventful times it is the especial duty of such as are called to direct the studies of the youthful theologian to point out the true place which creeds must hold in his system. A mistake on this point may prove fatal. He must be taught that they are not to supersede, but to aid his studies of those books from which they are but deductions, or needful explanations. The order is not that which the Church of Rome so unnaturally prescribes—first the creed; and then the revelation. The order of time teaches the order of study; first the revelation, and then the creed, proving and identifying each other. When rightly used in this order we know their value is past all price; for it is possible—we speak feelingly—that the temptation to heterodox interpretation may assail. In this painful struggle, what is the course to be pursued for safety? Suppose the temptation is as to the interpretation of the εἰς τὸ αἰωνιον. Whence, is the first inquiry, does the difficulty arise? Is it objective or subjective? Is it as to the literal import of the phrase?—that cannot be. It is, then, in the state

of the individual's feelings, who cannot reconcile his nature to the nature of God, upon supposition of certain views. Whence, then, shall this victim of an unsubdued nature turn for relief, on a question which no human wisdom can settle? We direct him to the creed of the Church. She has no doubts upon the question; she dares to construe God's word literally, though he dares not. Submit, then, to her wisdom; and soon—we speak feelingly and gratefully—repose will come. For this creed of St. Athanasius is not *now* to be regarded as merely the decision of the Nicene council of God's ministers. This is but a short view of its claims on our reverence; for it now carries with it the mighty load of the faith of all the pure part of the Church of Christ up to this hour. Men who do not study theology deeply must submit to be dictated to by creeds; and they who do study it worthily and wisely will soon be most thankful to take shelter under their escort, as they find themselves amidst the bewildering strifes of past ages, where they stand forth as the friendly beacon to point out the storm-proof harbour; or as the warning beacon to tell of the rocks on which so many gallant vessels have struck and gone down for ever. Moreover, the effect of a right study of theology is calculated to prepare the student's mind for meekly listening to the calm voice of the Church speaking by her proved creeds. For whilst all science, all arts, all literature, enter the carnal mind but to inflate it—theology enters but to humble! There are questions here which cannot be solved by the human mind, and concerning which it may be assumed, as an axiom, mere individual opinion is utterly worthless. In such cases the mind that has been trained by a close contemplation of the astounding magnitudes which theology affords for guaging the mind's littleness, will meekly hear the voice of such a Church as ours, because that Church is accompanied by the living finger which points to the letter of revelation, and says of it only to our doubts—*this* is its meaning and spirit, and not *that*. The practice the direct reverse of this is that of the Romish Church, whose voice is still louder and more dominecring in commanding belief on vital points, whilst she points not for verification to the living word of revelation, but to the dim, and ghastly, and terrifying shadows of a dead tradition.

That the only method of disposing of such swarming errors (we have not thought it needful to show the origin of those against which this creed was especially directed, as the creed itself plainly points them out) as we have rapidly alluded to, was by the summary creed, we think, must now be admitted.

There were no other means of enabling the multitude to reject false creeds, but by requiring their faith in true ones. The true method of the Church's warfare was creed against creed, when she felt her authority to put them forth without flinching. The shelter, too, afforded to the unlettered multitude of those stormy times, by this creed, must have been just what they needed; for even now the simple reader of the Bible never calls the creed of St. Athanasius in question. But in those periods when Christianity was on undefended ground, exposed on all sides, and every petty foe could strike to its wounding, the only safety to its simple follower could often be found in the decisive out-speaking, condemning declarations of an Athanasian creed. We have errors enough now; and if we have not the same old ones repeated over and over again, we owe it to the efforts of past defenders of the faith, who have fought the battle for us—taken possession of the enemy's bag and baggage, and left them without hope in the contest—for the Church gave, and they have defended our creeds.

That this creed (whenever actually published) embodied the true faith of the pure part of the Church, as held from the apostles' days, we entertain no doubt. On points so vital to Christianity, in assaulting which its foes never slept at their posts, we may surely trust that for the few generations who had lived and died since the last apostle put forth his divine version of these truths, some there were who could trace it back to that living voice. Moreover, neither Gibbon's sneers at the Nicene council, nor Dr. Jortin's coarse description (a mere fancy painting) of its component parts, can shake our conviction that the superintending providence of God was not wanting to his Church in this hour of its need, when employed in building a harbour of refuge for the thousands of weak vessels which were coasting in that stormy sea. We know that all mixed assemblies are made up of the wheat and the tares; yet are there always in such assemblies some master-mind, or minds, whose divine commission it is to lead on to an effectual statement and defence of opinions which form the common creed. It is the gift of but few to do fit justice in the seasons of turmoil, and in the presence of crafty foes, to deep truths, although the lives of all may have been framed upon them. When, however, the ruling mind puts forth the statement of these truths, all can find a response to it in their own convictions, though all could not so have given such bodily form to them. Thus it is seen in art, that many are exquisite judges of a beautiful painting, who are themselves

wanting in the easiest elements of the practical artist; and many can feel the beauty of the loftiest poetry, who cannot realise their own conceptions according to the metrical laws. And, in like manner, though this creed was probably drawn up by one or two master minds, yet the moral perceptions of the council would have rejected it, had it not represented their convictions.

When, too, the imaginary evils of retaining this creed in our Church's confessions of the faith are urged with all those painful arguments which the idiosyncracies of particular temperaments sincerely force upon them, we must not forget its past services and its present advantages. We think it almost certain—we are ourselves without one doubt upon the subject—that numbers of wilfully erring or careless readers of the New Testament have been rescued from the maelstroom of Socinian errors by the awful out-speaking language of this creed. They have been at once turned away from tampering with this heresy which flatters human reason by offering to make all faith bend low before it, by simple terror at the awful dangers set forth in it of false conclusions. It is still, too, the harbour of refuge to the unreasoning but confiding son of the Church. It happens to ourselves to recollect the case of a clergyman, of high human attainments, who suffered this heresy to creep out so palpably into his pulpit teachings, that one of the churchwardens (we believe) set before the bishop the teaching of the creed on one side, and of the pulpit of C—— parish on the other, and asked which was right. The clergyman subsequently gave up his benefice, and retired into a private station. If, then, this creed were removed, to meet the scruples of some with whose sincere convictions we deeply sympathise, we should feel as if one mighty pillar of the Church were taken down.

Moreover, it is our conviction, that the periodical publication of this creed, from the reading desk supersedes almost entirely the necessity of laboured attempts from the pulpit to prove its dogmata. Surely, a preacher must know but little of the capacity of congregations for comprehending subtle arguments, not to be thankful that the full faith of his flock relieves him from the thankless task of formally establishing the divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit. We should be sorry to have to deal with a faith in this sublime mystery which had been solely formed by what are *called* proofs (!). If the amount of a faith so formed was to be measured by the amount of the comprehension of the true force of the proof, it would be found utterly unequal to bear the burdens

imposed upon it by the orthodox teacher. Should a minister, then, be asked to quell certain doubts upon these mysteries, in individual cases, we would advise him to proceed thus:—State the authority of this creed: then read such portions of it as the case suggests; and, finally, read the usual quotations from the Scriptures. The doubt might then be left to its natural course. This would be a proper application of the philosophy of tradition, and of the Sixth Article; and why should this be *less* objectionable than quotations from Mr.——'s sermon, and Dr.——'s dissertations?

We have but one more remark to make. It is after a contemplation of the endless dangers and most subtle errors which Christianity, by divine permission, had to encounter in its earliest infancy—of the freedom of thinking and acting, which is allowed to all—of the permission given to his own people to experiment upon Christianity, to gratify the unsubdued cravings of intellectual pride, and to stand forth, as Bethshemeshites, to warn others that there are hallowed precincts, visibly defined, into which the reason may not enter without paying the penalty of judicial inflictions which shall make its movements uncertain as the wanderings of the blind idiot; it is after this contemplation that we have arrived at the conviction which we can no more deny than we can our own nature, of the reality of *a* Church of Christ to which the gracious promise belongs, that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" which illustrates—rather demonstrates—these maxims of the divine government, "men which are thy hand, O God;" "the wrath of man shall praise thee, and the remainder of it (when the next step would really hurt his Church) thou wilt restrain." It is, further, this contemplation that has led us to the conclusion, that, out of all the superabundance of evils which that state of human society inevitably (according to its own undisturbed laws) produced, a superintending Providence, which rides the tempest and the storm, brooding over this dark chaos of evils, brought forth, in their purity, those grand elements which, in their proper combination, shapen forth to the eye of sense *this* his Church—viz., the two sacraments of baptism, and the Lord's supper—the canon of Scripture (selecting it out of all those false histories to which St. Luke alludes)—the creeds of Christ's divinity and humanity, and of the Holy Spirit's divinity and personality—and the episcopal form of Church government, to counteract that most destructive of all elements in religion, the democratic principle, which deifies even the most beggarly specimens of human reason, setting it up in judgment both upon God and

man; the womb and the cradle of such human passions as pride, avarice, ambition, and the evils of Popery without its counterpoise: for granting, as of course we do in a world where evil and good are as inseparably connected as light and darkness, the temptations afforded by the episcopal principle to misrule; yet, between a choice of evil, it is surely better to take that which may corrupt the few, rather than that which must, ultimately, corrupt the whole mass; for, should the democratical principle of Church government be ever allowed to supersede, for our sins, the episcopalian principle (we are not dealing with prelacy), then would it require as palpable a series of miracles, to conduct the Church of Christ in such a state of oppression, humiliation, and degradation, through this waste howling wilderness to a Canaan of rest, as was required to defend the descendants of Abraham, in the real wilderness, against those physical evils whose precise tendency was to effect their utter destruction. But the episcopal form of Church rule is one of the earliest creeds of the Church.

We are unwilling to leave all this to mere assertion, though it is against our wishes to set down proofs. We mean, then, that men who come reeking from their shops and counting-houses to sit in judgment upon the qualities and creed of a minister, cannot be trusted. "Sin sticketh close to buying and selling; a false balance is an abomination to the Lord." The peremptory and all important questions from such inquisitors to a candidate—do you believe in justification by faith alone, without works?—that all our works are filthy rags?—are most suspicious; for certainly the recent discoveries of the "tricks of trade," which the new bankrupt laws have brought to light, make us tremble for the moral purity of such as are exposed to severe competition. We do not suppose that tradesmen—the professedly Christian tradesmen—are purer now than they were sixty years ago. And of professedly Christian tradesmen, the late Rev. R. Cecil, Minister of St. John's Chapel, somewhere has recorded his belief, that there were few into whose legers the eye of God could look without condemnation. Again he says:—"Among the great body of tradesmen, professing themselves religious, what do you see but a driving, impetuous pursuit of the world; and, in this pursuit, not seldom mean, low, suspicious, yea, immoral practices." * Again, he says, religion cannot tolerate what many tradesmen, professedly religious, require: "They would deceive themselves with certain commercial maxims, so far

* Cecil's Remains, by J. Pratt, Ed. 6, p. 220.

removed from simplicity and integrity, that I have been often shocked beyond measure at hearing them countenanced and adopted by some religious professors." These are the opinions of one who was endowed with that too rare ministerial gift—a thorough knowledge of human nature—whom the childish gauderies of life could not dazzle into a belief of falsehood—from whose searching eyes the costly painted sepulchre could not conceal the "dead men's bones" within. He comprehended these words:—"But Jesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man, for he knew what was in man."

We could point out a chapel in one of the most populous localities in England which, during the former ministry of one who mainly dealt in sublime generalities, was crowded by an admiring congregation of the wealthier commercial classes. His successor, an able and faithful man, saw the real defects of his flock, and occasionally preached to them from such texts as this:—"A false balance is an abomination to the Lord,"—illustrating his statements by some too homely examples. The consequence was, that much of the old congregation gradually melted away, and was succeeded by one of a different stamp. Had the democratical principle prevailed here, the order would have been reversed; that is, instead of the preacher shelving the congregation, the congregation would more summarily have shelved him. It cannot be that human nature should countenance its real opponent. It cannot be that men, who will not permit their own friends to reprove them for their *bosom sins*, should choose a minister who would dare to do it.

ART. III.—*Stubborn Facts from the Factories.* By A MANCHESTER OPERATIVE. Published and Dedicated to the Working Classes by W. RASHLEIGH, Esq., M.P. London: Ollivier. 1844.

"IN the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." Such was part of the sentence pronounced by the Almighty against man in the day when he fell from his allegiance. Though this sentence was modified and mitigated in the covenant which God made with Noah, yet it has continually received its fulfilment in the multiplied forms of suffering that accompany the toils of labour.

Servitude is the lot of all, and is as necessary to the well-being of the world as it is honourable in itself. It is justly due from

man to his Maker: it is an obligation upon each towards his brother, and has been dignified in its character by the blessed example of him who said, "I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister." To suppose a condition where it does not exist is to suppose an impossibility: it is the very key-stone of the social edifice upon which the whole structure rests: where it is rightly fitted, that structure is built up in order and beauty; where it is displaced it must become a mass of ruins.

We speak of servitude in its best sense: we speak of it as that subjection primarily ordained by God, and consisting with the law of mutual dependence, by which the whole creation is preserved: we speak of it as that, which every man, however high his station, is required to yield to one still higher than himself, and in rightly yielding which consist his safety and his peace. Rule and subjection are necessary elements in the constitution of society—their duties are reciprocal—mutual blessing is the true fruit of their proper exercise. No man can rule, however, who has not learned to be subject. The power and place of mastership, in one form or another, fall to all of us, though the sphere allotted to their exercise may be very limited; and it is, therefore, a wise and wholesome discipline, which submits us, each one, to the condition and experience of subjection, in order that we may be individually fitted for the rightful administration of the rule entrusted to us. There are, it is true, many forms of subjection, affecting the spiritual and intellectual, as well as the material; their ordained ends are, however, the same, and these are—that submission of the will to God which is essentially necessary to happiness—and that recognition of mutual rights, without which society cannot properly subsist. Any form of subjection in which these ends are not answered is a resistance or abuse of the ordinance of God, and becomes apostacy or slavery: the former constituted by yielding to another that allegiance which is due only to God; the latter resulting from the exercise of an oppressive tyranny on the part of those who have the power of rule.

To the condition of subjection God has attached a measure of suffering for the sanctification of man's relation both towards him and towards his brothers, as well as for the better understanding of the duties of rule; for the experience of that which constitutes the burthen is the surest way of teaching mercy to him who has to impose it.

The uses of suffering are manifest to every reflecting man. It is clear that what is in itself a judgment is also a fruitful source of blessing. It beautifies the thought, and softens the heart of him who endures it rightly, and strengthens the bond

which binds men together in mutual dependence. It sets a true value on all things, and despises nothing. It teaches us to extract the good from the evil, and even brightens the hope of immortality, which leads us on through all the gloom and vicissitude of human life to that glorious revelation of the kingdom for which we look. Who can tell what wondrous things are involved in the mystery of the dispensation yet to come?—who can tell what positions and what duties their ultimate development may disclose?—who can say, with how just an adaptation to its end the suffering of every man is fitted, that he may be prepared and qualified for that which shall devolve upon him hereafter? We have but little understanding of the purpose of God, if we confine it in operation to the sphere of this world: we have but little knowledge of our own capacities, if we limit the objects of their exercise within the narrow boundaries of the earth: we must be ignorant of the nature of the many germs of a future and glorious fruition, which have been implanted in our being, if we suppose that all the growth of which they are susceptible must be accomplished within the period of a life below. The purpose of God, the powers of man, the end of his being, are neither exhausted nor fulfilled within the compass of an earthly existence. They who think so will wake up hereafter with the surprize of wondering joy or bitter disappointment, accordingly as they have been faithful to the light, or have abused the gifts which they have received.

No one can look abroad upon the world without consenting in some degree to these remarks. The fruits of suffering, in forms of peaceful dignity, are everywhere visible. He who reaps in joy reaps of that which another has sown in tears, and the light of the morning is the more beautiful from the darkness of the night which has preceded it. He who is destined to bless the world enters it weeping, and the strength which is to be exercised for the good of others cannot be acquired till the place and uses of weakness have been fulfilled. Whatever is noble in conception or grand in idea is only generated in a soil which suffering in some form has prepared, and can only be carried into execution by painful processes. The greatest minds are those which are formed by affliction: the most wondrous works of the spirit and the intellect are those which have been fashioned in sorrow: and there is a deep lesson of wisdom to be learned, as well as a judgment, in the fact, that the noblest of all God's creatures is ushered into creation with a pang that increases love in the very ratio of its suffering.

The sentence of suffering, as inseparable from the condition of man, was alleviated in the covenant made with Noah; but

the alleviation was in the character and secondary source rather than in the fact of suffering itself. It is true that meat was thenceforth given to man for food—the ground was no more cursed for his sake. It was promised, that "whilst the earth remained, seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night should not cease;" but the period of human life was shortened—the burthen was transferred from the body to the spirit: man was no more to slay his brother without being amenable to the penalties which a retributive law should demand. Henceforth suffering was not so much a curse attaching to the labour of the soil as the necessary result of that social condition in which evil should be predominant—the proper consequence and punishment of the relations of life abused, neglected, or broken. The labour of the soil was most painful, but the suffering of the spirit is not less—nor is it diminished in amount; because it is now the fruit of man's wrong dealing with his brother, rather than an adjunct of the soil necessary to his existence.

The dispensation of Noah was typical of the Christian. The antitype of that great event, by which the condition of the material world was changed, is, as St. Peter tells us, the baptism by which the Church is separated from the world. The consequences, therefore, flowing from the one find their true and spiritual signification in the proper fruits of the other. The whole was a type, and its several parts contained the symbol of a reality. Thus, man was placed in a higher position than that which he had before occupied, and the character of his suffering was altered. In like manner, the Christian has an eminence in privilege and hope far above that which the heathen can attain; but the condition of suffering to which he is called, though it is not material, is not less real; and the fact that it is spiritual, whilst it refines its character, enhances its intensity—the children of Noah were gifted with flesh for food, and we have "a meat to eat which the world knows not of"—a flesh, be it spoken with reverence, which the heathen cannot touch—the word made flesh, in the participation of which, moreover, we learn that "man cannot live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Cain slew his brother and wandered forth an outcast on the earth; but it was said to Noah, henceforth, "whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Our Lord "came to his own, and his own received him not." The Jew, who was his brother after the flesh, slew him, as Cain slew Abel, and for a like cause; and he is a vagabond in the world; whilst, on the Christian, who shall "tread under foot the Son of God, and

count the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing," shall fall the heavier sentence, in the fulness of its *spiritual* sense, of blood for blood. The Jew has fallen over the corner-stone, and is *broken;* but the judgment of the apostate Christian shall be greater, for it "shall fall upon him and *grind him to powder.*"

But, though a measure of suffering attaches, by God's appointment, to every condition of subjection, it must not be forgotten that it is, in itself, an evil whose primary cause is sin; and that it only becomes a good when it is overruled of God as a means to our perfecting. Hence, whilst all, in the repugnance of the creature-instinct to an evil, will naturally shrink from the endurance of suffering, those to whom he vouchsafes the grace will accept it as a good in the intelligent understanding of its ordained end. This does not alter the fact, however, that without sin there would be no suffering; and that, in proportion as men forget their duty to God and to each other, it must be increased in amount and intensity. Whilst, therefore, it is wise to recognize the mercy which overrules suffering for our god, it is perfectly just to charge upon man the crimes which give illegitimate forms and enhanced poignancy to its infliction.

The history of the world is, unhappily, and in the main, a record of privileges abused and duties forgotten. It is not, therefore, wonderful that the several relations of society should have become, by turns, the sources and the subjects of tyrannical power. Thus, there is ever to be found some prevalent system of policy or selfishness which renders servitude and suffering almost synonymous terms. The privileges of rule, and the duties of subjection, are exaggerated, till the one becomes oppression, and the other bondage; and if, by any mighty outbreak of a spirit crushed beyond endurance, the power of mastery should change hands, the tyranny may be altered in the form of its infliction, and the manner of its endurance; but it too often continues to exist, and is not the less an evil, that the oppressed becomes, in his turn, the oppressor. It may be thought that civilization has ameliorated the condition of society; that it has increased the intelligence of mankind as to the relative positions and duties of the several classes to such an extent that the abuses of power, and the sufferings of servitude can hardly be said to exist, save as exceptions to a general rule. This may have, doubtless, a great semblance of proof in the statistics that are commonly adduced; but there are regions where these statistics will not apply—things which cannot be measured by such an arithmetic; and if these be fairly considered, and duly estimated, the amount of human happi-

ness, the freedom from suffering will not, we think, be found commensurate with the progress of what is called civilization—whether it ought to be so or not is another question. It is true that individual tyrannies cannot exist in high places with impunity as of old; for a new tribunal has been erected in the world—that of public opinion—before which the doings of every man who holds a responsible position are dragged, and whose censures are more dreaded by many than the penalties of the law; but this tribunal has less power over systems than individuals, because in them responsibility can be fixed upon no one person in particular; and the evil and suffering of the day are mostly the results of systems, of which men are the slaves, and wherein those who are the agents in the work of suffering find at once the weapons, and the excuse for its infliction.

There is a materialism in the reasonings and actings of the present day which bodes no good to that which is high and noble in the constitution of man. Political economy has no place for poetry—and the statistical realities of utilitarianism no fellowship with the eagle flights and bright-day dreamings of the imagination; yet, the poetical and the imaginative are nearly allied to that which is highest in humanity, and are akin to the perceptive faculties by which we look through the present to a glorious future. If it were possible, all that region in the being of man, wherein the existence of an immortal spirit is most testified, and its powers most developed, would soon be closed from cognizance, and the fact of its indwelling be treated as an old romance. As it is, the locks and bars of practical and physical science are applied to shut up this region as an useless waste: and were it not sometimes for the powerful outbreak of that mighty and imprisoned spirit, with its train of beautiful attributes, as touching and brightening the world with its presence, men would become utterly faithless as to an existence not demonstrated to them by mathematical processes. The realities of steam, the arithmetic by which we try to measure all that comes within the compass of humanity, even to the exact amount and working of its passions—even to the very forms in which its affections are developed; the hated dietary of the Poor-law—the weighing of ounces, and pitiful allowances of a miserable food, that the exact point may be attained whereby the guilt of starvation can be avoided; the dealing with poverty as a crime; the craving desire of the manufacturer to hide the fair light of heaven with the smoke of his engine, and cover the green earth with his factories; the deep hypocrisy of the system which conceals its insatiate thirst for gain, under

the specious plea of humanity to the labourer—what are all these but the signs of an age wherein the better things of man's heart and mind are fast yielding before the combination of materialism and selfishness?

It matters not that this materialism is veiled under specious forms, or that selfishness goes under soft names. They are the sins of the day, and the intellectualism of the systems in which they are hidden, whilst it gives increased strength to their existence, makes it difficult to the unsuspecting to detect their presence. It is said by many that the age is essentially religious. The assertion may be true in some respects: in others it is more than questionable. For so much of religion as belongs to the region of faith, the age is not religious; for so much of it as may be comprised in the outward decencies of morality, or the profession of ethical philosophy, it is religious. It is a fact, that, whilst Christianity is extensively professed, its highest and most distinctive verities are extensively denied; and this, not from the indifference to things divine which characterizes so many who are content with the respectability of a name, without caring to search into the deeper realities which it should express, but from an intellectualism which refuses to admit any doctrine wherein a mystery is contained. So much of Christianity is accepted as can be put into the form of philosophical propositions; but that, for which faith is demanded—for whose apprehension the capacities of the spirit, and not the powers of the intellect, are required—is rejected: hence, the age is characterized by a profession which has the name but not the vitality of religion; and men congratulate each other, and laudatory encomiums, both by word and book, are passed upon a condition of society which (if the Scriptures be not a fable) contains the elements of a fierce antagonism to the very thing for which it is praised. The spirit that is at work is as far removed from the coarseness of open infidelity on the one hand as it is from the visionary dreaming which only calls for our compassion on the other. Its attributes are acuteness of observation, a quickness in perceiving the existence of evil, a veneration for the beautiful so far as it consists in social harmonies, and a benevolence which is rather a sentiment than a principle; faith, however, as the instinct of spiritual life, is denied a place: hence, that part of our being to which God speaks in the revelation of his will comes not within cognizance; and the truths which can only there be received and apprehended, are, as a natural consequence, considered as fables. Some of our readers may deem that what we write is an exaggeration. If they limit their view to that which is

passing in this land only, no doubt a great abatement must be made from what has been stated; but if they will look abroad—if they will look at the reasoning classes of the continent—at the fermenting masses which, by their restless and convulsive movements, give evidence to the power of that leaven which is at work within—they will admit that the statement is not beyond the truth. In every civilized land a school is forming pregnant with principles whose ultimate development will be of fearful consequence, either for weal or woe. One peculiarity of those who belong to this school is an endeavour to stretch the capacity of youth to the handling of such things as belong to the wisdom of age—to do violence to the order of our being by bringing together the enthusiasm of the young man, and the experience of the old, without passing through those painful processes of middle life which extract the error from the one, and render the other available. The very pastimes of the age are altered—the toys of the child are intellectual—the results of the life-long labour and toilsome thought of those who have gone before us are put into the forms of pleasant recreation. No one can walk abroad in the world without continually meeting some ardent and beardless lad, attractive from the very intelligence he displays, who talks of social destinies as fluently as we used, at his age, to speak of shooting or of fishing; and who deals with the propositions of science, transcendental and practical, as matters long since settled in his mind. Now we, who are at the shady side of—(what we will not say), first smile with wonder, and then sigh with sadness—not because we cannot stop this precocity of thought—it is too mighty for that; it is part of the onward spirit of the day which no man can thrust back upon the place from which it issued; but because we wonder whether the future condition, of which this is the youth, will be an age of good or evil. There is more reason to dread the evil than hope the good, in proportion as faith is abstracted from the young mind of the civilized world. Youth, without faith, is an unnatural condition; and wherever it is found it augurs no good for the days to come. This we know to be one characteristic of that movement which has seized the intellectualism of religion, but has discarded its spirituality. Therefore, insomuch as belongs to the region of faith, we do not believe the age to be religious. On the other hand, it is impossible to deny that the tone of moral feeling in society is greatly, and, in its outward expression, improved. Hard drinking amongst the better classes is, happily, now esteemed a vulgarity; the relations of social life are not broken through with that shameless wantonness of which we have so many

records in the history of the two last centuries; neither do men now deem it a solecism in good breeding to talk before others of things solemn and instructive. Much there is, moreover, of Christian conduct in private families—of Christian benevolence—of zeal and devotedness on the part of pastors, and attachment on the part of their people. All this presents itself in the first glance at the surface of things as they are; but a closer scrutiny discovers an under-current of misery and suffering so broad, so deep, so continuous in its sad and sullen course, as forces the conviction upon us that, religious as the age may be in its character, some one more powerful element of evil is suffered to remain concealed, to whose baneful influence this wretchedness must owe its source. It needs not many words in the naming—it is *selfishness*—a selfishness which has become a part and parcel of the systems by which the classes of society are influenced—a selfishness which is the crying sin of the day—which is totally antagonistic to the spirit of the Christian religion. It does not matter what the amount of profession may be; for, in whatever measure this fearful but subtle vice is suffered to exist, in the same degree is that profession rendered a hypocritical assumption.

It would be a melancholy and instructive task to write a history of selfishness—of the many phases it has assumed—of the many forms in which it has found expression. It would require skill to detect it under the many names it has taken; whilst to follow it throughout its devious course would lead us into many a scene of private wrong as well as public tyranny. One trace of its presence is unfailing, and that is, suffering; and when the suffering is of whole classes, the selfishness must be inwoven in the systems to which they are subject.

Now, we would not charge this sin upon any individuals as distinct from their fellows; but we do say that the frightful amount of suffering amongst the labouring classes, in all parts of Christendom at this present time, must have its source somewhere; and if, coexistent with that very misery, we find enormous wealth and luxurious enjoyment, a case is made out, where, by a sacrifice on the one part, much alleviation of an evil might be effected on the other. If it be not made, or if to make it is the exception and not the rule, men may say what they will; but so far as the wealthier classes *can* give a character to the age in which they live, the character of selfishness *is given*.

It is very well for statesmen to expound the financial causes of this misery—to endeavour to medicate the gaping wounds of suffering poverty by fiscal regulations and a liberal tariff. It is their place and duty to do this, and all honour be to them when

they do it honestly. But there is an element with which they cannot deal—a region into which they cannot enter—the sympathy of man with man. They have to address the legislative judgment and not the conscience of those who hear them. They are, moreover, impeded by difficulties thrown in their way by conflicting interests—cannot forget their caste—and can only work within the limits of a system wherein *money*, and not *men*, is represented. If those whose wealth is won by the sweat of the poor man's brow have not within their own breasts other sympathies than such as can be roused by a premier's exposition of the gravity of the case, the poor man must work on and suffer without the hope of relief. Political experiments and changes seldom benefit him; he is the first exponent of the nature of their working, if they work not well—the last to benefit if they are successful.

Two things are evident in this land—there is enormous wealth and there is also frightful poverty. These stand at the two extremes of the social order, and are gradually absorbing within themselves the classes that are nearest to them; so that easy competence and well paid labour—two sure characteristics of national well-being—are ceasing to maintain distinct places in society; they merge on the one hand into disproportionate riches, and on the other into miserable toil. Out of this a condition of things is arising, the end of which it is difficult to foretell. The sympathies that unite the rich and the poor together, where they are bound by the ties of mutual dependence, are daily passing away in proportion as these ties are loosened. Between these two extremes in society such a gulph has appeared as makes communication difficult. They have almost ceased to be two *classes*, wherein much that is common to both is recognized: they have rather assumed the character of two *worlds*, in each of which the interests, the thoughts, and feelings are foreign to those that exist in the other. Such a social condition in a nation is generally the prelude to its decline or to civil commotion. Wealth, to be beneficial to any country, should be in active circulation; and it is much more likely to be actively circulated, when it exists in the form of easy competence, possessed by many, than when it is agglomerated in the hands of a few. In the former case, the demand upon labour is more constant and wholesome; whilst the rank of those who make the demand is not so far removed from that of the labourer as to render them ignorant of his state, or indifferent to his wants. In the latter, a despotism is created, which, in the absorbing selfishness of its exercise, seeks its own gratification rather than the good of others. It is true that, in ministering to the wants of luxury,

many are employed; and thus, as colossal fortunes create necessities proportionate to their extent, they may be thought to be beneficial to society in the multiform demands which are consequently made upon labour: but these colossal fortunes, were they more equally divided, would be infinitely more productive of good; for they would be dispensed in providing for the every day wants which are amongst the substantial elements of life, instead of being spent in meeting the fancies of a capricious or elegant taste. The demand for labour, when it comes from the necessities of many, is more sure than when it depends on the will of one; and the equivalent reaches the workman through more certain and wholesome channels.

Now, the struggle of the day is not for competence, but for wealth: there are hundreds of thousands who struggle for bare life, but these, as must be evident, have little to do in the competition for wealth, save as they are the bases on which the competitors fix their feet. The systems that prevail do not suffer men to stop at competence, but lead them on to exorbitant riches or absolute ruin. These systems, whilst they offer many facilities for the attainment of the end, impose, as the means to it, a condition of ill paid labour on the working classes; and this for the very reason that the prize that is aimed at is *wealth* and not *competence*. A competence is won by moderate profits, and moderate profits mostly admit of fair wages to the workman: but large fortunes are generally made by reducing the price of labour to its lowest amount. Thus, in proportion as colossal fortunes continue to be made, frightful poverty will be created; and it is not therefore surprizing that, in this country, where such fortunes are daily attained, such poverty should be found to exist.

Our forefathers and their labourers were happier than we and those under us are at the present day. The kindly relations of life were better understood and practised—the distinctions of rank were on more legitimate bases. The poor were reverent without servility—the rich could condescend without insult. The landlord lived amongst his tenantry, and knew the condition of the lowest; whilst the manufacturer was content with such moderate gain as left his workmen a fair remuneration. To whatever causes the social change which has taken place may be attributed, it has been accompanied in its several stages by many evils, amongst which not the least is the habit which the middle and better classes have acquired of living beyond their means, in a foolish endeavour to pass muster with those immediately above them. Nor have the lower classes suffered less in proportion; they have experienced in their diminishe

wages the depreciation of land—or, where they have changed the sphere of their labour, have only increased the difficulties of their position. The working poor are properly attached to the soil, and must be the exponents, in their actual condition, of the value put upon it. Any system that separates them from their dependence upon it is not beneficial to them as a whole. When they are subject to a plutocracy, which, though it uses them, stands apart in sympathy from them, and throws them aside as soon as they have served its purpose, they are far worse off than when they are under an aristocracy, whose possessions are in land; for they have then an hereditary claim to maintenance out of the soil which they cultivate. If then, a discount be put upon land; if its just claims to value be disregarded; if it be removed out of its proper place in the constitution of a nation's property; if contempt be put upon the aristocracy with which it is allied, and undue honour be given to a class which has few associations that can bind those who compose it to their fellows—the poor labourer must be the sufferer: wealth will still continue to be made out of his toil as long as he can work; but the equivalent for the labour of his manhood, and the prospect of maintenance in the helplessness of his age, will be wanting.

"The *love* of money (says the apostle) is the root of all evil." The worship of the day is an idolatry, and the idol is mammon. It is the craving desire after riches which is everywhere forcing men out of their true positions, and creating those illusions of national prosperity that are so splendid in their seeming—so fictitious in their real nature—and that will be so lamentable in the consequences of their dissipation. In the meanwhile, social revolutions, involving much suffering, must take place ere the true character of these illusions is detected; and there are those who care not what convulsions they originate, provided they secure a selfish end. Of this the doings and the sayings of the Anti-Corn-Law League are a sufficient proof. A more dishonest confederation was never formed. The hypocrisy of its plea, "a cheap loaf for the poor," is only equalled by the hardihood of its assertion. It is a confederation based upon pure unmitigated selfishness, and the well-being of the labourer is the very last thing which it really contemplates. Notwithstanding this, it will probably achieve the object which it has in view—the destruction of the interests to which it is opposed.

The world should really require something more convincing than the visions of steam felicities in which Messrs. Bright and Cobden delight before it accepts the doctrine, that increased

facilities in making fortunes, conceded to an interested class, is the surest means to national prosperity: but whether it will do this or not is another matter. The probability is that, in the madness of the age, the agitation which a quarter of a million can command will prevail against the reasonings of sound sense. The probability is, that the fierce onset of a body of men, already too disproportionately wealthy for the happiness of those dependent upon them, will succeed. Hiding their selfishness—which is truly their motive cause to action—under the specious form of a desire for the public good, they will enlist all under their banners who only need a respectable excuse to attack whatever is ancient or venerable in the land. They will corrupt some whom they cannot convince: they will avail themselves of the force of the current that now sets in against all time-honoured institutions to destroy those which stand in their way. The courtesy of Parliamentary debate, which does not recognise the existence of interested or personal motives in the advocacy of a public measure, will blind many to the real elements which make up the question. By the aid of some who are honest, and more who are not, they will probably obtain the end they have in view. We are much mistaken, however, if those who *honestly* advocate their cause do not ultimately discover that, in helping one class to create a monster monopoly, whereby they may be able to undersell the whole world, they have only increased the suffering of another, by whose ill-paid labour that monopoly must be sustained.

In writing upon so important a subject as the suffering of the labouring poor, we do not desire to shut our eyes to the share of blame which justly falls upon the landed aristocracy. A labourer, with a large family, living upon the wages of seven or eight shillings a week (when he can get work) on the estate of a man who has twice as many thousand pounds a year, is a frightful fact; and there are many such frightful facts in the land. If the extravagance of the landlord compel him to demand such high rents from his tenants as will allow of no fair remuneration to the labourer, then his habit of extravagance becomes a curse to those around him, as well as to himself. In such a case, he justly deserves the heaviest judgment which society can pass upon his conduct. If, however, the condition of the labourer be the consequence of a financial mal-administration, affecting the whole agricultural interest, the legislature should look to it. Above all, it should be careful not to enact any measure which may affect the interests of the rural labourers without grave deliberation; for they form a class which has been already depressed to the very extent of passive endurance.

It is notorious, that the estates of the aristocracy are mostly heavily encumbered, and that their present possessors, though receiving a large nominal income, really have little of which they can righteously avail themselves. In such cases the sin is, perhaps, the sin of many generations; but the duty of the present proprietor is to circumscribe his wants and expenditure till he has relieved his estate, and, by every sacrifice which he can possibly make, atone for the wrong done to the labourer —for wrong there always will be, where the extravagance of the landlord demands for its gratification the greatest possible amount of toil at the least possible remuneration. Yet it must not be forgotten, that one of those very terms upon which the land is acquired is the maintenance of those who cultivate it; and amongst the items of a nobleman's expenditure is the sustenance, not only of his own numerous dependants, but, in part also, of the labourers, whom the ties of birth and settlement attach to the land he owns.

The struggle that is taking place between the agricultural and manufacturing interests is really one of selfishness. The landlord and the manufacturer both appeal to the condition of the labouring man, and their desire to ameliorate it, as arguments in favour of their cause, and proofs of its righteousness. The bitter mockery of this is manifest to the observant, and is deeply felt by the labourers themselves, as the rural meetings in Wiltshire and at Newbury, and every weavers' meeting in Lancashire, will show. Were the sufferings of the labouring man truly felt, the landlord would curtail his expenditure and limit his luxuries; and the manufacturers would be content with a less profit; but as long as the one exceeds his means in order to maintain the style of his rank, and the other continues to extract immense fortunes out of the misery he weeps over, their professions of sympathy will be received with the scorn they merit. The wounds of suffering humanity are not to be healed with empty words, whilst they are only aggravated by the nice description of suffering which he is able to give who has caused them. There are, doubtless, many noble exceptions on either side—honest and honourable men, who would gladly avail themselves of any plan by which they might disengage themselves from the system that surrounds them, and minister effectually to the wants of those beneath them.

The charge of hypocrisy, however, lies more heavily at the door of the manufacturers, who, in their unrighteous agitation, fail not most loudly to claim for themselves an exclusive sympathy in the sufferings of the poor, and who, as every Parliamentary report on the subject will show, have been most

instrumental in creating them. They seek, they say, the alleviation of labouring poverty; yet they strenuously oppose any measure not immediately benefitting themselves, which has for its object the relief of those under them. We remember an instance of a member of Parliament, (and he was a quaker) who wept at his own description of the sufferings of the African slave; but immediately and strenuously opposed the bringing in of a bill for the relief of factory children, of whom he had many in his employ. More recently, another, of the same persuasion too, and a member of the League, has offered the like opposition to a similar bill, on the ground that the concessions required would come with a better grace if resulting from the voluntary act of the master. This is nothing better than contemptuous mockery, and this gentleman must know it to be such. If the country had waited for so much of concession as he and his brother manufacturers had voluntarily granted, the condition of the factory workpeople would have been much worse than it is. The proof of this is to be found in all the reports on the subject which have been published. These show, that so long as the legislature was silent, no voluntary amelioration of the hardships of labour took place on the part of the master: they, moreover, testify to the exceeding difficulty of compelling the observance of such as the government has enacted. Yet this same gentleman is loud in his declamation against the cruel oppressions and hard-hearted dealings of the landlord with his labourer! Another influential member of *the League* is eloquent in his condemnation of monopoly, and in his exposition of its evils. Mr. Ferrand is reported to have said, in one of his speeches, that he was a member of a committee of the House of Commons, before which, and in the presence of this very person, it was testified that there was but *one* house in Chorley which did not use the truck system—one of the most iniquitous and oppressive that can exist—and that this *one* was *not the printing works* owned by the individual in question. He added, moreover, that the statement was not denied at the time it was made. Is this true, or is it not? If it be—what are the declaimings of such a man worth? What are all his professions of regard for the real interests of the poor but a bitter mockery?

All the statistical information which we possess convinces us that the manufacturing system creates misery and suffering wherever it obtains; and if it be not deep selfishness which would delude the world, it must be hopeless madness which would cheat itself with the idea that a nation's happiness is to be measured according to the extent of its manufactured products. In the present condition of society, it is an evil that must

be tolerated—it is rendered less oppressive when the amount of manufactures bears a relative proportion to the wants of a people, and is regulated with due regard to other interests. Where this is not the case, over production is the consequence; and this is a monster, which, once engendered, knows no limit to its insatiable appetite: it absorbs all other interests, and owes its very existence to the speed with which it hastens onward. One check in its mad race for life, and ruin and misery fall upon all who have ever come under its influence.

The manufacturer, in general, has as little regard for his workmen as for his machinery; less, indeed; for a broken machinery costs him somewhat to repair, whilst an enfeebled workman is cast off without compunction, and replaced without expense or difficulty. It is impossible but that the wholesale dealing with human life, which the system necessitates, must harden the heart.* Fortunes can only be rapidly made by the equally rapid consumption of health and strength on the part of the labourer; and it would be a startling calculation to ascertain what amount of human suffering, what wear and tear of human flesh and blood, thews and sinews, it takes in the acquisition of a fortune of half a million? The data are positive, the process simple, and the result sure. Yet the system that can only attain the ends it proposes at such sacrifices is lauded by the agents and advocates of the League as the *beau ideal* of national prosperity and happiness.

There are certain "*friends*" belonging to this League, who have a horror of war. They cannot conscientiously pay a tax which may contribute to its maintenance; a soldier is to them a minister of demoniacal passions; they are active in the formation of peace associations, and blandly eloquent in their advocacy of quietism and tranquility. But, oh the deep delusions to which the human heart is liable!—none worship mammon with more devotion than these very men; and this idol is a demon, whose victims are as numerous as those who lie in the path of war. These "friends" lay their heads quietly on the pillows of down; they live in soft ease amidst the many comforts that they have won under a system which creates nearly as much suffering and as great a waste of life, though by more painful processes, than are occasioned by the horrors of warfare;

* Mr. Trimmer, a factory inspector, says, "I have taken some pains in collecting, for the last three years (1837, 1838, and 1839), from the books of the Stockport Infirmary, the number of factory accidents; they are 340, out of which 36 were owing to their being caught whilst cleaning the machinery, the machinery being in motion at the time. Of these 340 cases, I only know of two in which the manufacturers have made any compensation or reparation to the injured party."

and not a thought of the means by which these have been attained troubles their repose. "Respected Friend Chadwick" is counselled to sell the children of the agricultural labourer, without compunction, to the manufacturer, and tempted with a promise of taking so many idiots into the bargain. The little one, who has spent the earliest of his days in looking out on the blue heavens, and rolling on the green sward, is to see them no more, save through the medium of an engine's smoke; and not a single regret passes through the mind of him who would thus compel them to exchange the healthful occupations of rural life for the misery and depressing influences of factory labour. We do not accuse these men of other inhumanity than their system engenders; but we ask them to be consequent—we ask them to be honest and consistent—we ask them to bestow somewhat of those powers, which they spend in declaiming against the sins of others, in the dissection and remedy of the evil which they help to create—we ask them to employ somewhat of the sympathy, which they waste on the far-off victims of other systems, in the ameliorating of those sufferings which the acquisition of their large wealth, and its adjunct of ill-paid labour, have inflicted.

The "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain," made in 1842, will bear us out in what we have written concerning the suffering—the wear and tear of human life, which are the fruits of the manufacturing system. So far does it do this, that it shows disease to be much more prevalent in the periods of full employment than in periods of manufacturing distress; cites, as one fearful item in the suffering of the manufacturing population, the great amount of widowhood and orphanage occasioned by the premature death of the labourer; and, without at all intending to write aught against the system itself, gives it the severest blow it could receive in the publication of a table which we here subjoin:—

A Table of the Average Age at which Death occurs in Rural and Manufacturing Districts.

Places.	Gentry.	Tradesmen.	Labourers.
Rutlandshire	52	41	38
Truro	40	33	28
Derby	49	38	21
Manchester	38	20	17
Bolton	34	23	18
Bethnal-green	45	26	16
Leeds	44	27	19
Liverpool	35	22	15
	337	230	172

Taking the average of the towns in which the factory system most obtains, it will be found that the mean is 39 for the gentleman and 17 for the labourer. The difference between the manufacturing master and his labourer is, therefore, 22. The difference between the gentleman of the rural district and his labourer is 14. Again, the difference between the gentleman of the rural and the gentleman of the manufacturing district is 13, whilst the difference between their respective labourers is 21 in favour of the rustic. Though, therefore, the master suffers somewhat as well as his workman from the effects of a system, of which both are the slaves, the disproportion between them, as shown by the above table, proves that it is by no means in an equal degree; whilst the difference between the gentleman of Rutlandshire and the gentleman of Manchester, in showing a greater approximation in privilege, proves, in the difference between their respective workmen, a much larger amount of suffering on the part of the factory labourer.

In the same report are many fearful statements, contributed by Dr. Arnott, Dr. Duncan, Dr. Baron Howard, and others, which, though they do not prove aught against the factory system, save what must of necessity result from its agglomeration of multitudes in confined locations, yet, in this respect, throw a side light on another feature of manufacturing misery. Dr. Baron Howard states the following fact, which carries with it its own comment:—"The expense of cleansing the town of Manchester is 5,000*l.* per annum: for this sum, the first class of streets, viz., the most opulent and the largest thoroughfares, are cleansed once a-week; the second class, once a-fortnight; and the third, once a-month." But this provision leaves untouched, or leaves in the condition described in the doctor's report, the courts, alleys, and places where the poorest classes live, and where the cleansing should be daily. The description of a district called "Little Ireland," to the truth of which we can testify, is a frightful picture of misery and vice. There is no excuse for this. The gentlemen who can subscribe, at one sitting, upwards of 60,000*l.* for an object of selfish interest, cannot plead poverty; and, if they cannot, an element of a more criminal character enters into their neglect. If a radical corporation hinder the cleansing as a *municipal act*, a small proportion of the thousands they can so readily contribute would not be unworthily spent in promoting the health and comfort of those whom they, in their search after wealth, fix in such locations.*

* We recommend to our readers the perusal of a pamphlet written by Dr. Kay, at that time resident in Manchester. It was published *before* he was ap-

We might adduce further proof in illustration of our remarks from the various reports of the factory commissioners which have been published; but were we to carry this proof to its furthest extent, we should require more space than we have a right to ask in an article of this kind. We might also instance many facts which are within our own knowledge; but our object is not personal crimination, but the examination of the proposition, "that an extension of the manufacturing system must produce an increase of national prosperity and happiness:" we would rather avoid, as far as we can, specifying individual instances of oppression and wrong, though these might be legitimately adduced as fruits of the system; we would prefer to deal with such generals as lie upon the surface.

These reports show the extent of disease which manufacturing labours engender—one or two instances must suffice.

Mr. Berry, in his examination before a committee of the House of Commons, testified that children from nine to fifteen years of age generally worked at the lace mills under his superintendence twenty hours a day! Being asked "What effect have you observed this to produce upon the health of the younger children?" his answer was "Decidedly injurious: their very countenance speaks it"—no wonder!

In the report of Mr. Power, 1833, dated Nottingham, the evidence of a surgeon in that town is given: he was resident in a parish, containing 40,000 inhabitants: "he was, from the nature of his situation, particularly conversant with the diseases of the poor people of Nottingham, and had remarked the effect of the lace dressing shops on the young women." Amongst the effects he specifies these, as may be seen on reference to the report, which are the certain bases of life-long suffering and disease in the female sex. It is further testified, that amongst the evils attendant on lace making are, "short sightedness, weakness in the eyes, consumptive tendencies, the distortion of the limbs, and general debility."

Mr. Saunders, a factory inspector, stated that the mills about Nottingham (lace mills) work twenty hours a day—from four in the morning to twelve at night. About Chesterfield, twenty-four hours—all day and night. Children from ten to fifteen are employed. In most of these mills the children are detained at night. "In some of them they are detained all night, in order to be ready when wanted." When asked, "Where are those children during the time they are detained in the mills?"

---

pointed an assistant Poor Law Commissioner. He states that the working classes in the cotton factories in that town were then living in a condition bordering on "savage life."

he answered, "When detained at night, and not employed, I am told that they are lying about on the floor." These questions and answers follow in his examination:—

"Must there not be a considerable wear and tear upon the physical constitution of children who are kept in this state? I think there must be; I think it is self-evident.

Is there any possibility of their obtaining education under those circumstances? None whatever, except on Sundays.

He also said that the smaller children came to the mill at five or six o'clock in the morning, and remained till 10 or 11 at night.

A cotton spinner is considered as nearly past his labour at forty-five. The imbibing into the lungs of the particles of cotton that are continually flying off from the material in use, the heated rooms, and the sudden transitions of an ill-clad class from the heat of the factories to the cold and damp air of the streets, are fruitful causes of disease. The evidence of Henry Dunn on this subject may be taken as a fair specimen of that which could be given by too many.

"How long have you been a spinner? I have been a spinner about nineteen years.

What age are you? I am nearly thirty-eight.

Do you feel it for the employment of spinning at present? No, I do not.

Do you feel that your health has been affected by the business? I am on the borders of consumption. It is quite asthmatic.

Do you attribute this to your employment? Distinctly; to the heats and colds, the overheated atmosphere and flues of the wool, and the long confinement.

John Lawton was examined respecting the effects of *twelve* hours' labour on children. He was an operative spinner, and amongst other things, thus testified:—

Do you think eight hours sleep too much for children of thirteen years, who have worked twelve hours a day? I do not.

"How long do the piecers sit down during the twelve hours they are at work? When they sit down they have to steal; they are not allowed any sitting.

"What are they doing, standing or walking? Standing and walking; sometimes they are so fatigued the latter part of the day, they will sit down between the stretchers."

Being asked if it was possible for a child in this state of exhaustion to devote any energy of mind to the acquisition of knowledge, he answered, "Very little;" and described the difficulty of keeping the attention of the children alive to their books on the Sunday in the school: he said, moreover, that to a child working *twelve* hours a day only one hour remained for recreation. Then follows, in his evidence, a picture of do-

mestic misery, so quiet in its tone, so unmurmuring, and yet so deeply expressive of suffering, both to parent and child, that no man can read it without sad feeling. It is worth whole volumes of declamation, and is, in itself, a sufficient answer to the selfish eulogies by which the Leaguers advocate the system that brings them wealth :—

"I think (said he) when children have to rise up, we will say at *five*, or a quarter before, or at half-past *four*, and have to work till *seven*, and it will be nearly *eight* before they get home at night (I have felt as a parent for my own children); when they have been absolutely asleep I have had to drag them almost out of bed and dress them..... Still, I think it is too early, on a cold winter's morning, to be out at half-past five."

Yet this is the scene that is passing every day in thousands of families. It is true that a Mr. Fox, a surgeon and magistrate of Derby, was of a very different opinion. He did not think *ten* hours labour too much for a child after *nine* years of age; he was sure it was not: he had examined children as to their feelings, and they almost invariably said that it did not fatigue them, and they did not look fatigued: he had put the question to children of *seven* (!) if they were tired at the end of the day. In one or two instances, not more, the answer was, "*Yes.*" At the age of eight, this answer was rarely returned. It was his decided opinion that a child aged *nine*, after *ten* hours labour, was capable of attending an evening school once or twice a week, for an hour or an hour and a half. He thought eight hours sleep for such children too much: he thought *two* hours for meals "*enormous;*" he considered *ten* minutes time enough for a child to eat a substantial meal in, and that it was perfectly wholesome for the child to "play and jump about" immediately afterwards; though, "if consulted as to the children of the higher classes, he should allow half an hour for eating, and half an hour afterwards for rest." He mentioned, as "a curious fact," that there was a class of boys employed in the manufacture of the sewing silks where they have to run *fifteen* or *twenty* miles a day. This elicited a few inconvenient questions, to which he replied, that these children, generally between *ten* and *fourteen*, were mostly less tired than other children; and that a child of *ten*, who had run *twenty* miles a day, could not possibly require more than eight hours out of the twenty-four for rest and sleep. We leave our readers to judge between the father and the surgeon, who is also a magistrate.

These reports also bear ample testimony to the *animus* which pervades too many of the master-manufacturers, where their workmen are concerned—the manner in which they contrive to

evade the law, and the partiality with which that law is administered when the delinquent and the judge are both manufacturers. For instance, Mr. Horner reports a case in which upwards of two hundred children were brought before him, all of whom had received surgical certificates as to their being upwards of *thirteen* years of age; he stated that he had them examined by a surgeon (not the one, in course, who had given the certificates), who asserted that the greater portion of them were under *thirteen*, and most of them not more than *eleven*. These were all working *twelve* hours a day.

Again: in a very gross case, where the amount of penalty, upon conviction, ought to have been 160*l.*, 17*l.* was the amount inflicted.

In six years, one thousand five hundred and fifty penalties were inflicted; one thousand and thirty-three were of *twenty* shillings and under; two hundred and fifty-six from a guinea to *forty* shillings inclusive; one hundred and eighty-seven from two guineas to *five* pounds inclusive. In this calculation, seventy-four cases are not specified. In the cases of the *twenty* shilling penalty, it ought to have been much greater; but the known partiality of the deciding magistrates to their *caste* and system was so far trusted in, that the advantage gained by the infraction of the law was considered to be much greater than the loss sustained by the penalty. This became amongst the masters an object of such contempt that it was styled in derision, "The *sovereign* remedy."

The system of putting the clocks forward in the morning, and backward at night, by which the workpeople were either cheated out of their labour, or fined for late attendance, together with the iniquitous system of the "bating book," find ample proof in these reports: and, though doubtless there are many upright men in the manufacturing district, who would scorn such sources of profit, yet the reports themselves, and our knowledge—at least of the "bating book"—are in sad evidence that men who pass for respectable are not above their use. We quote the following from the little work whose title stands at the head of this article:—

"It often happens, that when the weaver goes to work in the morning, he finds the clock fifteen minutes forwarder than when he left in the evening. The hands on the factory clock do not always move from the *internal wheels*, but very frequently from a little external aid: this always takes place after the hands have left the mill in the evening. To prepare for this application of *foreign* aid, the clock is put backward through the day. The reader will best understand why this is done when we inform him that *thirty* or *forty* people may

be frequently seen at the lodge-door looked out in the morning, while the porter, with the fine-book, has been through the rooms of the mills taking down the numbers of the looms of those who are absent. On one occasion, we counted *ninety-five* persons that were thus locked out at half-past *five o'clock in the morning*. The way in which this method of *genteel robbery* was accomplished was by putting the clock half an hour forward—that is, it was fifteen minutes later than the public clocks of the town on the evening, and fifteen minutes forwarder in the morning. These ninety-five persons were fined threepence each.

"This is only one of the fining departments. In addition to this, we have now by us a list of fines from the warehouse department, said to be taken from the weavers for bad work, which, by the bye, the weaver seldom knows anything about until the "bate list" is shown to him by the overlooker, and probably in many cases after the piece had been sold in the market. The list we have is in narrow slips, and when put together measures three yards and a half, and the amount of abatements upon it is *thirty-five pounds, seventeen shillings, and tenpence!*"

"It not unfrequently happens that the weaver is "bated" more than the weaving of the cut comes to, for some pretended fault. There is one instance that has just occurred, where thirty-three weavers were fined two shillings each, and when one of them asked to see her piece, which was said to be spoiled, she was told, It could not be produced, as it was in the warehouse in town."

The pamphlet from which we have quoted these facts professes to have been written by a "Manchester Operative." The object of it is to disprove the claim of the Leaguers to be "the friends of the working classes;" and as far as reasonings, based upon facts, can disprove this claim, we think the object is attained.

A leading proposition of the League is, that, in proportion to the extent of manufactures, will be the increase of wages; or, at least, the decrease of poverty. This proposition is ably dealt with; and, as far as past experience can avail, it is disproved. A table is given at page 6, by which it is shown that, "the mean increase in the manufacture of cotton, from 1787 to 1841, was from 5,198,778 lbs. to 528,000,000; or, in other words, our trade had increased one hundred and one times; that is, where we manufactured one pound of cotton in 1781, we manufactured one hundred and one pounds in 1841." "During the above periods, however, it will be seen that the hand-loom weaver was reduced from 33s. 3d. for weaving twenty yards of a sixty reed down to 8s. 9d. for twenty-four yards. Now, if the hand-loom weaver of 1841 was paid for weaving twenty-four yards at the same rate as the weaver of 1790 for weaving twenty

* This we can verify from our own knowledge.

yards, he should receive 39s. 10d. instead of which he only received 3s. 9d. that is, he received 1s. where he used to receive 10s."

As far, therefore, as the hand-loom weaver is concerned, he has been no gainer by the extension of manufactures. It is answered that he has been injured by the introduction of machinery, which, though not beneficial to him in particular, has been of great advantage to the labouring classes in general, because it has cheapened the different descriptions of goods that the operatives themselves require to consume. These can be no doubt that cotton, linen and woollen goods have been greatly cheapened; but labour, both among the agricultural and manufacturing classes, has been cheapened also, and in such a proportion as leaves the operative a serious loser. For instance, it is clear that the hand-loom weaver himself is no gainer, for in 1815, when the weaver was paid 28s. for the same work which he now performs for 5s., he had to pay 1s. per yard for calico; in 1843 he might purchase a yard of the same description for fourpence. The saving to him would probably, therefore, be, allowing him a consumption of forty yards for his family, about 26s. In lines and woollen he might also be a further gainer of between 8l. and 4l., making in the whole 5l.; but his loss, calculating on the difference of his wages, would be 58l. 10s."

Nor are the power-loom weavers better off. The power-loom weaver of one mill had 2s. for the same amount of work which they now complete for 1s.; and there are other causes in operation against them, from which it results that there in 1823 they earned 20s., they earned in 1843 8s. The power-loom weaver is, therefore, no gainer by the extension of manufactures—not in the silk weaver.

In 1821 the average wages of Mr. Babbel's weavers were 16s. 6d. whilst in 1831 they were only 6s. This, in 1843, was still further reduced. A list is given, at p. 93, of thirty mills, in which the number of spinners employed in 1829 was 1,770. At that time the number of spindles was 1,045,957. In 1841, the number of spinners employed was 687; the number of spindles was 1,145,386; the increase of spindles was, therefore, 99,420, and the decrease of spinners was 1,068. These were mostly thrown out of employ.

But it will be said that there was a corresponding increase in the amount of mechanics employed. What is the fact? That machinery, like Saturn, is the devourer of its own children; in other words, machines have been invented to manufacture machinery to such an extent, that in one shop since 1833, ma-

chines have been invented which save the labour of seventy-four men. In another shop, twenty self-acting lathes, equal to one hundred men, require but one man or a boy to every two of them; eight planing machines, equal to ninety-six men, require for them eight men or boys; one cutting machine, upon an improved principle, equal to twenty men, employs one boy only. So that, upon the most moderate calculation, the machines set to work to make machinery in Manchester, during the last twelve years, are equal to the labour of three thousand mechanics previously employed; and notwithstanding the great increase that has taken place in this description of labour, owing to the foreign orders given to the master mechanics from Russia, Prussia, and other countries, there were, in 1843, four hundred and fifty out of employments in Manchester alone, whilst the wages of those who were in work were considerably reduced.

Now all these facts prove that the workmen are no gainers by an extension of the system of manufactures. More men, probably, are employed in some department, though, from the great perfection of machinery, the increase in the amount of simply manual labour by no means proportionate with the amount of increase in the article manufactured. But these are not taken from their occupations, and, in the depressed condition to which they are reduced, afford but multiplied instances of the misery attending manufacturing industry. Fortunes, however, will continue to be made in the exact ratio in which work is appreciated, and a melancholy testimony to the selfishness of the human heart is manifest in the gigantic system which enables the masters to combine against their workmen, and to maintain their own profits while the wages of the workmen are reduced. Every fall in the value of an article in the market is accompanied by a reduction of wages, but seldom or ever heard of any reduction occasioning a rise, whereby the wages of the operative were restored to their former level. In every depression the workman suffers more than the master, who still strives to maintain the scale of his profits in every instance, whilst the master is alone benefited, and is gainer to the amount previously deducted from the workman.

On the Corn Laws itself, it is scarcely within our province here to speak. It is said by the advocates of the League to be the fruitful source of suffering to the poor—we do not believe it. Before, however, these words are in print, it is probable that the manufacturers will have received the first instalment of their ultimate concession to their interests which they so triumphantly anticipate. But the labourer will be no gainer. Should

the mode in which they propose to carry the benefits of the results which they predict, the operative will be the last to benefit. The avowed object of the manufacturer is to undersell every foreign manufacturer in his own market, and to compete with him in such markets as are open to both. As an adjunct to this, he assures the operative that he has his welfare at heart, and that it is for this purpose he wishes for a free trade in corn. Never was there a more foolish delusion, or a more heartless mockery. If there be any benefit to the workman accruing from the repeal of the Corn Laws—if the price of provision be lessened to him—the price of his labour will be lowered in a greater degree, and his condition will be worse than it is at present. The very plea with which the manufacturers come before the country proves this. "Bread is cheap, (say they,) that we cannot compete with foreigners for while it is so, we cannot bring the rate of wages to a level with continental prices, and this we must do, or we shall be ruined." Such is their language, and the corollary of the proposition is, "cheapen the food, and we can reduce the price of labour." This vision of the world for a market—people of every tongue for buyers—English manufactures for sellers—and England for the workshop, is perfectly baseless. There are elements of opposition in the alliance which do not seem to have been contemplated by the ingenuities of the League. These are of God's ordaining, and cannot be overcome by the gold of the confederation, however wealthy it be, or the operations of it, however prodigal. We allude to climate and to constitution. Both of these compel very different diet in this land from that which is needed in other countries: so that sufficiency and sufficiency are words of varying signification, as to what designates them, when used by a native or by foreigners. Those who are conversant with the history of the Peninsular war will remember, that in many instances it is recorded, the English soldier became disabled through the latency of solid food, whilst the Spaniard has abstained and lived upon his cigar, and the Frenchman happy with such food as he could command. The difference in such instances was the consequence of a greater want of self denial on the part of the former, as of the necessity of his constitution. What was true of the English soldier is true of the English workman; and to compete with the foreigner, he must have a better diet, and in consequence better wages—or the climate in which he lives,

* Yet these gentlemen talk of buying up all England. They can subscribe a quarter of a million, and though they say, whilst they are alive, that they are on the brink of ruin, die possessed of immense fortunes.

and the constitution with which he was born, must be changed. This latter alternative, we take it, passes the skill of a leaguer, to the political dexterity of a premier. Reduce the wages of the workman in England to that which you believe to be the continental level, still you will not be able to compete with the foreign manufacturer; for the frugal and thrifty habits of the German, the Frenchman, and the Swiss, will enable him to beat you. With a bright sun and a clean sky over his head—an equable temperature—less demand for stimulus in his constitution—and an appetite that is satisfied with a piece of bread, a slice of melon, a bunch of grapes, or a salad—it is impossible that you can compete with him to the extent which you wish. And we would say to the manufacturer—"It is well that you cannot; for the results which you hope to accomplish conceal within them an amount of selfishness, that can only be measured by the extent of the operations which you contemplate. You have many execrations for the monopolist in corn, but not one for him whose monopoly is of the trade of the world, at the expense of every interest but his own. Moreover, it can hardly be expected that other nations will be as Quixotic as we are. There is certainly nothing in the experience of the past to warrant the anticipation; for at the customs' regulations of England have been rendered less stringent, the tariffs of Belgium, France, and the Zollverein, have become more hostile. We have gained nothing from our neighbours but an open commendation of our liberality, and a quiet shrug of the shoulders for our folly. The manufacturers ought also to remember that the facility of production has been attended with a great depreciation of quality in the manufactured article, and that there are some markets which are closed against English produce, in consequence of deceptions practised—dressings, which give an appearance of texture that is not possessed—colours that will not stand, &c.

After all, reducing the price of labour to the continental level would involve more than the manufacturers are prepared for. The agricultural labourer in France, for example, receives for two-thirds of the year one franc twenty-five cents a day; for the remaining third one franc—that is, he averages between five and six shillings* of our money a week; but the operative is in general better paid than the English workman. However willing the League advocate may be to reduce the price of agricultural labour in England, we think he is not ready to advance

* This is better wages than the English labourer receives, if we take into account the difference in the price of provision and clothing.

the wages of the operative to the level of continental paid since they are already too high for his purpose.

If the contemplated repeal of the Corn-laws produce the results which are looked for by the Leaguers, it is almost certain that not only will the condition of the manufacturing operative be worse than it is, but that the agricultural labourer, miserable as is his present state, will suffer still more. The price of bread in England and on the continent—that is in Germany, Belgium, and France—approximates more closely than is generally thought; but there are large districts in Hungary, where the grain, for want of facilities in transport, is a mere drug—it is counted as little worth, and trodden under foot by the cattle. There are also large corn growing fields in the south of Russia—in Silesia and elsewhere—which only require railways to bring them into full cultivation. When Sir Robert Peel's measure shall have become the law of the land, there is a class of men ready to take advantage of it, of whose existence the political theorists of this land seem to be but little aware—whose resources are immense—and who will employ them with skill and gigantic speculation only to be equalled by their energy. One result of their operations, if indeed they meddle at all in the matter, will be the importation of corn into this country in such quantities, and at such a rate, as will drive the labourer from the land. The men of whom we speak are the modern Jews of Germany, who occupy a place in society as singular as it is influential, and who, without doubt, in the struggle of interests which the world must shortly witness, will hold the destinies of classes, if not of kingdoms, in their hands.

Sir Robert Peel, in his adhesion to the views of the League, occupies no very enviable position. He pleads before the country that he is a convert to a great idea—that he is willing to endure political martyrdom for his new found creed—he affects to treat with scorn the charges of tergiversation that are brought against him. The lying under such an imputation he is willing to endure, because, he says, it is the tax which a great mind must always pay to the ill-judging multitude for the mastery of a truth, especially when it is one which a previous blindness hindered him from apprehending. This would be all very well if Sir Robert were young in public life; but when a man at his time of life throws overboard the political experience of upwards of thirty years, takes a course directly opposite to that which he has previously counselled as the only safe one, and that the result of a life-long knowledge—when, moreover, this sudden change is the effect of one sessions' teaching on the part of a powerful interest—what is the country to think?

Either that the thirty years have been spent in a series of experiments of which this is the result, or that he has in his older age mistaken recklessness for magnanimity, and idealism for wisdom: the one supposition would destroy his character for political probity—the other for skill in the safe guidance of a state. His conversion is somewhat too sudden to be solid and lasting. At all events he cannot rest where he is; and, as far as we can see, there will be nothing inconsequent in his voting with Mr. O'Connell for repeal—helping Dr. Bowring to exclude the bishops from the House of Lords—or accomplishing the beloved *arrière pensée* of Mr. Bright, in the destruction of an hereditary peerage. The speeches of Dr. D'Israeli do not take much hold upon men's minds, because he does not speak for a principle, and is clearly actuated by some personal motive. Nevertheless, they are most able, and his description of the premier's political conduct the nearest, as we think, to the truth, always excepting the charge of deliberate political hypocrisy, which we should be sorry to entertain against Sir Robert or any other public man of so high a standing. If Mr. D'Israeli be correct, Sir Robert's principle of action is rather an unworthy conciliation to a strong party than the honest conviction of truth. The policy may be expedient, but the precedent is bad; and the present gain to the country, in the temporary quietude of a dangerous agitation, will be more than counterbalanced in the future premium that will be offered to aggressive confederation. Sir Robert could, with equal appearance of truth and as much effect, repeat the same reasons to the house, though with a different application, were he to come down to-morrow under the influence of a new conversion. Herein, indeed, lies the mischief of his conduct. He has introduced an element into statesmanship which has been hitherto but little known, or at least but little tolerated in this country. He has, by his example, sanctioned the proposition that a prime minister may act in defiance of the principles upon which he came into power. The extent of this element will, in its operation, cover every species of political turpitude; and, when once thoroughly admitted, will destroy that confidence which is as necessary to the integrity and well-being of a state as to society at large. A private man may change his opinion if he will: but a premier's principles are, or ought to be, the possession of the country; and of these principles he is, so long as he is that country's servant, not the master, but the steward.

Sir James Graham, in one of those political hallucinations with which he is sometimes troubled, said, in the late debate on Sir Robert Peel's measure:—

we expect that till lately the opinion prevalent among the farmers was that low prices would invariably lead to low wages. May they have changed their opinions? The experience of the last three years has not been thrown away upon them; and if that be so—if the masters and the men are quite of one mind on this point—they will settle—and I may tell the honourable member for Knaresborough so—they will settle *easily and amicably* (!) those questions which are likely to arise between parties placed in such a relation to each other."

Sir James is easy of belief, all his political convictions and general fancies of a stranger element, whatever it is in operation, sufficiently testify: still we are at a loss to conceive upon what grounds he bases his assertion. Surely not from any history of the past—surely not from any intimate acquaintance with the antagonistic interests of the manufacturer and his workman, where the object of the one is to secure the greatest possible amount of work at the least possible cost, and where, whatever attachment the other might form, is anticipated by the consciousness of a wide and bitter gulf in the hopeless way of remedy. In the vexatious of statistical arithmetic it may indeed appear that the interests of master and man are one; but statistical arithmetic does not sum up the many equalities of power, and the many miseries of endurance which render the bond between the two one of servility instead of one of [illegible]. We can hardly, however, expect these to enter into the estimation of one who has lately legislatively smiled to the poor, and who could lately say, that "the hand-loom weaver, the hand-grinding system, was adopted in the hopelessness, and regretting occupation, more for the fowl than the pauper," and yet took no step to prevent it.

The *Journal des Débats* has justly observed, that the struggle in England will henceforth be one of classes, and not of interests. The rich man in doing all he can, though not designedly, to exasperate the poor, and one of the most significant features in the late debate was, the small place allotted to their condition in the consideration of present facts and future probabilities. The landlord spoke of his rent; the manufacturer of his profits; but he by the sweat of whose brow the one is gained, and the other acquired, was only treated as an adjunct in the question. No one seemed to remember that, in the great political experiment which they were about to try, the labourer was sure to be the exponent of all the evil, if it should prove a failure; no one cared to ascertain, upon just grounds, how far he would be benefited if it should succeed. It is sufficient to anticipate that the landlord or the master do well. If this be proved it is held, as a matter of course, that the labourer and the work-

[illegible] prosperous. The fact, however, proves the contrary; for the wealth of the land is enormous, whilst the poverty of the labouring classes is frightful. This striking fact is, at once, the wonder and shame of this age—the cause of present difficulty, and the source of danger for the time to come. Nothing that we know of in history is parallel to this condition, save the account which Sismondi gives of the state of the agricultural labourers and servile workmen of Rome, and that was immediately preceding the fall of the empire; or the relative positions of the *noblesse* and the peasantry in France before the French revolution.

Whoever will look abroad upon the world will see that distress and misery are prevalent to an alarming degree. The Polish peasantry, bordering upon Prussia, have been driven by hunger into lands across the frontier, and have had to be repelled. During the whole of last summer, we saw troops of destitute Germans and Swiss passing on their way to emigration. In Belgium, in one town of 45,000 inhabitants, upwards of 20,000 have been receiving relief; nor is this by any means a solitary instance; whilst the fields and farmers were plundered by bands of hungry men. Sweden is treading on famine, if not actually suffering under it. In France, out of a population of 32,000,000, there are 31,000,000 who never eat meat; 18,000,000 who never eat wheaten bread; and 4,000,000 who never sleep in a bed. The frightful misery in Ireland is the instant and strong ground of the premier's measure. The agricultural labourer in England does not, on an average, gain more than 9s. a week; the hand-loom weaver, from 7s. to 9s.; the power-loom weaver, from 7s. to 9s.; the spinner, 16s. 6d.; the silk weaver, about 8s. and yet Sir James Graham gravely tells the House that there never was so much happiness, peace, and content as at this time, when bread is dearer than it was in the poor man's reach, and when his staple food, the potato, has nearly entirely failed.

Whether to dwell, or again repeat, to write bitter things against any class in particular. Unhappily, the evils which we have designated as the results of system are the *legitimate* fruits of that system, and they cannot be remedied by legislative enactments; for nothing short of its utter destruction could, in the present condition of society, prevent their growth, and such a remedy as this, it is needless to add, is totally impossible. But the power of aggravation and amelioration is in the hands of the master, and in proportion as he uses it for the former, or neglects it for the latter, society has a right to charge him with so much of the amount of suffering as is of the medi-

degree of his conduct, rise and above that which is necessarily inherent in the condition of servitude itself. Many there are who deplore this evil, and with noble efforts seek to alleviate it; and of such are Mr. Gardner and Mr. Fielden; but many there are who do not so, whenever the poor man's burthen of labour is intolerable by the stringent and tyrannical way in which they enforce their due, and by the mean shifts with which they keep back his hire, by the mere power that may be attained by wealth.

We have written somewhat concerning the League, but duplicity in any shape is abhorrent, and duplicity is its leading feature. This, we regret of it, as it stands before the world with its twofold aspect to the rich and the poor, and it speaks for itself in its leading propositions. By what reasonings the members of this league, many of whom are otherwise good and simple men, reconcile their consciences to the maintenance of such a confederation, we cannot tell; we do not understand it, we know not. We think, however, they would do well to hesitate ere they gave the sanction of their name to a scheme so dishonest such a sentence as this, and put it into the hands of those who have a vote at the elections. Remember, above all, that your decision will be recorded as on high, and that you will be called on for your vote at the dread tribunal, where all mankind will be judged, not by their professions, not by their prayers, but by their deeds. And will it be said, 'I have got hungry and you gave me meat.' But it would be idle for the leaguers to remember that there are others to whom it will also be said, 'I was *a stranger, and you gave me no meat.*' We know not which is greater, the insolence with which a change is proposed, or the irreverence of the admonition. These men have no authority to put themselves into the position of the lord's ministers, and there is something revolting in this prostitution of holy words and holy things to sordid ends. The "date-book" and the Bible—the stock-book and the Scriptures, do not accord well together. Let the rich use the one in the way of instruction to their fellows, they should, and may, get rid of the other—whose father has known their fathers—and who born—

The true wealth of a land is its idle and permanent produce. Neither manufactures nor commerce are sources of *permanent* riches; they are powerful auxiliaries, and whilst they are in healthy operation, contribute to the opulence and riches of a country; but this operation has its ultimate limit, which it seldom, if ever, passes. Every step beyond it is a step to ruin. They are, moreover, subject to the influence of circumstances, to occasional depressions, and to forced extensions, to over-production, and to the consequent, which

are as often the causes of a nation's weakness as their well-regulated influence is of its strength. We in England ought to know it, for through their operation we have been more than once on the eve of financial ruin. The very difficulties of the patriot's position and the result of the disproportionate and unwholesome relations which they have bestowed to other interests in Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa are all instances of the delight of power that may be attained by the aid of commerce and manufactures, as well as of the certain ruin that must one day come upon every state that has but some one particular source of wealth to depend upon. In England, we have land as well as manufactures, and the wisdom of a legislature is to make them keep their due relation to each other—is to regulate the products of each so that the right proportions in which they may healthily exist only be attained. To give the manufacturing interest the ascendant in the wildest policy that can be adopted; for it would effect, in the end, nothing more than to shift the bases of national prosperity and happiness from the elements which are fixed and stable to those which are fluctuating and uncertain. Yet this seems the policy of the day, and its result must ultimately be an attack upon existing institutions—upon all such institutions as are tied to the land—and the destruction of those sympathies which have hitherto bound the rich and the poor together. The throne, the aristocracy, and the poor, are of necessity attached to the land. If, through legislative mistakes, or short-sighted policy, land is made to unite with the mercy of manufacturing power, the aristocracy must sooner or later cease to exist as an order in the state as a national institution, and the poor are a distinct and yet honourable class, as necessary in their place, and as respectable in the fulfilment of their duties, as the highest in the country; for it is impossible that he can have that care for them—that interest in their welfare—who uses them as "machinery," and throws them aside when they have served his purpose, as he must experience, who was the land on which they were born—whose father has known their fathers—and who must, as the very condition on which he holds his estate, in one shape or another, and whether he will or not, give them a maintenance out of it. We do not say that the peer is a better man than the manufacturer. This is not the question. Unhappily, he is too often the reverse; the duties of domestic life may be better understood and practised by the latter; the sins of extravagance and the vices of rank he may be free from. All this may very likely be true; but still the wealth of the nobleman, from the very accident of his position, finds its way back by

regular processes to his tenantry; whereas, the riches of the manufacturer are at his own disposal—may be hoarded or expended, as he will, abroad or at home—in speculations whereby foreigners alone are benefited—anywhere, indeed, but in the immediate circle of which he is the centre, and the centripetence of this must be, whatever benefit others may derive, mutual alienation and indifference between him and those immediately around him—at least, of all such as he does not attach to himself by the bonds of personal affection. It is a dangerous thing for any government to put a check upon the free and stable bases of its permanent wealth and prosperity, and this has been the policy of the day; hence, a monster monied interest—a depressed aristocracy—a cruel poor law—a teeming population ground to the very verge of passive endurance—fear and anxiety amongst the higher classes of the land—wretchedness, misery, and broken hearts amongst its labourers.

We confess that it is with saddened feelings that we contemplate the *onward* tendencies of the age—the disposition which would absorb all interests and pursuits in the occupations which can only be carried on in dense populations and large cities. The love of rural life, with its manly sports and whole some morality, has been hitherto one of the distinguishing characteristics of the English mind. As the scholars of learning and the manufacturing spirit prevail, this must yield; and though we hope it is far distant, the day may yet come when it shall have given place to other tastes, when men shall take pleasure only in the acquisition of wealth, when the *beau ideal* of the Englishman shall be the tall chimney and the groaning engine, when he shall know no healthier or better pastime than can be found amidst the noise and within the precincts of a town. It is said that the population is decreasing in stature and physical strength, in consequence of the absorption of the rural classes into the occupations of manufacturing districts. We hope it is not so, but if it be true—if the desire of the manufacturer as to the increase of his operations be carried to its fullest extent, and if this decrease bear proportion to the abstraction of the rustic from agricultural labour—the "British Grenadier" will become the being of other days, and "Merrie England" the name of an old romance. We have heard the wish expressed that this land might become one large district of mills and factories. If such a misfortune should befall us, our glory, as a nation, and our place, as *men* amongst *men*, are gone. In proportion as we approach this wished-for consummation, what remains to us of healthful vigour in thought or action—what remains to us of that free and in-

dependent spirit which has hitherto, under God, preserved us from a foreign yoke, must yield; and whatever aspect we may still be enabled to maintain towards our foes abroad, at home we shall become the abject worshippers of gold, or the miserable slaves by whose drudgery it is won.

Before, however, the gigantic speculations upon human labour in which the manufacturers here and elsewhere fondly indulge, can be carried out to completion, something yet remains to be consulted—that is, the *will* of the labouring classes. There is a mind whose secret workings and deep communings with itself the world does not seem to heed; there is a voice whose fearful accents in all their strength and power the world has not yet heard—the mind and the voice of the working population throughout Christendom, burdened beyond the power of further endurance, and asking on every hand, where the region of righteous resistance begins? If governments take not good heed, this mind and voice will one day give utterance to the sense of wrong unjustly inflicted in forms and ways that will shake from their foundations all the existing institutions of the earth. The doctrine that the only true capital is labour, however specious and unsound in its application, is gaining fast hold of the minds of the masses. The claim of the workman to eat of the fruits of the earth—to partake of the gifts of God—to be warm and to be clothed—to be fed when he is hungry, and to be sheltered from the storm in fair return for the toil of his arm and the sweat of his brow, is daily making itself heard in accents that cannot be mistaken. A *communisme* of interests—of indignation at the infliction of past wrongs—of determination to resist fresh oppressions, is binding the labouring classes of all lands into one powerful fraternity. To meet this growing confederacy is by far the most difficult task of the statesman in the present day; for it is by far the most fearful and dangerous element with which he has had yet to deal.

One word more ere we close. Whether the measure now before the house will, if it be carried,* produce the consequences which the landlord dreads, and the manufacturer hopes for, we are not competent to decide. The most dangerous part of that measure itself, however, is the putting the landed interest into the false position of defence, and rendering it secondary in the state. As far as the political acts and speeches of a premier—as far as the expressed determination of a government

* This paper, written before the measure became the law of the land or not, will probably be decided by the time these words are in print.

can effect it—this has already been done. When any great interest in a land is brought into a position of humiliation, it is doubtless a judgment, which, whatever may be the guilt of those who are instrumental in inflicting it, is permitted by God for some crying sincommitted, for some misuse of gifts entrusted, or for some neglect of duties imposed. In this position, the greatest and most ancient interest in the land at this moment finds itself. It is the part of Christian wisdom to ask, "Wherefore?" The answer is not far off. The landed interest of this country has been careless of the welfare of its poor. It has allowed, for its own benefit, a bill to become a law, whose provisions are merciless, and which visits poverty as a crime. It has quietly stood by, and permitted, or aided in the accomplishing of that which it was its special province to resist, and it is now reaping the fruits; for there is no sin which God will so surely visit in judgment as the neglect of the poor by a class or a nation.

ART IV.—*Figures and Descriptions of the Palæozoic Fossils of Cornwall, Devon, and West Somerset.* By JOHN PHILLIPS, F.R.S. Published by order of the Lords of the Treasury. London: Longmans.

WE have only one more point to bring out at the present time on the subject of "Scriptural Geology," but it is the most important point of all: it is that which we have had in view from the beginning, and for the sake of which, all that has hitherto been urged was written—viz., the bearing which it has upon theology. And we would now request the especial attention of our readers, while we endeavour to show that this is a religious question, and that, if we are not upon our guard, the foundations of faith may be undermined while we may only be thinking of science, and mean to be engaged merely in the pursuit of a branch of natural history. If we had regarded geology solely as a branch of natural history, or had thought it possible for any one to be engaged in its study and able to limit himself to its scientific bearings, we should not have discussed this subject at so much length, or with so much earnestness, in a journal professedly clerical, and devoted principally to ecclesiastical questions. But we have not to enquire how far it might be possible to avoid religion in treating on geology: the fact is that it has not been avoided. And being therefore obliged to regard this as a religious question—and one in which theology is deeply and intimately concerned—we felt very strongly upon it; and we

endeavoured to show in what respects the popular systems were faulty, wherein they were opposed to acknowledged principles of science on the one hand, and to plain declarations of Scripture on the other hand, and therefore untenable in both respects. And we now desire to consider what, here, the true theological bearings of geology, and what ought to be assumed as fundamental principles by all who profess to believe in divine revelation, either as respects the Old Testament or the New; for that revelation is one from beginning to end, it is one harmonious plan prepared at the creation, to be accomplished in the new creation; the old was the germ of the new—the new is the development of the old.

It is not a matter of surprise that men of science should overlook the theological bearing of their facts, any more than that theologians should be unacquainted with, or misunderstand some of the facts known to scientific men. It is rather to be desired that different classes of men should be taught to feel their need of each other, by feeling each to want something which he must call upon another to supply. Besides, not only are the subjects of inquiry different in which these two classes of men are occupied, but the region is itself different. Theology is a spiritual region—the men, therefore, who handle theology must be spiritual also. The mere crossing of the threshold of Christianity is passing into the spiritual region—a region totally distinct from the natural region. And, therefore, Christ gave glory to his heavenly Father, who had thus revealed to babes things which had been previously hidden from the wise and prudent. And St. Paul, in like manner, declares that they cannot be known by the mere natural man, and seem foolishness unto him, because they are spiritually discerned. The sciences belong primarily to the natural man—this is his proper province; religion and theology, in the highest senses, belong to the spiritual alone.

Questions may arise requiring, for their satisfactory discussion, a knowledge both of theology and of science. And it is unfortunate when such questions are taken up by men of science, who are unacquainted with the religious bearings; or by religious men, unacquainted with the scientific bearings of the question; for being thus partially apprehended, the real point is not perceived. And two such halves cannot make a whole, and if they attempt to amalgamate, it will only be that the man of science may back his own crude assertions on theology by the authority of his religious friends, and *vice versa*, while each will be afraid of disclaiming such an appeal, because it is made by an ally. Each, knowing only his own province, shrinks from intruding on the province of the other, and fears even to cor-

rect what he knows to be rash, crude, or erroneous, lest, in correcting an error, he should be unconsciously marring the system of a friend.

Geology, considered merely as a science, is embarrassed with one peculiar difficulty—we have no means of testing the truth of its inferences by existing facts, or operations still going on. It is not like astronomy, which gives an account of the daily and hourly courses of a machinery still in operation, the truth of which every one may test by observing the present motions of the heavenly bodies. It is not like botany, or any branch of natural history, the subjects of which we may still find living, growing, multiplying, according to known laws, and regulated by present times and seasons. It is not like chemistry or experimental science, where we can repeat or vary the experiments, and may predict or verify the results. Geology has to do with a machinery, the course of which is stopped—the parts disjointed and lying in fragments—and which we neither know how to put together, nor can compare with anything analogous. It is a *caput mortuum*, whose proportions have been altered in the shock by which its life became extinct. It is a laboratory on so gigantic a scale, and with such stupendous results, that we can neither attempt to repeat them, nor truly conceive how they have been effected, or what might have been the consequences if it were otherwise. The facts of geology lie as the wrecks and ruins of what once was, in a state of things no longer in existence; and it is like questioning a range of mummies in a sepulchre, to endeavour to extract an answer from these facts—the thoughts, feelings, and affections of the mummies may be more nearly inferred than can the former constitution of the earth from geologic facts.

While astronomy was merely guess work—as it was until the time of Newton—even those who guessed right had no certainty to appeal to, and could not call upon others to receive their assertions. It was by the discovery of a law, which explained all the phenomena which were then in operation, and applied also to the past, that astronomy became a science, and was fixed on an immoveable basis. And until such laws are discovered for geology we cannot regard it as a fixed science—we can only regard it as guess work, resting on greater or less probability, according to the ingenuity of the professor; and whenever such laws are discovered, they will be in harmony with Scripture. If conjecture is hazarded now, it will be at best beside the mark, and it may be of an infidel tendency, directly or indirectly contravening the Scripture record.

It is because we have a scriptural record of creation, which we

have not of the foundations of any other science—not even of astronomy, the noblest of sciences—and because, to understand the new heavens, and the new earth, we cannot but take into consideration how the things which we behold came into their present situations—and because, therefore, this enquiry touches upon revelation as well as science—that it is both difficult and hazardous. The Scripture, however, declares no more than abstract truths concerning the constitution of things, leaving the facts in detail to be observed and collected by us: while science begins with observation, and ascends to general principles and abstract truths, the correctness of which must depend upon our being imbued with a knowledge of God, and of the purpose he designed to accomplish by the creation: which purpose alone, be it remembered, rendered it necessary to make known the acts of creation by divine revelation. For there is no more necessity for revealing the details of the earth's creation than the details of the creation of the sun, and moon, and stars—*save for this*—that there are *duties* resulting from a knowledge of the former, while there are none which result from the latter; and, to assist us in the right discharge of our duties, revelation is given, not to gratify mere idle curiosity.

Man, as the image of God, has duties towards his Creator. Man, as invested with dominion over all other creatures, has duties towards the creation. Man and woman, as representing the greatest of all earthly mysteries—the mystery of Christ and the Church—have reciprocal duties towards each other. The Sabbath, the first of religious institutions, embodies the record of creation, and in its letter testifies to the letter of the six days work—the time of work being as literal as the day of rest which commemorates it. Adam's naming the beasts embodies the right of dominion conferred upon him: and Eve, taken out of the side of Adam, puts the stamp of reality upon the divine mystery of the oneness of Christ and the Church—one in flesh, as Eve was with Adam. Then, again, the fall, we need to know, not only to justify God, but to prize and use aright the means for our recovery. God made the world very good, and thus it stood while man believed God, and obeyed his commands. The brute creation being without reason were incapable of sin—a moral agent alone could come under such a responsibility as to contract guilt; but the penalty extended beyond the guilty party—to the whole creation which was headed up in man. And Adam, disobeying God, beheld his lordship fearfully manifested, in that the penalty which he brought upon himself passed upon all the living creatures which were under him. Nay, the very ground was cursed for his sake—doomed to sterility, or the rank

incumbrance of thorns and thistles; while man was doomed to wring his bread from it with the sweat of his brow, and to toil in sorrow and pain all the days of his life. And between him and the brute creation dread and mutual enmity were implanted, of which the enmity between the seed of the woman and the serpent was the prominent sign: while, to keep before the eyes of man the consequences of his sin, and to be also symbolical of that redemption, which, in the fulness of time, should be brought in, sacrifice was instituted, which might not only work repentance, but be also an expression of faith. And man, in confessing over the sacrifice that he, by his sin, had deserved the death which the victim that could not sin was made to undergo, was pointed forward in faith to apprehend that spotless sacrifice which God had fore-ordained—even the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world: death being first manifested in this way, because this was the purposed way of mercy; and God clothing the first sinner with the skin of the sacrifice, to indicate that Christ's righteousness is the sinner's covering.

But the fall of man brought ruin not on himself alone—the ruin was as extensive as the dominion of man. He was made in the image of God, and was, in the visible and limited sphere of this world, the representative of what God is in the invisible world, and throughout the universe. Let us suppose an impossibility by way of illustration. Suppose, for an instant, the possibility of God relaxing his hold on the universe, and who does not see that his universal dominion instantly goes to wreck? In like manner, when God's vicegerent on earth fell from his place, the whole of this *cosmos* was brought into confusion; and but for the upholding hand of God, who had a purpose of mercy to accomplish, and a higher glory still to manifest in the recovery, all would then have rushed headlong into destruction, with man foremost, in the sin and in the punishment.

This is no speculation—we feel the truth of St. Paul's words—we *know* "that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now;" and, on the same grounds, we are assured that "it was made subject to vanity not willingly"—that is, not by its own fault, but by the sin of another. And we are assured, likewise, that it shall be recovered, and that not by its own efforts, but by the deeds of another; therefore is there hope under the misery—therefore can we wait—therefore can the creation wait, for the manifestation of the sons of God, to be delivered from the bondage of corruption under which it now lies oppressed; for, if by one man's offence death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of

grace and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ. This *reigning* is not without its emphasis: it is promised equally to *all* believers; they do not then reign over *each other*; but, as they must have subjects, it indicates the recovery of that dominion given to man at the beginning, but which Adam lost by the fall; and it is a rule of blessedness, for rulers and subjects will be in the places for which they were created. It is also true liberty—all being, by nature, in slavery to those who are not their rightful masters—to the powers of this world, and the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience. But the creation shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. This deliverance is the consummation to which all prophecy points our faith—when the lion shall lie down with the kid, and a little child, because in the image of God, shall lead them. At that time none shall hurt nor destroy, because the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. In the Gospels this is called the regeneration, the resurrection, the time of the restitution of all things, or the world to come, in contradistinction to the world that now is; and thus the new creation shall present a perfect counterpart to the old, in the blessed effects of restored headship and dominion under Christ, the second Adam; and God shall at length be vindicated, and it shall be acknowledged that he doth all things well: he shall be glorified in those works of his hands which were finished from the foundation of the world, and man shall enter into that rest which remaineth for the people of God.

We may feel assured, that, when we find a revelation to consist of a connected series of facts like the above, this connection is necessary to render the revelation complete, and to bring out the doctrine for the sake of which that revelation was made; and, therefore, that, in order to bring out the mystery of the kingdom of Christ—which is the new creation under the second Adam—every link of connection between the first creation and the first Adam must be kept entire; and not only so, but that succeeding revelations, concerning the new creation and the kingdom of Christ, may be used to reflect back clearer and stronger light upon the revelation concerning the first creation, because they answer to each other in all particulars as type and antitype. Thus, should we entertain a question concerning the relative importance of being informed of the facts concerning our creation, more than the creation of the heavenly hosts which seem so greatly superior in glory to this world of ours, the Psalmist answers the question prophetically in the eighth

Psalm; and St. Paul takes it up doctrinally, in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the point of which is, that God hath constituted Christ heir of all things, and *that*, as Son of Man; and that by him, and for this end, the worlds were made; and though we see not yet all things put under him, it is declared that such shall be the case; and when he bringeth again his first begotten into the world, all the angels of God shall worship him. Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore, God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. (Heb. i. 2-6-8; ii. 6; iv. 8-10; Cor. i. xv. 27; Psal. xlv.-lxxii.)

The Son was, from all eternity, the brightness of the Father's glory, the ruler of all things, and infinitely above the angelic hosts, receiving, as God, their continual worship. The assertion of *this* truth is not the point of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The point is that he, in taking our nature, had made himself for a time lower than the angels for the suffering of death; but that, in rising again, he is exalted far above the angels, and manhood thus highly exalted in him; and all this, in order that, as Captain of our Salvation, he may bring many of those whose nature he hath assumed to the same glory; by doing which he is accomplishing that which the Psalmist declared, saying, "O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!—who hast set thy glory above the heavens:" being the glory for which the creation with man at its head was originally intended. (Psal. viii.)

The specific purpose for which all things were thus prepared at creation was not frustrated—it was only delayed by the sin of man; and the Gospel prepares mankind now for the accomplishment of that original purpose at the second advent of him who is the second Adam; and this truth has been attested in the intermediate ages by other acts of God which have no true significance except as they are thus regarded. The sin of Adam ran its natural course in the antediluvians, enlarging continually till the judgment of God burst forth in the deluge. But the judgment being universal shews that the whole creation was visited therewith on man's account, and as headed up in man; and, on the other hand, the preservation of Noah shews that he was saved as the federal head, not only of the human race, but of the living creatures preserved with him in the ark; for when the iniquity of the earth was full, God visited with judgment not only the sinners—not only all mankind, but all flesh: the beasts of the earth, and the fowls of the air, as well as the

children of men; because they all, as under the dominion of man, were regarded as implicated in man's fate, and must undergo the same common judgment.

And after the flood, to preserve a witness for this doctrine, of man's being head of the creation in the new world, Noah, the only righteous man, *saved his house* by his faith, condemning the world, and becoming heir of the righteousness which is by faith (Heb. xi. 7). His sons and their wives were covered by the faith of Noah—nay, even the birds and beasts, both clean and unclean, were saved in the ark in consequence of Noah's faith: not because God could not have created others, had it so pleased him, or could not have destroyed mankind alone, and spared the brutes, had he seen fit; but these were saved, together with man, to shew that the whole creation was bound up with man in one common destiny; and all to keep inviolate, until the coming of Christ, this grand principle of federal headship—that as all things were made by and for Christ, and in him who is before all things, they have their consistency (Col. i. 17); so his work may be proved sufficient for the ends predetermined; and not to have been so marred by sin—not to have been so mastered by Satan—not so annihilated by the deluge, as to constrain God to cast off his first creation in order to create a second, a more enduring, and better ordered machinery, in order to effect the same purpose; or to constrain him to change the purpose, from not being able to construct a machinery of sufficient power and sufficient endurance to accomplish it.

When Noah came forth as head of the postdiluvian world, God made a covenant with him, including in it not only all mankind, but all the living creatures, and even the earth itself; setting his bow in the clouds, and pledging himself thereby no more to destroy the earth by a flood, and promising to keep the seasons for the time to come in their regular courses. Thus carefully has revelation preserved to us the continuity of the same original purpose, and secured our interest in the creation standing of man, and shewn the interest which the faithful among the antediluvians had in Christian hopes and promises; for God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying, "And I, behold I, establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you, and with every living creature that is with you, of the fowls, and of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you, from all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth."

We might pursue the same examination of Scripture, and find the same principle maintained in God's dealings with

Abraham and the children of Israel; but want of space, and the necessity of taking some considerable scope in applying the principle, prevent it. But our readers will fully understand what we mean by referring to the concluding chapters of Leviticus, and the song of Moses in Deuteronomy.

Now the modern theories of pre-adamite creations, each independent of the others, and all in endless succession of alternate destruction and renewal, are not only contrary to this one harmonious scheme of revelation, but they are absurd, as being purposeless, causeless, fruitless—originating in no assignable reason, leading to no assignable results: they present one interminable series of wanton havoc, and unmixed suffering, which it is a libel on common sense to attribute to God, and can only be consistently ascribed to some demon. Such a medley of unmitigated ferocity, and wholesale destruction, as the geologists picture, may with consistency be ascribed to satan; but we will not allow it to be ascribed to the God of Love whom we adore.

And these theories do not only contravene the truths of revelation as principles, or regarded as one system, and forming one whole—they contravene every separate point of divine revelation, from first to last: not only creation, but the deluge, and the ten commandments, and the Sabbath: not only the fall, but the restitution of man: not only Providence, but Deism, and the existence of anything beyond or above the material and visible things around us. Many of the advocates of these speculations are not aware of their thoroughly infidel tendency; but it is becaues they are either bad logicians, or shrink from carrying out their principles to the fair and legitimate conclusions. The proof of this lies at hand in the writings of one who is in holy orders, and was a Savilian professor at Oxford, who has drawn a comparison between the Mosaic account of creation and the geological hypothesis, and states the result as follows:—

"In offering this imperfect summary of the general results derivable from *geology*, which bear upon the subject of *creation*, we conceive enough may have been stated to enable the discerning reader at once to perceive the nature and extent of the discrepancy which exists between the changes, thus incontestably disclosed to us by the existing monuments of past ages of terrestrial existence and the entire character and scope of the descriptive narrative of the creation in the Hebrew Scriptures. We referred to certain interpretations of that narrative which have, in truth, been framed expressly with the view of attempting to reconcile the contradiction. After all we have before said, we shall not think it necessary here to press the matter much further on the notice of our readers; they have before them the materials for forming their own judgment. We will merely say, for our own part,

that we fail to perceive how those interpretations can be supported on any rational basis so as really to explain the discrepancy, or effectually to defend the cause to whose aid they are summoned, since the main points of the discrepancy still remain untouched, viz., that there are no traces of any such catastrophe as must be supposed, even over a limited portion of the earth's surface, subsequent to the latest tertiary formation.....With regard to the nature and extent of the discrepancy thus disclosed, we would observe, that it is not a case merely involving the question of the literal acceptation of a word or phrase.....nor is the difficulty of the same nature with any sceptical objections to a supernatural narration: but it is the contradiction of existing monuments of past events with the *obvious* sense of what is recorded as a part of divine revelation, in the form of a circumstantial narrative of the same events. And the discrepancy is not one with any theory or partial discovery of science, which is not yet thoroughly made out, and which future investigations may modify or set aside; but with broad primary facts which involve nothing hypothetical, and which are in reality identified with the first principles of all inductive truth. It is also a circumstance which, taken any way, involves a train of consequences. It is not an isolated difficulty like that attaching to some single detached point, which we can pass over and not allow to weigh against the evidence preponderating on the other side; but it essentially involves a broad principle, and must affect, in its consequences, the entire view we take of the authority and application of the Old Testament.

"These remarks refer yet more directly to what doubtless was the third and chief object in this representation of the creation—the institution of the Sabbath.....The narrative, then, of six periods of creation, followed by a seventh similar period of rest and blessing, was clearly designed, by adaptation to their conceptions, to enforce upon the Israelites the institution of the Sabbath: and in whatever way its details may be interpreted, it clearly cannot be regarded as an *historical* statement of a *primæval* institution of a Sabbath."

On the deluge the same writer observes:—

"Upon the whole it is thus apparent, that we have no evidence whatever of any great aqueous revolution at any comparatively recent period having affected the earth's surface over any considerable tract. .....If we look to the actual tenor of the whole narrative as delivered by Moses, we shall observe that the manifest *immediate* purport of it is the same as that of the rest of the earthly portion of his history—viz., as forming part of the *introduction* TO THE LAW.....some of the *rudiments* out of which the law was framed."

We have quoted the above revolting passages in justification of ourselves for the earnestness with which we have contended against the theories which lead to such results, and the frequency and length of those articles in which we have endeavoured to show that those theories have no foundation in fact.

If effects, which are really ascribable to the deluge, have been so misunderstood by the geologists as to be thrown back in their system to periods incalculably remote, and long before the creation of man—then, of course, the scriptural account of creation, and of the deluge, will not agree with such a system. And which of the two must go to the wall we have no manner of doubt; nor do we believe that any of our readers will doubt, when the question is thus openly brought to such an issue. We are not frightened by big words, about "the first principles of all inductive truth;" for we remember that the very same confident and boastful tone was assumed by the French savans, concerning the antiquity of the zodiac of Denderah; but the first ray of true light which was thrown upon Egyptian antiquities, by Dr. Young and Champolion, was sufficient to clear away the mists of infidelity, and to overwhelm the savans with shame and confusion. We deny that the geologists have any better facts to rest upon in their theory of the earth than Bailly and the French savans had in the zodiacs, and we entreat our readers to have patience, and in due time the same results will ensue.

We have not the least doubt that the extracts given above would honestly express the convictions, though it may be unformed, almost unconscious, convictions, of every intelligent and consistent reasoner, who adopts the facts, or accedes to the principles asserted by the geologists; though very few would have the hardihood to put them in so plain a shape, and thus openly profess them. Granting the facts and principles to be true, this result will necessarily follow; but we deny these *broad primary facts*—we deny that the principles assumed are those of *all inductive truth*. The facts of geology are of two classes—first, the facts relating to the arrangement of the numerous strata of rock—the beds of the earth; secondly, the arrangement of the animal remains—the fossil contents of those beds. It may be granted to be a *fact*, that the arrangement of strata is in orderly succession, but the *mode* in which they were so arranged is *not a fact*—it is hypothetically assumed; yet it is on this *hypothesis*, and not on the *fact*, that men presume to invalidate the Scripture narrative. The classification of fossil remains is a *fact*, but the *mode* of classification is pure *hypothesis*, together with all the supposed catastrophes preceding the creation of man. It is assumed that this arrangement and classification took place before the creation of man, because no human remains have been observed among the fossils, which is an argument that may be overturned any day by the discovery of a human bone or implement. But by this assumption the deluge

of Noah is necessarily excluded as an agent; for all these formations are thrown back by this hypothesis to an epoch preceding the creation of man, and then it is coolly remarked that, in the superficial beds that lie above these strata, there are no traces of any such catastrophe as the deluge, and thus the scriptural record of creation and the deluge is set aside without a scruple!

Let us apply again to astronomy for an illustration; and suppose Tycho Brahe, or any observer of the old school, talking of his primary facts, when he meant thereby not only the rates and periods of the heavenly bodies, but also the hypothesis that they moved round the earth. He might say that this motion round the earth rested on fact—rested on the same observation by which he had ascertained the rates and periods. But we now see how we might admit the truth of his observations in one respect, yet deny them in the other, and separate fact from hypothesis. In like manner we may at present admit the truth of the observations made by geologists concerning the order and contents of the earth's strata, while denying the inferences they have drawn as to their mode of formation and pre-mundane antiquity: and thus, by separating hypothesis from observation, and putting facts in their proper places, we may find a place both for the creation and for the deluge, so as at once to remove the supposed discrepancy between geology and revelation, and vindicate the authority which intrinsically belongs to the Hebrew Scriptures.

We may grant the accuracy and value of the observations which geologists have made, concerning the relative positions of the various strata, and the fossil remains or other peculiarities of each stratum; but we must separate these observations, which truly are facts, from their assertions respecting the origin or cause of the strata themselves. We have ever denied that there is any evidence of these being sedimentary deposits, in the ordinary sense of the terms; and consequently deny that they afford any measure of time, and therefore deny that they present any contradiction to the Mosaic account of creation and of the deluge.

It is not easy to discover what is the order of succession, in respect of time, which geologists at present hold. This was clear enough in Werner, who reckoned granite, and the deepest seated rocks, as therefore the oldest. It was also intelligible, though not so clear, in Hutton and his followers; who reversed the order of the crystalline rocks, and regarded granite as a formation from beneath, and among the newest of all rocks, except those which are decidedly volcanic in their origin. But the present geologists, in combining the two systems, have the appearance of beginning at both ends, and leaving nothing in

the middle; or so shifting the middle term that it becomes an evanescent quantity, and leaves us no foundation to rest on. For granite and the crystalline rocks being deemed of igneous origin—and slate-rock, and the whole group that used to be called transition, being deemed metamorphic rocks—we have no primary rocks whatsoever. The term *metamorphic* implies that the rock was at first a sedimentary deposit from water, which was afterwards changed by the heated mass bursting out beneath, on which it at present rests. The rock on which it lies, and to which it owes its metamorphosis, is, in the supposition itself, implied to be newer than the slate which this igneous rock has changed: whence, then, did the slate derive its original materials? And where can we find any rock whatsoever which we can regard as primary? Where can geologists find any source whatsoever from whence they can derive materials to commence their sedimentary deposits? If the large deposits of clayslate, gneiss, &c. are really metamorphic; and if the granitic rocks are the cause of this metamorphosis, and therefore secondary in point of time to the rocks they have changed; whence could the materials of the clayslate and gneiss be by any possibility derived? It could not be from the detritus of granite, before the granite itself came into existence. It could not be from the simple stratified rocks, for these, as lying over the metamorphic, are supposed to be long posterior. The very materials of the metamorphic rocks are unaccounted for: they are cut off from every possible source of supply, by fire on the one hand, and by water on the other. These rocks are in fact a burdensome stone to all theorists: Werner did not know what to do with them, and so he called them transition, which meant that they were neither one thing nor another: the moderns call them metamorphic, because they cannot reconcile them with the agency of fire or water: so, to make the matter sure, they bring in both agencies—leaving the contradictions to be reconciled by others, or to remain unreconciled.

Such of the geologists as are candid plainly tell us, that none of the geological facts can be accounted for by operations now going on upon the earth, or by any principles of physics with which we are acquainted. And they allow that all the reasonings concerning the mode in which strata have been formed, and the time which would be required for such purposes, are, from first to last, purely hypothetical: having not the smallest warrant in known processes, there being no such formations in progress since the creation of man—the system being based on the denial that there are any.

For the whole system, so far as it clashes with Scripture, rests

upon the absence of human remains from all geological strata; from whence the inference is drawn that these strata were deposited before the creation of man. If this inference be correct it shuts us up to the conclusion that the laws now in operation are altogether inadequate to form strata; for in six thousand years not one stratum has been formed, nor is there a beginning of any such formations. Until something like an approximation to such a result be instanced, and it is proved that this has been effected by natural means, we shall continue to doubt the possibility of strata being thus formed; and hold ourselves warranted in denying that any such strata ever could have been formed by the ordinary laws of nature, and in therefore rejecting the whole theory as mere speculation, or at most as an ingenious but unsupported hypothesis.

And in reference to fossils, also, we would observe that if according to this hypothesis stratification were now going on, we should certainly have found some of the present races of animals imbedded in recent strata, and ought even to have found the remains of man himself. The only instances of human remains are, like that from Guadaloupe, so very recent as, by the immense gap they leave, to damage the theory, and leave it in a worse state than if they had never been found. Dr. Buckland supposes (page 104, *note*), that these Guadaloupe skeletons are the results of a battle fought in the year 1710. Are we, by geological reasoning, to conclude that man was not created till 1710? Or are we to conclude that Guadaloupe is the only portion of the earth inhabited by man? We believe none of these human remains are fossilized; but in whatever state they are, they either prove too much, or too little. If they are fossilized why have we not more of them, and in the earliest peopled districts of the earth? Was Guadaloupe the first abode of man? And is that mixture of sand and chalk the nearest approximation to a stratum since the creation of man? Or, on the other hand, if these bones are not fossilized, does it not rather strengthen the idea entertained by many, that human bones are incapable of fossilization?

The believer in that grand truth, which gives substance and reality to the spiritual truths of Christianity, viz. the resurrection of the body, is unwilling to see it apparently compromised, by placing the bodies of men on the same level with the brutes, to whom no resurrection is assigned. And we instinctively show some respect to the dead bodies of men, and would be unwilling to suppose that even their bones deserve no higher a place than forming part of the collection in a museum. It should be ever present to our minds that our bodies are called the temple

of the Holy Ghost: "What? know ye not (saith St. Paul) that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are his." And it should also be remembered that Christ hath taken our flesh, and when risen from the dead bade the disciples to handle him, for assuring themselves that the same body was raised: "Behold my hands, and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And in that body, thus raised from the dead, he sitteth at the right hand of God; and in that body shall he appear at the last day, and change the living and raise the dead; when all that are found faithful shall be made like him, for they shall see him as he is. Such dignity belongs even to the body of man, who alone of all creatures was made in the image of God.

Christ took our nature, that our sins might be imputed to him, in order that he might make an atonement for us, and cancel our sins: and, as a consequence thereof, his righteousness might be imputed to all who believe in him. This doctrine of imputation, which forms the ground-work of the Gospel, was foreshadowed from the moment of the fall; first, in the guilt contracted by Adam passing upon the whole creation, though it had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who was the figure of him that was to come: secondly, in the immediate indication of the appointed remedy, by the institution of sacrifices; wherein the death of the innocent victim, in place of the guilty sinner, typified the one sacrifice of himself, to be offered by Christ, in the fulness of time, for the sin of the world.

The animal creation had not sinned, but shared in the misery brought in by the sin of man; both because it was the only way in which man could be taught the extent of his sin, and because it was necessary to hold up to faith, in sacrifices, the way of reconciliation and atonement through Christ Jesus: and not only do we discard the idea of suffering being brought into the world by any other cause than the sin of man, as an unsustained hypothesis, and manifestly contrary to Scripture—we hold ourselves bound to combat it as a libel against God, in thus imputing to him the infliction of so much misery without any apparent or assignable cause: and it is also further objectionable as being subversive of the whole Gospel scheme of redemption through Jesus Christ.

For, notwithstanding the form in which the argument has been put, in order to show that, on the whole, enjoyment preponderates over misery in the brute creation, we hold that any suffering, any death gratuitously inflicted—that is not as penal

—not as the consequence of guilt, is a libel upon God: either it imputes to the Almighty a defect of power, and inability to create beings which can stand harmless; or supposes God to be indifferent to their sufferings, and, as all things are done by him, inflicting gratuitous pain and misery. The want of an immortal soul is no argument for it, but quite the contrary; for brutes, destitute of reason, must be regarded as in themselves innocent; moral consciousness is necessary in order to contract guilt; and if they suffered thus before the creation of man, no sufficient cause appears why it should be so.

It will not suffice to say that the angels are moral agents; and that the fall of angels may have brought sin into manifestation, and death as its consequence upon the brute creation, before man was created. For, not to insist upon the want of a revelation to that effect, and its being therefore mere conjecture, there is no such connexion between angels and the animal creation as to implicate the latter in the sin of the former. Among the angels themselves there does not appear to be anything like that standing of federal headship which subsists in mankind as regarded in Adam, or the Church as regarded in Christ: each angelic being singly and voluntarily stood or fell; and this seems to be the cause why no redemption is provided for them. Moreover they are spiritual beings, having no corporeal substance, and the brute creation is merely corporeal or fleshly, and has no spiritual nature—between two such heterogeneous natures, as spirit destitute of substance, and substance destitute of spirit, there can be no connection, in the sense of guilt being imputed from the one to the other. If a connexion between angels and anything earthly could be established at all, it would be more likely to subsist between the *human* and the angelic natures, because man is in part spiritual, and not wholly corporeal, like the animals. Yet, for the work of redemption, we are expressly and sedulously taught that Christ took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham: it being necessary, even for establishing the connexion between the Lord himself and mankind, that he should take a body, soul, and spirit like that of man: to become truly the second Adam—bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. And while we steadfastly hold that this incarnation was a fixed purpose in the mind of God from all eternity, and may have been foreshadowed and typified in various ways—it never became real fact till Christ came, and thus rendered glory to God in the highest: till he who was made of a woman, made under the law, came to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And now unto us a child is born, unto us a

son is given, on whose shoulders the government shall be, though we see not yet all things put under him; for we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour. And when the first begotten shall be brought again into the world, the proclamation before him shall be, "Let all the angels of God worship him." He shall then take the throne as King of kings and Lord of lords; and heaven and earth shall acknowledge him, saying, "worthy is the Lamb." "And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying: blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." And that we may give to this material world of ours its true importance, and to wrest the argument out of the hands of those who bolster their infidelity on the superior magnitude of the heavenly bodies, it should be borne in mind that Christ, the Lord, is the Son of Man, and all this glory to God in the highest is inseparable from peace on earth, and good will towards men. It has all resulted from the incarnation, which mystery was transacted on this earth, and our flesh was the substance which furnished the material body for him who sitteth on the throne of heaven now, and who shall, at his second coming, be manifested as Ruler of the universe, and shall receive this universal homage. By him and for him all things were made. He, as the Lamb of God, redeemed only this world, not other worlds: he passed by the angels; and this act of grace, shown exclusively towards us and our world, stamps a peculiar importance on us and ours in developing the mystery of God. Great was the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh, seen of angels, &c. Unto principalities and powers in heavenly places shall be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God. This is the dignity of man—this our high, our vast responsibility as his body: glory to God in the highest was, by the angelic hosts, proclaimed at the incarnation, over an apparently helpless babe lying in a manger. For GOD WAS THERE, embodied in that babe; *even then* the manifestation of the incarnate God began—*then first began:* and though the body might *seem* helpless, the angels beheld *the fulness of the Godhead bodily present there.* Glory in the highest could not but ensue, they might not know how, but God had appropriated to himself a body; none could wrest it from him, for Omnipotence was there; that body must needs rule the universe, for the Creator

of all worlds was there: all glory must be given to that portion of creation, *first*, which God had *thus* appropriated, and made so inexpressibly near to him as to become the very form of his subsistence. Christ hath not merely taken a body in the sense of appearing in such a form—HE IS GOD-MAN—HE is incorporated thus. As man is not man without having a body, so is Christ inseparable from his body; and in a far higher sense since he is raised, his body hath put on immortality, and infinitely higher since godhead is joined to the human body soul and spirit, in Christ. God hath, in the Son, appropriated to himself the whole nature of that glorious creature, which was made in the image of God for this very end.

Creation is truly one system, by which God will make one revelation of the truth concerning himself; and of the truth concerning his works. But the creation concerning which we now speak, as the only part of the universe concerning which anything precise or in detail is revealed to us, as an object presented to our faith, is this world: through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear (Heb. xi.) And from the creation to the final consummation, this visible *cosmos* is regarded as one whole—sustained under its present condition by the same word of God which first called it into being, and brought upon it the first universal judgment by water—the type of the second and final judgment by fire. "By *the word* of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water: *whereby* the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished: but the heavens and earth which are now, by *the same word*, are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men" (2 Pet. iii.) The deluge, like the creation, and the last day, was a preternatural act—produced by no natural causes, but by the word of God—and it is the privilege of the believer to acknowledge the same Almighty being, continually sustaining that goodly world which he created, and hath once destroyed for the sin of man, and which he shall once more visit for the destruction of all the evil which hath been brought upon it by sin; that, like *the fabled phœnix*, it may emerge more glorious, more beautiful than ever, and stand the everlasting monument of the wisdom, power, grace, and mercy of God, not only to the glorified saints, but also to the angelic hosts.

St. Peter, in the passage just referred to, speaks with great precision, calling the present system, as a whole, "all things continuing as from the beginning of the creation" (ver 4); mean-

ing thereby the heavens as they appear to us, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water, by a constitution of these elements having the same reference to each other which they bear at the present time—that is, it is not according to nature—not according to the laws of gravity—that there should be any dry land at all, either before the flood, or after that event; yet the land has been raised out of the water, though earth is much heavier than water; and it has been in both cases by the word of God, as we find it written in Genesis: "And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so." Then, by the same word, "the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished" (6). For God said, "Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh" (Gen. vi. 17). And the *world* spoken of by St. Peter is the *cosmos* (κοσμος)—the adorned surface of the earth with its inhabitants. "But the heavens and the earth which now are"—which is the same constitution of things as a system, and is the all things that continue from the beginning of creation of ver. 4—"by the same word are kept in store against the day of judgment" (ver. 7). For God spake unto Noah, saying, "I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth" (Gen. ix. 11).

But there is another word, translated world, which has a very different meaning from *cosmos* (κοσμος)—namely, *aion* (αιων), signifying dispensation, or *age*. This is the word used in the epistle to the Hebrews, where Christ is declared to be the appointed heir of all things, and the Creator through whom the Father made the worlds, or constituted the *aions* (αιωνας)—ages, or dispensations. Christ was the word: he also was the wisdom of Proverbs, with the Father from all eternity, contemplating the end from the beginning; and "he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment: when he appointed the foundations of the earth:" and he rejoiced from the beginning "in the habitable parts of his earth, and his delights were with the sons of men" (viii. 29, 31). This is the meaning of the language of St. Paul, in calling Christ the image of the invisible God—*the first born of every creature:* for by him were all things created. It means that the mind and purpose of God was brought into manifestation by Jesus Christ; first, and principally, in his own person; but, secondly, and still more comprehensibly to finite intelligence, through *the creation*, and that which shall be the fullest exponent of creation—*the Church*. Therefore it is added, "all

things were created by him, and *for him:* and he is *before* all things, and by him all things consist: and he is the head of *the body—the Church*, who is the beginning, the first born from the dead, that in all things, or as it is in the margin *among* all things, he might have the pre-eminence" (Col. i. 15, 18).

Now Christ made the worlds, or constituted the ages, during which the mystery of God should be developed, as well as created the materials by means of which the mystery should have its visible manifestation: the matter was called into being, and the times were appointed beforehand for accomplishing those stages of development which belonged to the several dispensations—Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian; all leading on to the final or resurrection dispensation of the glorified Church, under Christ himself, as the head. It is in this specific and precise sense that all things were created by Christ, and for him; and all are thus prophetic of this grand final consummation. And not only as a whole, and in this general sense, was the creation prophetic, but in all its details—each act is prophetic of another act, further in advance, and so leading onward to the final result. The creation of mere matter is a promise of something more—is a promise of life about to be manifested: for the herbs, and grain, and fruits, are provisions for the sustenance of life; and the higher forms of vegetable, and the lower forms of animal life, almost touch each other; and the insect tribes aid in the fructification of trees, in the very act by which they extract the honey from the fragrant blossoms. The animals which form the second act of creation, in their variety of conformation, lead up to man; and, in their instincts, give more and more distinct promises of reason—the characteristic of the last act of creation, which brought the God-like creature into being; not only the head of creation in being to all other created things at once their interpreter and their crown—but God-like in being that predestinated form, which Christ, the Creator, would, in the fulness of time, assume—therein to become head of the Church, and visible Lord of the universe—of which the dominion given at first to Adam was the type.

There cannot be a doubt in the mind of a believer in Scripture that the animals were created harmless, were free from suffering, and were not designed to prey upon each other: and this, whether we regard the unequivocal declarations that herbs and fruits were originally appointed to be the food both of animals and of mankind; or whether we refer to subsequent events, or prophecies concerning the future condition of things in the renewed earth. During the time that the animals remained in the ark, the carnivorous propensities of the beasts of prey must

necessarily have been suspended, or they must have had a very long fast of it. And even after they were let loose from the ark, a few active lions and tigers would not only have destroyed the young of the graminivorous animals faster than they could multiply, but would very speedily exterminate the whole race, and not leave a single defenceless animal upon the face of the earth. Moreover, it is declared in those prophetic Scriptures, which treat of the restitution of all things, that the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox (Isaiah xi. lxv.) We understand these prophecies literally; but if any chose to understand them figuratively, even then they prove our point. For no promise of God involves an absurdity; and if it were impossible that a lion should subsist on straw, like an ox, to promise such a thing would be a foolish figure, but argues folly in him who makes it a figure—not in the promise itself. In the prophecy, understood in either way, it is equally implied that lions can live on straw like oxen—that there is no physical impossibility, no absurdity in the supposition—and, moreover, that it is a good thing that they should live upon straw, and not upon blood. We believe that they did so at the beginning, when God pronounced over all things that they were very good: we believe that they shall again do so, when the Lord cometh, and when none—nothing whatever—shall hurt or destroy for the time to come. It is the promise of a restoration to a primæval constitution of things, better than that at present subsisting, and never again to be lost or forfeited. At the beginning God said, "Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat. And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat." No words can be plainer than these: they can only be set aside by disbelieving divine revelation, both as to this first constitution of things, and as to the prophecies concerning the new creation, or the restitution of all things.

These theological arguments, which are both strong in themselves, and altogether positive in their bearing, we state thus fully in justification of our rejection of the geological hypothesis concerning extinct species of predatory animals, which existed before the creation of man—an hypothesis which rests at most on the mere *negative* evidence of our not having yet

discovered any traces of man in similar strata. This inference, from the mere absence of human remains, may be any day refuted by the discovery of human implements imbedded in rock; and a letter now lies before us in which we are assured that forged pieces of iron and brass have been found imbedded six feet below the surface, in the unfractured, undisturbed, horizontal layers of lias, which are worked in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury. We are afraid of laying too much stress on a single fact; but a single fact like this, if it can be established beyond all contradiction, would certainly suffice to refute all the speculations which only rest on the absence of such a fact.

And with respect to the other part of the hypothesis, which assumes that all strata are sedimentary deposits—and that, therefore, it would require ages of incalculable extent to accumulate materials sufficient to form deposits so numerous and of such great thickness—this branch of the geological argument we have considered in all its bearings in several former articles, and have endeavoured to show that it is without support as to facts, and is contrary to all known principles, natural or physical.

But, for the convenience of our readers, we give a brief summary of the arguments and the answers; and will use as much as possible the words of the geologists, that we may not misrepresent their arguments. One of them writes thus:—"The geologists conclude that the surface of the earth has reached its present condition as the last of many changes, during which its various parts have been successively dry land and immersed in water. The strata (say they) must have been formed at the bottom of seas, estuaries, and lakes, by the sediment deposited by rivers, currents, and other causes; while the calcareous formations appear to have been derived, in part, from the labours of marine animals, which formed beds similar to the coral reefs of tropical seas; and the coal from growths resembling peat-bogs, but of superior vegetation; or, as some suppose, from drift plants and timber."

Here are three classes of products—first, sedimentary deposits; secondly, coral reefs; thirdly, coal from vegetation. For the first assertion, that the strata must have been formed at the bottom of seas and lakes, we might meet it with a contrary assertion, and wait for the proof, since the *onus* lies upon them, and not upon those who deny, in the absence of proof. But we say that it is incredible to any attentive observer—that there is no conceivable possibility of these strata having been formed by sedimentary deposits, under any known laws, or by any existing agency. The structure of the rocks themselves refute such an origin; and their homogeniety, as distinct formations, on the

one hand, and their distinctness from each other, when two formations are compared, on the other hand, negative the idea of their all being derived from one source, or being formed by a similar process. But it is granted by the geologists themselves that no instance has occurred, since the creation of man, of a single stratum having been formed by sedimentary deposit: therefore we may legitimately deny that strata could ever be formed by the only laws we know—the laws at present in operation. If, in the course of six thousand years, not a single instance of such an effect can be produced, it is not reasonable to expect us at once to concede the point assumed, that all those enormous masses of strata have been formed by means which are, at the present time, confessedly inadequate.

One of the ablest as well as one of the most recent works on geology contains the following passage:—"It is, perhaps, an unfortunate circumstance for geology that, in whatever way the subject is at first viewed, it is surrounded with difficulties, arising from the impossibility of actually connecting geological phenomena with the operations now going on around us. If, for instance, we endeavour to trace back the history of the world, and pass from the alluvial matter carried down by rivers to that of the gravel, which appears to be the newest deposit, and one abundantly spread over various formations, we are at once struck with the utter inadequacy of any cause now in action to produce such effects." This *impossibility* of accounting for the facts by any operations now going on—this *inadequacy* of the assigned causes to produce the known effects—is the gist of all our arguments, and we are glad to have them confirmed by so high an authority as the professor of King's College.

The second class of products mentioned are the calcareous, supposed to be produced in the same way as the coral reefs of tropical seas. In considering this great deposit, we must remember how very large and wide-spreading a formation it is; being estimated as covering one-eighth part of the surface of the earth to a depth of several hundred feet. Were the *tropical* seas ever of this extent? The chalk runs through the heart of France and the centre of England—what ground is there for saying that these countries were ever within the tropics? It is imagined that the calcareous matter has been derived from the labours of marine animals, because it is impossible to derive sufficient materials from the decomposition of the older rocks; as granite, old red sandstone, &c., contain very small proportions of lime, and very large proportions of other ingredients which are found only in minute quantities in the chalk. And the supposing that it could be formed *originally* in the same manner

as it is formed by marine animals, in the shape of coral, is a false analogy; for lime is not *created* by these animals—they only *collect* it from the sea, into which it has been washed down from the calcareous strata *already in existence.* And these animals would not be able to form the coral, but that the sea holds in solution large quantities of lime, which these creatures take up. No animal has power to *create* matter—it only appropriates that which is brought within its reach. Birds are very fond of egg shells, because these furnish the lime which their own egg shells require; and if hens are kept in places where they have no access to lime, all the eggs that they lay will be destitute of shells, and quite soft.

The question is not how calcareous matter, already existing in another form, may become chalk; or how, if suspended in water it may be taken up by corals, or precipitated and consolidated: but the question is, how such enormous quantities of calcareous matter came into existence, since it cannot be derived from the older rocks. As Dr. Buckland has well expressed it in his "Bridgewater Treatise:"—

"It is a difficult problem to account for the source of the enormous masses of carbonate of lime that compose nearly one eighth part of the superficial crust of the globe. Some have referred it to the secretions of marine animals—an origin to which we must obviously assign those portions of calcareous strata which are composed of comminuted shells and coralines; but until it can be shewn that these animals have the power *of forming lime from other elements*, we must suppose that they derived it from the sea, either directly, or through the medium of its plants. In either case, it remains to find the source whence the sea obtained, not only these supplies of carbonate of lime for its animal inhabitants, but also the still larger quantities of the same substance that have been precipitated in the form of calcareous strata. We cannot suppose it to have resulted, like sands and clay, from the mechanical detritus of rocks of the granitic series, because the quantity of lime these rocks contain bears no proportion to its large amount among the derivative rocks. The only remaining *hypothesis* seems to be, that lime was continually introduced to lakes and seas by water that had percolated rocks, through which calcareous earth was disseminated."

Another mere hypothesis!—to account for the failure of a preceding hypothesis; for these supposed lime rocks no where exist—and it is facts that we require, and not hypothesis after hypothesis.

The coal formations we may dismiss with the remark, that though they are local, and independent of each other, they usually consist of immense accumulations in those localities; sometimes amounting to thirty or forty beds, each of which

would require more vegetable matter to form it than could ever, by any possibility, have grown in that locality; while between the beds, and over them, are solid strata of stone, which bring the coal formation itself, by this close association, under all the objections to a sedimentary deposit, which we have already alluded, under the first head, as involving impossibilities.

To give some idea of the time it would require, we quote an observation of one of the most eminent of geologists:—"On our way home.....I observed a thin black line of charred vegetable matter exposed in the perpendicular section of the bank... ...As geologists, we may learn from this fact, how a thin seam of vegetable matter, an inch or two thick, is often the only monument to be looked for of an ancient surface of dry land, on which a luxuriant forest may have grown for thousands of years." If to form an inch or two of deposit thousands of years were required, our readers may calculate how long it will take to form thirty or forty beds, from three to six feet in thickness, or perhaps they may think the time incalculable.

Thus, all the main points of the geological hypothesis, concerning the origin and formation of mountain masses, appear to be erroneous; and, by the acknowledgments of the geologists themselves, the facts are insufficient to sustain their assertions —are inadequate to explain the existing phenomena. Is it not then the part of wisdom, nay, even of common sense, to pause? Should we not wait for more facts, or for a better explanation of the causes of phenomena already observed?

And as the scriptural narrative, by its simplicity and consistency, affords the best means of detecting the error, and is a clue to guide us through the mazes of such a labyrinth, would it not be wise at once to abandon speculation and hypothesis, and resolve to acknowledge only the facts of revelation for our principles; and, on this basis, construct and arrange our explanation of those facts of geology, which we may collect or infer from present condition of the things around us?

The facts of revelation consist of two great classes: those concerning creation, or the origin of all things—and those concerning the deluge, by which the original constitution of the earth was entirely altered, and it was brought into its present condition. The fundamental error of the geologists consists in supposing that the earth could have come into its present condition by natural agency—that is, by causes or properties of matter which are in operation at this time. We deny that any such causes could produce any such effects, and their inadequacy is virtually conceded by the geologists themselves. But they have also mistaken the facts of the deluge, and have sup-

posed that this mighty catastrophe was brought about by natural agency—in short, that it was a flood produced only by heavy rains, though universal. We have shown that this would be an impossibility, and the Scripture always speaks of the deluge as supernatural, and without a parallel. They have also mistaken the facts of creation, and treated them as though all we could know about it were accomplished by natural agency; and they have thrown back creation proper into a region so inconceivably distant and obscure as never at all to enter into any of their contemplation, and it may, in this sense be said, that God is not in all their thoughts; thus it is not to be wondered at, that they have found no place in their system for the scriptural facts of the creation or the deluge, which, in the Mosaic narrative, are both ascribed to the immediate hand of God.

What we mean by SCRIPTURAL GEOLOGY is, that the Christian should regard God's word and his works as one whole, and only as different modes of recording the same history—the end and purpose of the whole being to make himself known. Christ began his instructions in such a manner—teaching the disciples, in his first discourse, that God had clothed the earth, and he feeds the ravens, and not a sparrow falleth to the ground without divine permission; yea, the very hairs of our head are all numbered. Much more, then, in contemplating the CREATION of the heavens, and the earth, and in considering how all things came into their present state of acknowledged disorder and suffering: much more in looking at the evil side of the picture which the world presents, we should ever so keep God in our thoughts as to prevent the folly of man from charging causeless evil upon God. And where evil cannot but be acknowledged, trace it to the sin of man; which rendered it necessary to the holiness of God, who cannot connive at sin, to allow of corresponding punishment, and reluctantly take in hand his long forborne and strange work of judgment against those who refuse to repent, and persist in provoking the wrath of the Most High.

It may be that the time is not yet come for setting geology on its true basis, for it is a very recent branch of science; its commencement falls within our memory, and no science we believe is matured in a single generation. And the first work to be done for effectual progress in any science is that of the pioneer, clearing away obstructions from the path; the first care of a judicious architect is to remove all accidental accumulations, and lay a solid foundation. Much will be done towards future progress when all unfounded hypotheses are swept way: and the trust-worthiness of the future building would be

ensured by laying it on a scriptural basis. If this were done, it would be of little consequence whether the work proceeded fast or slow: however slow it would be sure, and the work done would abide; while at present all is left to the mere ingenuity of men, and almost every year we are amused or shocked with some new hypothesis, varying only according to the good or bad taste, the caution or the recklessness, of the propounders.

ART. V.—*Histoire des Eglises du Désert chez les Protestants de France, Depuis la fin du Régne de Louis XIV., jusqu' à la Revolution Française.* Par CHARLES COQUEREL. Two vols. 8vo. Paris: Ab. Cherbuliez et Co. Geneva: Même Maison. Londres: Jeffs, Burlington-arcade.

WHEN the various and widely separated districts of France, which renounced Popery, first openly espoused the cause of the Reformation, the professors of the purified faith were distinguished, if we may so call it, by the appellation of Lutherans. It is a well-known fact, however, that they were moved more by an united feeling against Rome than by an unanimous approval of all that Luther taught. Indeed, no class of Reformers so little deserved the appellation of Lutherans as the French; for whatever opinions they may have adopted in their first burst of eagerness to escape from the intolerable thraldom of Popery, they soon acknowledged no other earthly leader than Calvin. From the very first, their attempt to secure religious freedom was met by the most cruel tyranny. To dare to think was, in itself, to merit death; to dare to speak was to ensure it. The aristocracy of France upheld their cause only to be slain in its defence. The ever-infamous day of St. Bartholomew will serve to illustrate the depth of their own wrongs, and the blood-thirstiness of the men who first worked the evil, and then massacred alike those who complained and those who were passive. To grant them a little breathing time of peace was to endanger the throne from which the message of brief grace was enunciated. When Henry III. sheathed his own sword, and bid his Protestant subjects bind up their wounds, a yell of execration arose from the universal Popedom. The smell of the hot blood that had been shed was provocation to the spilling of more, and the fiat issued from Rome that stirred up those bloody Guises, not only to attempt the overthrow of a king, who was willing to see his Protestant people sit undisturbed at the foot of his throne, but the extirpation of that very people,

and the utter and complete annihilation of the religion they professed. The complete horrors of that long period, in which slaughter stalked abroad and became familiar in the sight of men—in which bloody aggression never ceased, and bloody resistance never slackened—those horrors have never been adequately told, as indeed they are beyond all adequate conception. With the accession of Henry IV., a bright but deceitful dawn broke over the new prospects of the Protestant cause. To effectually check the commission of further atrocities, Henry IV. flung the shield of the law over the hard-pressed Reformers. He gave them legal toleration—he presented to their gratitude the great edict of Nantes—the edict was, in fact, a decree against the commission of religious assassination. The Jesuits obeyed it by burying a knife in the bosom of the decreer!

From that period, Popery and the Reformed doctrine have stood with threatening aspect in presence of each other. The toleration promised by the edict of Nantes was a mere delusion: the exceptions made to its clauses annulled all that was worth the acceptance of those for whom the clauses were expressly made: to remonstrate was to rebel; and rebellion was the forerunner of death. This doom was ever before the eyes of every individual in France who objected to the supremacy of Rome. Neither age nor sex were permitted to escape. Toleration was only allowed to those who dared not accept it; if they sought to reap its advantages, the end was destruction. They were hurried on to an assertion of their rights, and a resolution to maintain them, only to be swept down by cannon shot, or cut off by the speedy system of the dragonades. Popery never allowed royalty to slumber—the monarch who dared to rest for a moment from the slaughter, which he was persuaded or compelled to authorise, was excited, by priestly threats and crafty menaces, to let slip the bloodhounds of persecution, with renewed appetites, against a terror-stricken, but not a faith-denying people. The revocation of the edict of Nantes was the great crime and the great foolishness of Louis the XIV. His troops had slaughtered all who came within reach of their shot or their arms, as professors of the reformed religion. Death was denounced against the few yet left who had courage to keep their faith and to practice its rites by night in the desert places of a land, to stand on which, with a profession of protestantism avowed, was to forfeit property, to yield to the gallows, and to be denied a grave.

It is the object of the reverend author of this interesting work to give a narrative of those Protestant communities of France which, without defying the revocation of the edict of Nantes,

yet resolved upon not going into exile, and resigned themselves to endure the horrible barbarities of the laws, when detected in the innocent, nay praiseworthy, worship which was denounced as an infringement of them, worthy of death. Long and fierce was the persecution which the Church formed by those communities had to submit to, with the cheerful humility of martyrs. The persecution, in its shape of deadly enmity, did not cease till the period of Louis XVI., when the government and the parliaments became deaf to the urgent persuasions of the Romish clergy, displayed a reluctance to enforce the edicts of the "great monarch," and, at length, finally abrogated them altogether.

It is hardly possible to conceive the position of a large body of men thus existing in face of a law which pronounced them legally dead, and which rendered them physically so, when they were caught in the criminal fact of asserting their religious liberty. Their first, and most implacable foe, Louis XIV., stood in connection with them, exactly as we see the "archi-archi-archi"-despot of Russia stand in connection with his Roman Catholic subjects. The Muscovite whip, torture, and oven, wherein to bake poor Romanist women who decline conscientiously to enter the Greek Church, are all plagiarisms from the policy of Louis XIV., whose sole and selfish object it was to create an apparent religious unity within his kingdom, and to compel every French Protestant subject to embrace the Romish religion of the prince. He who was not of the monarch's religion was accursed, and pronounced worthy of dying the death; just as, at this day, he who, in Russia, is not of the czar's religion is anathematised by the military synod, which arranges the ecclesiastical department of Russia, and handed over to imprisonment, laceration, and the grave.

When the peace of Utrecht became an established fact, the scattered, fragmentary, priestless congregations of French Protestantism began to take heart. They were not sensible of the actual arrival of better times; but they saw an age of promise in the distance, and they commenced due preparation for it accordingly. They began by assembling by night in caves, forests, on wide plains, or under the shelter of craigs and cliffs. Peril attended the path of those who attended these meetings—peril hung over them while they tarried, nor left them as they returned. But the danger of death could not deter men from the solemn congregations of the wilderness; and weary miles were trodden by worshippers to hold community with their fellow-proscribed, to bid them be of good cheer, to "bide their time," and to wait patiently for the salvation of the Lord. Immense difficulties, nevertheless, obstructed the efforts of the

good men who, with the youthful Antoine Court at their head, had to hold their way between the most atrocious persecution on the one hand, and ignorance, partaking largely of fanaticism, on the other. Low, indeed, was the condition of the Protestants in France when the great restorer of Protestantism, whom we have just named, put his hand to the plough, never to look back from his task till death relieved him. Oppression had so entirely crushed the hearts of many of the French Protestants, that their inward burning affection for the Reformed faith was dishonoured by their outward, yet compelled, behaviour. To use Court's own expressive words—"In one hand they held the Gospel, and in the other the idol." By night they offered a secret worship to God, and by day they publicly attended mass. He assumed a perilous but a glorious mission who undertook to restore freedom and purity, where slavery, cruelty, and hypocrisy, born of terror, had so long reigned paramount. It was by the latter instruments that Louis XIV. deemed that he had effectually annihilated the Reformation. He was already on his death-bed when he had struck the commemorative medals bearing the legend of "heresy extinct;" and yet, ere the bronzed lie had been consigned to the cabinets of the curious, and the oratories of the priests, that so-called heresy was springing into new life, and receiving daily vigour in the hands of a youth who held a sling, and a stone, and a mission from God. We refer our readers to the details given by M. Coquerel of the method taken by Court, and his co-adjutors, to organize the scattered remnants of the widely spread congregations. They are full of interest, but they are too long for us. One significative fact will prove the delicate and dangerous nature of their undertaking. They had drawn up a paper for the guidance of their followers on matters of faith, discipline, religious worship, morality, and loyalty: six ministers subscribed this document, and of these four fell into the hands of the authorities, and were immediately hanged.

That our readers may have some idea of what the professors of Protestantism had to contend with, from the period of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, to that very shortly anterior to the French Revolution, we will, as briefly as possible, detail only a few of the inflictions and penalties which impeded or punished the profession of the reformed religion in France. The edict of revocation decreed the utter annihilation of that religion, and little short of the same extremity to its followers. We may premise that, only a few years previous to the publication of the avenging edict, a famous decree, touching emigration and emigrants, forbade any Protestants from either

emigrating to Protestant countries or marrying with Protestant foreigners: confiscation of goods and dreary imprisonment were the penalties incurred; and it was expressly declared that all parents, relations, and guardians consenting to such marriages should be condemned to the gallies for life. Death on the scaffold inevitably fell on all detected in facilitating the evasion of Protestants from the kingdom; and this cruelty was excused on the plea of the necessity that existed to prevent the beloved but erring subjects of a Popish monarch from enjoying, in other dominions, the destructive liberty of indulgence in errors which could not be thought of, but at peril of the gibbet or the galleys, in his own. Again: before the edict of revocation half-ruined France, and gave a yet enduring and consequent prosperity to England and Holland—the two nations at whose hands France has received the most numerous humiliations—and a host of other legal restrictions affecting the Protestants, we find a singular decree (tempting to apostacy), by which the king "grants to all his subjects of the pretended reformed religion," and who shall make abjuration of the same, the term and delay of three years for the payment of the capital of their debts; his majesty expressly forbidding "their creditors to take any steps for the recovery of money so owing to them during the aforesaid time." This was, as we have said, a temptation to apostatize. That it was not decreed out of affection for the Protestants themselves is sufficiently proved by another order in council, which declared that no person who *had* professed the "pretended reformed religion" should dispose of either his real or personal property, to the amount of 3,000 livres and upwards, without express authorization from the king. This famous declaration was repeated triennially until towards the end of the reign of Louis XVI., and by its means the government had the property of the Protestants completely locked up under their hands.

Among the more singular laws of the period, one forbids a Protestant practising the calling of an "accoucheuse" to Catholic ladies, on the pretext that, should the latter be in peril of their lives, their heretical midwives, "having no faith in the sacraments," might leave them to perish without informing them of their condition. In most cases, where the infringers of these royal decrees are females, the penalty announced, if not death, as is too often the case, is, that they shall have their heads shaved, be sent for a time to the gallies, and finally kept in perpetual seclusion. As for the learned, brave, or enterprising male "heretics," they were not only shut out from promotion in any profession they might adopt, but they were forbidden to

exercise any profession at all to which noble or gentle blood would naturally aspire: nay, it was even considered dangerous to the state that a Protestant should follow the sober and useful callings of "apothecaries, grocers, servants, drapers, goldsmiths, booksellers, printers," &c. &c. The law and medicine, of course, were closed to them; and even Roman Catholic judges, who were married to "heretical" wives, were not permitted to preside in court over any case in which an ecclesiastic, or one newly converted to Popery, had any interest. These were a very few of the legislative oppressions which rested upon the Protestants previous to the revocation of the edict which was supposed to have secured to them toleration, if not entire liberty. The revoking edict had yet, however, to be immediately prefaced by a little preparatory legislation. Thus, it became "ordained by the law" that "all our subjects of the pretended reformed religion, who may have attained *the age of seven years*, may be enabled, and it shall be lawful for them, to embrace the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; and, in furtherance of this, they shall be admitted to make abjuration of their own pretended reformed faith without their fathers, mothers, or relations being empowered to object to the same." The same paternal law orders that these children may, subsequent to conversion, retire whither they please, and also compel their parents to furnish them with an income equal to their condition and their wants!

As yet, the worship of the Protestants had, under terrible restrictions, been permitted to be carried on within their "temple." As a preparatory step to annulling this and every other ill-grudged right, it was first ordered that certain "Catholics" should be present at every sermon to stop the preacher when they thought proper; and, secondly (and at the petition of the Popish clergy), the utter demolition of all *temples* erected in episcopal cities was ordered and insisted on. This was succeeded by the further demolition of all *temples*, wheresoever situated in France, and an order to Protestant ministers to quit the French territory. A command was then issued, decreeing the seizure of all children (between the ages of five and sixteen) whose parents were of the reformed religion, and their delivery into the safe keeping of guardians named by judges appointed for the purpose. Finally, death was decreed against those who professed that religion; and the bodies of those who died in it, after previous abjuration, were ordered to be dragged upon a hurdle, and thrown into the common sewer—their property was even taken from their innocent heirs—and the monarch was enriched with the proceeds of his savage intolerance!

It would be impossible, as it would positively be distasteful to us, *were* it even possible, to follow our author through his long narrative of the sufferings of the Church, from the moment of the revocation of the edict of Nantes to the opening of the reign of Louis XV. It is a succession of details of death, suffering, despair, hope, and disappointment, ending and recommencing with almost fatiguing rapidity. The "Churches of the Desert" met but to be dispersed by fire and sword. Men, women, and children found at prayers, not recognised by the law, were pitilessly put to the sword. The political condition of France and Europe sometimes gave hope to those who were denied a temple, but who continued to find one in the wilderness beneath the vault of heaven. As the political barometer changed, so varied the condition of the oppressed. When the state was threatened from without—or when financial difficulties like that brought on by Law, or national visitations, like the plague of Marseilles, afflicted the commonwealth from within—the government was less busy in distributing death among those who yet remained in France, in defiance of an edict that denied their existence, or destroyed it when it was asserted. Cruelty awoke like a savage giant refreshed, under the youthful Louis XV. But we turn from the details of mere rapine, violation, and murder, to quote the immediate effect which the great edict had upon other branches of society than those which remained in France, to meet in secret and form "the Churches in the Wilderness." And, first, let us show the effect of religious intolerance, and of deliberate cruelty, upon the mind of one who inculcates evil morals in such exquisite French that our sisters are taught to forget the wickedness for the sake of its beauty of expression. We allude to Madame de Sevigné, whom all young ladies admire, and whom no professor has yet had the courage to condemn:—

"There was at this time, at the court of Louis XIV. (says M. Coquerel) an astounding lightness of expression in the judgments popularly given upon the Protestants. Madame de Sevigné, who looked seriously upon nothing but her love for her daughter, and the blue ribband of M. de Grignan, expresses herself with something of harsh grace on the position of the reformers in Dauphiny, whom this cruelty of the edicts was about to assail in their mountains:—'M. Grignan has made a frightfully fatiguing journey in the mountains of Dauphiny, in order to disperse and punish some miserable Huguenots, who come out of their holes, and who disappear like ghosts, as soon as they see that they are being looked for, and that there is *a desire to* exterminate them. This sort of flying or invisible enemy gives one a world of trouble—of endless trouble, I may say—for they disappear in the twinkling of an eye; while the backs of their pursuers are no sooner

turned than they again issue from their respective dens.' So much for the results of the revocation, and for the intestine wars that resulted from it. If any one is desirous of forming an idea of the manner in which the revocation itself was appreciated by the aristocracy of the day, and by the fair lady whose sensitiveness was exhausted by the pastoral poetry of the Hotel de Rambouillet, let him form it from the following:—'Father Bourdaloue is going, by order of the king, to preach at Montpellier, and in those provinces where so many people have become converted without knowing wherefore. Father Bourdaloue will let them know. Hitherto, the dragoons have proved very excellent missionaries. The preachers about to succeed them will perfect the work begun. You have, without doubt, seen the edict by which the king revokes that of Nantes. Nothing can be finer than what it contains; and never has king done, or can king ever do, anything more to his honour than this.' To these two extracts, from letters by Madame de Sevignè, to her cousin, the Count de Bussy, M. Coquerel adds the following, addressed to the President de Monceau: —'Every one is in the missionary way, just now. There is not an individual, particularly magistrates and provincial governors with dragoons at their back, who does not believe that he has a mission: it is, altogether, the finest and most glorious thing that was ever imagined.'"

Such was the opinion of one of the most celebrated and "exemplary" of women, and her opinion was shared by the glory of the French bar, by d'Aguesseau, by Racine, who in venal verse could make Esther plead for an anti-state religion to the young ladies of St. Cyr; and by La Fontaine, who, rankly popish and filthily impure, could write elegant obscenity adapted to the capacities of youth, whom he would debar from approaching the sources of uncorrupted Christianity. But let us examine further:—

"The moment chosen for calumniating the Protestant faith was precisely that when it was openly professed by the greatest geniuses who have honoured humanity, and who have given to their immortal scientific results the colouring of a piety which comprehended at once the laws and the author of nature. It was the moment when Newton was publishing his work on 'the Principles of Natural Philosophy,' and 'the Infinitesmal Calculus.' It was when he varied those sublime meditations by commentaries on the most difficult books of the New Testament; and shared the same genius, and the same devotion with another Protestant, his worthy rival and fellow worshipper, Leibnitz. It was the very moment, when, by the able and religious pens of Samuel Clarke and Locke, the great truths of the existence of a divinity received those demonstrations which have never been surpassed for strength and lucidity. It was almost at the moment of signing the revocation that an illustrious French refugee, Jacques Abadie, published his treatise, the most solid work yet composed, in defence of the Christian revelation. It was at this moment that Huyghens

was driven from Versailles, and from a country where all liberty of conscience and of worship would have been denied him; and that he carried into Holland his analysis of the undulation of light, and his magnificent discovery of the pendulum. On the other hand, in France, while the reformers were interdicted from assuming even the humble callings of bailiff, servant, or horse-keeper, Denis Papin, of the family of the pastors of Blois, visited London, and Marbourg in Germany, for the purpose of constructing the first model of a working steam engine .....The Estiennes, the glory of French printing, established themselves in Switzerland.

"But" (says M. Coquerel—after enumerating the names of the descendants of the great artists, Goujon, Palissy, and Cousin; of Gondimel, the pious harmonizer of the Psalms; and of Pare, the almost divine surgeon, all of whom were compelled to withdraw from France; as were also the great Duquesne, the almost solitary naval hero of the French; Convart, the intrepid traveller; Chardin; Lemery, the learned chymist; the architect, De Bott; the grammarian, Boyer, and many others)—

"But (says he) our loss in serious and erudite writers—in pious men who would have carried on the controversies of science with Port Royal, and who might have ended by coming to an understanding with the theologians of that place—men as well armed and as conscientious as themselves—was still more sensible and more irreparable. The learned Pierre Allix repaired to London, and entered the Church of England. The descendants of the pious Drelincourt established themselves in England, Holland, and Germany, where they met with Basnage, Durand, Graverol, Jaquelot, Ancillon, Janicon, Jansse, Morin, Jurien, Rapin—Thoyras, and many others.".....

Many others, let us repeat, whose compelled absence from their native country inflicted a heavy penalty on the land which denied them, and conferred wealth and power upon that which received them and gave them hospitality. And what resulted further? The grave and healthy theology of the old French writers was succeeded by the scourge of modern French philosophy—a philosophy which destroyed the throne and family of those who gave it birth, and who afterwards persecuted it—a philosophy which brought a kingdom, that had flung from her bosom those who taught the great truths of God, itself to deny God, and to suffer for its infidelity tenfold the horrors it had inflicted on men who had refused to be faithless. May the lesson never be forgotten—never was there one more strikingly illustrative of retributive justice!

We are sure it will be for given us, if we remark, ere passing on to other matters, that from a French Protestant refugee our

own gracious Sovereign may trace, without any sacrifice of dignity, her own illustrious descent. It will place no bar in the royal escutcheon of England to show that the revocation of the edict of Nantes contributed to give a monarch to our empire, by banishing Alexander Desmiers D'Olbreuse, a gentleman of Poitou. This gentleman, with his daughter, passed into Germany, and established himself at Brandenburgh, where his daughter, Mademoiselle Desmiers D'Olbreuse, became maid of honour to the electress, Duchess of Zell. George William, brother of the electress's first husband (who was Charles Louis, Duke of Zell), fell desperately in love with the maid of honour, and married her. He died in 1703, and she in 1722, leaving one daughter married in 1680 to his cousin-german, George Louis, Duke of Hanover, afterwards elector, the appointed heir of Queen Anne to the throne of England, and father of the House of Brunswick, as connected with the imperial realm of Great Britain and Ireland.

Wearied with the semi-toleration allowed to the professors of the reformed faith by the regent, Duke of Orleans, the French Papists soon contrived to wring from the young monarch, Louis XV., a promised renewal of all the persecutions that had once weighed heavily upon the communities of the faithful. The royal engagement to the ear was verified to the hope, and the decree of 1724, given at the full length of all its horribly atrocious enactments, made the revocatory edict of Louis XIV. spring up menacingly, like a giant refreshed. Into them we cannot enter. Death—the galleys; the galleys and death—are its ever and sole monotonous variation of burden. No home was considered sacred—no paternal right regarded. The couch of the dying was invaded under the pretext that the medical men were too disloyal—or, what we should term, too honourable—to reveal, as Louis XV.'s decree ordered them to do, the nature of the religious profession made by the departing soul, standing on the narrow line that divides mortal life from from immortality:—

"It was seldom (says the author) that the medical men would accept the part assigned them in the eighth article of the declaration, by which they were bound to inform against their own sick patients. Most commonly the priests, aroused by a report that some sick man, in his last agony, was about to escape them, rushed to the house, and in spite of the tears of a whole family, would seat themselves by the side of the pillow of a dying man, who declined their interference."

This interference was not one undertaken in the spirit of Christian charity, but of the most bitterly persecuting tyranny.

It was not to smooth the path to heaven, but to make rough the passage to the grave. It is refreshing, among such descriptions, to find an honest acknowledgment made by the author that, as the medical men regarded their own honour, and refused to degrade themselves to the office of private spies and public informers, so, and that in the districts of France where persecution raged most furiously, there were many most praiseworthy exceptions among the Romish priests, and that the furious, and bigotted, and savage zeal of the many was disapproved of by a vast number of exemplary men, whose hearts would have acknowledged a Christian brotherhood with the Reformers, and who would not deliver the latter to the gibbet, or their bodies to the common sewer, for the sake of the profit earned by those who were more "loyal," and less scrupulous.

But even the declaration of 1724, like all similar declarations, the end of which is the destruction of civil and religious liberty, and that by means the most inhuman, became impracticable. Tyranny grew tired in looking for victims, and murder-sick of immolating them—not that the decree was revoked, nor that it became a dead letter—it was that caprice took place of certainty: it was toleration to-day, and execution to-morrow. Protestantism was denounced, but it was endured—it made itself endured in spite of the denunciation. If continued slaughter could not suppress it, so did it actually flourish during the breathing-times of its tyrants. In secrecy and silence pastors travelled hundreds of leagues, by night only, to repair to localities where, at a certain hour, on a certain night, and in a certain place, a congregation awaited them to receive the sacraments, to worship God, and to hear the Gospel of the new covenant. During these journies, or expeditions rather, the "flying" pastors rested by day—sometimes, but rarely, in the hospitable dwelling of a disciple—generally in some wood, cave, ruin, or any other refuge promising rest and security. By the appointed hour the minister was at the appointed spot, unknown, perhaps, to all; there was a freemasonry among them that ensured his welcome reception. No weather interfered with their arrangements; peace was preached, however loudly the tempest might roar; the prayer was said; the psalm was sung; baptism, marriage, and even burial were solemnized; the word was preached—the blessing given—and straightway the multitude separated; and the minister was left alone to retrace his long and anxious journey, and perhaps, to find imprisonment or death ere he reached the end of it.

The progress made under the disadvantages and perils that environed the reformed faith, and those who professed it, is ab-

solutely incredible; or at least would be so, were we not furnished with proofs of the forward step maintained by those whom an inhuman law condemned to death, if they dared but make a motion in advance.

Among the proofs of this progress of the cause, in spite of the obstacles which impeded its advance, was the successful establishment of the "seminary of Lausanne," the after-refuge of the persecuted churches. On the list of names of those who aided in the formation of this seminary, one illustrious, and the most, influential, is that of Archbishop Wake, whose memory, says M. Coquerel, deserves to be held in grateful affection by all French Protestants:—

"He was (adds the author) a learned English theologian; mild and conciliatory in character; and was promoted to the see of Canterbury, in 1716. In concert with Dupin, the erudite doctor of the Sorbonne, Archbishop Wake endeavoured to carry to consummation *the impossible project* of union between the Churches of England and Rome. In 1680, he was at Versailles in the capacity of chaplain to the British Envoy Extraordinary, Lord Preston, and was able to judge of the measures passed preparatory to the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Doubtless, it was then that he first experienced a feeling of interest for the French Protestants, which he manifested more fully at a later period for the pastor Court."

The last named minister, in describing the applications made by him to various pious and learned foreigners for aid in accomplishing the establishment of a school at Lausanne, thus writes:—

"This is what I more particularly did in 1720, and doing myself the honour to write to 'Milord' Wake, that illustrious primate so worthy of having been the predecessor of him who now occupies, with so much glory, the same episcopal throne. After having commenced by giving to this illustrious prelate a brief idea of the marvellous manner in which God had begun to repair the breaches which violence, apostacy, want of zeal, fanaticism, and lukewarmness had made in his Church in France; after having spoken to him of the re-establishment of discipline—of the consistories, synods, of the number of churches already formed, of the small number of labourers to serve them, of the abundance of the harvest, and the absolute necessity of raising missionaries—I conjured him to mention the subject to his Britannic Majesty, and to induce that august monarch to honour, with his royal protection, and with the rich effects of his beneficence, the churches rising out of their ruins. The prelate was touched with the contents of my letter. He had the kindness to mention the subject to the king, who was equally affected, and who promised to interest himself on our behalf."

It is a pleasant sight thus to see the Church and State of

Great Britain holding forth the hand of friendly succour to a community which, though opposed to us on many subjects of discipline, and perhaps a few of doctrine, was in suffering and lowliness, consequent upon the assertion of its independence of Rome, and enduring the miseries which Rome and Romish France caused to follow hard and unerringly upon such an assertion. M. Coquerel, himself, allows that there was something pleasant and proper in this; but, in confessing to this, that ever jealous French spirit peeps through the avowal, which, if it could slumber anywhere, might, we should have thought, have been permitted to lie dormant in the bosom of a French Protestant. That fierce spirit not only mendaciously denies that any virtue blossoms upon an English soil, but, when pressed by circumstances to acknowledge as much, it finds comfort in bewailing its existence, or that French misery should stand in need of its good offices. Thus, he says—

"Notwithstanding the admiration which is due to the wisdom and plans of the minister, Antoine Court, in connexion with the asylum for persecuted pastors, one cannot but reflect upon the consequences of the edicts, and upon the manner in which the churches were then governed by the Court of Versailles. Is it not a melancholy spectacle to behold ministers of religion compelled to conceal themselves like wretched criminals, in order to found establishments so useful to France, and compelled, on that account, to have recourse to the sovereigns of Great Britain? These are things which one must hasten to report, lest posterity should show itself incredulous."

Incredulous of what?—that Popery compelled those who defied it to seek refuge from a Protestant sovereign, or endure a scaffold at home?—or that the monarch of Great Britain, at the prayer of Great Britain's primate, should manifest aid and affection for a persecuted Church? Either species of incredulity would be vast and unfounded, as long as a page of history is left whole, or that foreign Protestant Churches are to be found credited by Government to our consolidated fund.

It was, however, partly by the sorrowful means of aid from England that the seminary at Lausanne was founded. Such was the origin of an establishment which furnished pastors to all the Protestant churches of France during the remainder of the eighteenth century. Its establishment was the saving of those churches for a season. It owed, as we have seen, its foundation to the gifts, and other contributions, first of the members of the "Churches of the Wilderness;" and next to the liberal aid of the Protestant communities of foreign countries. This seminary, erected about 1730, under Louis XV., and in spite of his Government, was closed, in 1809, by the Emperor Napo-

leon. But the object of its closing was the attainment of a nobler end; which end was accomplished in the establishment of the faculty of Protestant theology, at Montauban. It was, then, not till 1809, that the education of the Protestant clergy was permitted on the French soil, from which it had been banished since the period of Louis XIV.

But our space, beginning to wane, reminds us that we must confine ourselves to illustrating the history given by M. Coquerel of the French Protestant churches, rather by one or two examples of the working of French law as connected with it, under different reigns, than by following M. Coquerel, step by step, through his two large volumes. The first available example afforded to us will be acceptable in a double sense; it displays the iniquity of the law sought to be put in force, and the dawning of improved feeling in those who had to administer it, at the period of 1730, when an unjust pretension was met by a just decree:—

"In the year 1730, died.....Jacques Duhamel, who had married Maria Talbot; they were both 'modern converts'—in other words, members of the reformed religion. His wife was left a widow, with one child. This marriage had been solemnised by a minister of the wilderness; their child had received baptism at the hands of a pastor of the same denomination; consequently, neither the marriage nor the issue of the marriage was recognized as legal or legitimate by the state.....As soon as the husband was dead, his brother, Jean Duhamel, pretended that the marriage was null, and that he was, therefore, the legal heir to all his brother's possessions. It was objected to this pretension of a denaturalized heart, that he who made it had himself acknowledged and consented to his brother's marriage; that he had written out and signed the contract; and that he had lent assistance in conveying the furniture and other effects from the house of the bride's father to the conjugal dwelling; that he had sanctioned with his presence the baptism of the child who was the issue of the marriage, and whom he now wished to bastardize; that it was matter of notoriety that the complainant had constantly recognized the defendant as the lawful wife of Jacques Duhamel, his brother, during the life of the latter, and before the world, as, indeed, all the family had done; and that, in such capacity, she had been unanimously (with the exception of her brother-in-law) chosen as guardian of her son. Such were the arguments advanced in equity to the pretensions of the complainant. The latter had, nevertheless, succeeded in expelling Maria Talbot from her husband's house; had got possession of all his brother's title-deeds and papers; secured the whole of his property, and all in defiance of the evident rights of the mother and her young son."

This cause was dragged from court to court, and as long as the inhuman brother-in-law usurped his nephew's inheritance

the mother was fain to be content with the receipt of a hundred livres annually from her oppressor, for the support of herself and child. The cause came, at last, before the Parliament of Rouen, which body, to the astonishment of all "Catholic" France, pronounced a verdict against the complainant, and condemned him in all costs of suit. The child was, however, ordered to be instructed in the Romish faith. Thus equity, in some degree, triumphed over a law which, since the days of Louis XIV., had given facilities to commit the most horrible domestic or social tyranny. The Romish magistrates, as judges, at the period now arrived at, must, as M. Coquerel thinks, have been much more humane and sensible than the laws; or rather they were compelled to violate the laws, in order to duly administer those of justice, which are superior to all others. We are glad at being told, that, in process of time, all the "Parliaments" of the kingdom adopted the enlightened jurisprudence of the court of Rouen. Right was beginning to maintain a bold front in the presence of might.

It will be hardly necessary to say that, if the Reformed Church of France flourished in spite of the deadly oppression with which it had to contend, its progress was, in proportion, more rapid still during the intervals when royal tyranny slept, and the Popish priesthood rested from their cruelty. Thus, in 1733, Protestant France comprised the provinces of the Vivarais, Dauphiné, the two Languedocs, Guyenne, and the Cevennes. At this period, a portion of the Romish clergy began to vary their method of persecution. They privately urged the state to oppress the parents, while *they* assumed the office of ensnaring the children. Young girls were the especial objects of their mission. Their taste for dress, and "leur gout pour la gourmandise," which, we suppose, may be rendered "their inclination for gluttony," were particularly studied. They were promised not only tempting marriage portions, but exemplary husbands; and rebellion against parental authority was urged as one of the means for procuring delights which could not be known to them in their condition of Protestants. If this be a whimsical method of conversion, the policy of the court was scarcely less so. It was a mixture of threatened rigour, and of a toleration which it could not avoid. It still menaced the profession of Protestantism with death—occasionally hung in leash of ministers to the gibbet—saw the denounced class increase in spite of the rigours of the law—began tacitly to allow the religious assemblies to meet with impunity—and avoided sending whole crowds to the scaffold, by absurdly decreeing that the sect of Protestants did not exist. The latter escaped the

executioner in consequence of their numbers. It was impossible to murder the whole of them, even judicially; and the state began to discover that to banish them was to exile from France some of its bravest hearts, and ablest hands.

To the honour of Cardinal Fleury, we must mention that he closed his ears to the cries of the Popish clergy for a renewal of the old-fashioned style of persecution. The vain attempt was followed by another made against the literature of Protestantism. In this, the persecuting ecclesiastical party were more successful. Priests, police officers, and dragoons issued on a crusade against Protestant books. The booty acquired was immense; and as the executive were unwillingly reluctant to put the extreme law in force, a compromise was entered into; the priests were granted the enjoyment of an *auto da fé*, and they were permitted to make a solemn burning of the books, since they had been prevented from burning the owners of them.

Petty persecutions still continued, however, their irritating course. The dead body of a Protestant was not allowed to pass in quiet to the grave, but kept under the seal of the law to fall into putrefaction before the eyes of the surviving relatives. So jealous was this law, that it even punished with a heavy fine any kind-hearted creature whom it detected in speaking affectionately to a dying reformer. But neither serious nor petty persecution, even in the slightest degree, affected the loyalty of those against whom it was directed. We have a proof of this in an account of a scene that took place at a "national synod," where news was brought to it of the last malady of Louis XV. Previous to the assembly separating, a member of the synod read a letter he had received, containing the sad and afflicting news of the grave illness of the king. Every one present immediately knelt down, and addressed a prayer to the Almighty in behalf of the monarch's recovery. A day was also named in which all the Protestants of France were, with one voice, to address the throne of grace upon the same subject. But this demonstration of loyalty was met with anything but a corresponding spirit on the part of the Government. Instead of looking upon the Protestants with a more favourable eye, they appeared to have considered any public demonstration at all, as a crime against the crown; and the prayers of the Reformers had scarcely been breathed for the recovery of the king than gibbets were raised to receive the pastors who had dared to mingle an expression of loyalty with the profession of a religion which could not be followed, so said the law, by any but rebels at once to God and the king.

We pass over the narrative of the execrable executions which

followed: for such details we refer our readers to the volumes of M. Coquerel. We will add, however, that the disgust which they inspire is relieved by the religious heroism of the suffering martyrs. We find these welcoming the day decreed for their execution, as the day of their new birth. We see them passing with dignity to the foot of the ignoble tree; we hear them raising a song of pious triumph; we witness the pardon they ask, and the forgiveness they receive; and even among the circle of priests deputed to aggravate the agonies of the last hour, and to snatch from the martyr, if possible, an avowal of error—even from among these, we hear some young member, new in persecution, sobbingly testify against the cause he is commissioned to support, and exclaim, in spite of himself, and to the horror of his stronger-nerved brethren, "Truly, this was a man of God!"

The loyalty and the religion of these martyrs were equally denounced. Half ashamed to slay them for religion's sake alone, the state gave a new colour to their offending, and they were "suspected of being suspicious." The charge superadded was that of treason, and men were gibbetted because, being Protestants, they might probably fancy themselves to be inclined to wish success to the arms of the Queen of Hungary, and the King of England! They who are fond of graphic horrors, and can revel in the thrilling details of human suffering, may read M. Coquerel's simple and touching narratives reciting the passage of a host of virtuous men on their way from time to eternity. *We*, for our parts, feel disinclined to tarry upon so gloomy, and, we may add, so irritating a subject. The roll of those kept in captivity is scarcely less revolting; for we find in it nearly seven thousand names of prisoners whose only crime was a desire to worship God according to the teaching of their own pastors, and honour the king after the loyal impulses of their own hearts. We merely mention, as samples of this list of horrors, a few detached cases. Thus, one man is condemned to perpetual captivity for introducing into France religious books denounced by the state; a second incurs the same penalty for showing hospitality to a Protestant minister; a third is also condemned to perpetual seclusion for attending a Protestant school; and many others for attending Protestant worship. A nephew is doomed to a cell for life for "following his uncle;" and several incur the same dire penalty for favouring the escape of ministers. The simple fact of being detected assisting at Protestant religious worship brought down the penalty of death upon the minister, and the galleys for life upon the whole of the congregation. In the latter penalty, the

Government took credit to itself for its humanity; it might have slain all, but it was satisfied with one victim for death, and a thousand for a penalty worse than death. But all this rigour could not stifle the truth; it would appear, and flourish, too, in spite of decrees, in spite of edicts, in spite of dragonades, captivity, or death. They avoided the officers of law with all the prudence, skill, and foresight of men constantly tracked, and constantly endeavouring to efface the marks of their own "trail;" but these men, once in the iron grasp of the law, became resigned to their fate; they blamed no one; repined not at all; they entertained their doom with heroic becomingness, satisfied that posterity would reap enjoyment from *their* chains. A good illustration of the bold spirit which animated these victims of Popery is seen in the aged minister, Roger; he was betrayed, and seized at midnight in a wood. His only remark to the captors was, "It is time—for I am he whom you have been looking after for nine and thirty years."

Though unable to follow M. Coquerel through his second volume, we cannot refrain from awarding it the meed of approbation which it so highly merits. It is exceedingly rich in details, historical, political, and religious. Comprehending a period which extends from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the opening of the French revolution, it touches upon all the great events, crimes, glories, and personages of the epoch. In that period we witness the renewal of persecution against the patiently enduring Church; the meetings for prayer, praise, and edification again made punishable by death; the sacraments of the wilderness pronounced abominable; the Protestant districts overrun by soldiery, who, though French by birth, were a thousand times more hateful and more hostile to the fluttered Church of Christ than if they had been foreign invaders. With a foreign enemy, even French Protestants might be permitted to struggle for their lives, liberties, and possessions; but against a native foe—woe, heavy woe, and death to the daring Protestant bold enough to stand for a moment against them! When humility was met with rapine and murder, it was not likely that mercy would be manifested on the appearance of opposition. On the side of the Protestants we meet with nothing but an anxious desire to be faithful to God and loyal to the king: but then they who would not be faithful to God after the fashion prescribed to them by the state, were (and that at the repeated and urgent requests of the Romanist clergy) pronounced disloyal to the king, and pursued, accordingly, by the aid of spies, from refuge to refuge, until the Popish Church secured its bloody triumph in the death of its victims. It is a matter of surprise to witness

how often the ferocious ministers of Roman and royal cruelty passed unscathed through districts inhabited by Protestants, in pursuit of some individual Protestant victim. The caprice of the king, like the king's justice, was allowed to pass unquestioned. Fewer curses fell on the head of the officer of persecution than prayers were made for the failure of his mission, and the escape of its object. Once, indeed, we read of the violent death of one of these ministers of evil—and but once; the crime of assassination rests heavy on the adverse side. It was a crime authorised by royal edicts, and sanctioned by the majority of Romish priests—enjoined by military commanders, and performed by soldiers, often, we will hope, the unwilling, however active instruments of a will not their own. It is during this period that occurred the dragonade of 1752, for the details of which we must refer our readers to M. Coquerel's narrative, and the revolt in the Cevennes, a sketch of which we are compelled also, from want of room, to pass over. A perusal of these matters will, we hardly need say, repay the student of ecclesiastical history. The general administration of the "Churches of the Wilderness" by the council of Versailles, under Louis XV., belongs especially to this department of history; and the chapter devoted to a consideration of this subject is one of the ablest and most comprehensive in M. Coquerel's work. The appearance of Montesquieu and Voltaire upon the scene; the presence of the libertine Duc de Richelieu; the negociations between the Prince de Conti and Paul Rebaut—all tend to vary the dramatic interest of hunting out meetings—dispersing the assemblies—drowning the people, and hanging the ministers. Indeed, the opening book of the second volume is a drama, complete in all its parts, save in the poetical justice of its conclusion in the conflagration of the Protestant libraries by order of the parliament of Bordeaux. Nor is the last book of this volume less stirring in its details. It opens with the trial and martyrdom of the pastor François Rochette; the ever memorable, ever execrable, domestic, but bloody episode of Jean Calas, succeeds; interiors of prisons for women, and moving scenes of galley-slave dungeons for men, follow in harrowing detail. But these dark and dreary subjects find bright relief in the first dawning of a toleration worthy the name. The name of Turgot, the minister of Louis XVI., shines with peculiar lustre at this period; while those of the Romish prelates on one side, and the philosophers, as they were called, on the other, shine not at all; or when seen, are lit up either by the flames of intolerance or those of infidelity. The prelates agitated as bitterly against Protestantism as they did against the new philosophy, and, with jesuiti-

cal craft, endeavoured to identify one with the other. The new philosophy they denounced for the profane boldness and impious freedom with which it vilified whatever had for ages been deemed sacred among mankind; and they accused it of aiming at the subversion of all holy and venerable institutions. They told the king that, "if he should be tame, or passive, at so alarming a crisis, the most portentous mischief might be apprehended." Had they gone only thus far and no further, they had done well; but they unfortunately assailed religious liberty as well as licentiousness, and their double attack ended in a double failure. Protestantism triumphed, and the infidel philosophy of France robbed all churches, indifferently, of the worshippers that should have belonged to them. The French Romanist prelates absurdly accused the Protestants of being deeply concerned in all the practices of the new philosophy, and they boldly and stringently censured Louis XVI., for not enforcing what we may call the bloody code of Madame de Maintenon against "those presumptuous sectaries," as *they* called the Protestants.

Under Louis XV., similar remonstrances were replied to in a spirit which was most grateful to the recipients of it; but under his successor the case was different. Louis XVI. had a strong sense of religion, and a strong bias towards liberality—perhaps too strong—for it led him occasionally to place confidence in men who were known to be infidels. The clergy, again, made an attempt to rescue their Church and country from the danger with which they professed to see it environed. They represented to the tolerant monarch the alarming progress of infidelity and atheism; and, as if the matter were all one, the illegal boldness of the Protestants who, thanks to the lenient indulgence of the governors of provinces, had dared even to erect churches. But all was of no avail against the force of circumstances, and an edict of Louis XVI. at length recognised the legal existence of the reformed faith—promised its professors the protection of the law—and pledged itself to provide for the welfare of those who followed it. And here M. Coquerel's task terminates: he has shown how the French Protestants demanded and gained their liberty, in spite of the laws of Louis XIV., and established it by virtue of the edict of Louis XVI. After so many misfortunes, and so many vain hopes, the faithful congregations reaped the recompence of their enduring constancy and their unwavering faith. In a political point of view, the author remarks that they served to show that there was, at least, one class of Frenchmen who, when the entire nation was prostrate and dumb in the presence of tyranny, constantly

refused to bear a fanatical yoke, and who resisted without ceasing, yet without rebellion, the orders of persecution and the cruelties of converters. A great king, and his successor, in vain exhausted their tyranny to compel submission upon the Protestants. It was a matter worthy of all admiration to behold how the spiritual pastors of the wilderness contrived to keep their harassed flocks from rebellion, and to nourish within their souls so much patience, with so much fervour, and so much life. Many of the edicts of Louis XV. would have authorised revolt; but the ministers of that sad epoch were as good subjects as they were good Protestants. Their fidelity as citizens secured their ultimate triumph as Reformers.

We have referred to the bloody code of Madame de Maintenon. That we are justified in so doing, we lay before our readers the following full length portrait of a lady who has had her full share of renown, but less than her full share of obloquy:—

"In considering the entire period from the end of the seventeenth century, when power in France receded even to the fanaticism of the Valois (*recula jusqu'au fanaticisme des Valois*), we are obliged to acknowledge that devout impulse given to the Court of Versailles must be attributed particularly to the influence which a new mistress, less seductive than her predecessor, but much more skilful, exercised over the monarch. The widow of the comedian, Scarron, was the only one of the mistresses of the King of France who succeeded in amalgamating religion with gallantry, and *that* to such a degree as to convert into a legitimate bond a connection that was really of a very equivocal character. This simple fact demonstrates the extent of mind of a woman whose fortune was so prodigious, and whose devotion, proceeding from a heart wherein was mingled prudery, intrigue, and ambition, caused unheard-of evils to the Protestants of the kingdom. The brave and learned Agrippa D'Aubigné, the austere friend of Henri IV., had been one of the last characters in whom was exhibited the grandeur of the reformation of primitive times. He had married the Lady de Lezay, of the ancient (and M. Coquerel might have added, the royal) house of Lusignan; and his wife, like himself, was a most zealous Calvinist. Monsieur D'Aubigné, the issue of this marriage, a man of very indifferent morals, married Jeanne de Cardillac, who, in the prison of Neort, was delivered of a child, named afterwards Françoise D'Aubigné. It was this granddaughter of the great D'Aubigné who became Duchesse de Maintenon, and consort of Louis XIV. Her father died, leaving his affairs in the greatest disorder. The other daughters of Agrippa D'Aubigné had given refuge to the young Huguenot, their niece, when an order from Ann of Austria arrived to withdraw her from their keeping. She was placed in a convent in Paris, where she submitted to conversion only after a long resistance, and at the age of fourteen. Even then Françoise D'Aubigné stoutly refused to abandon her faith, except on the condition that she should

not be obliged to believe that her aunt, Catherine D'Aubigné (Marchioness de Villette), whom she had witnessed living the life of a saint, would be damned. This little matter was soon arranged, and Françoise abandoned the religion of her fathers.

"When this young girl, D'Aubigné, had become the wife, and subsequently the widow of Scarron, a spirit of profound devotion by no means prevented her from thinking of her temporal welfare. Whether it arose from an inclination for piety, or from her intimacy with Marshal D'Albert, a relation of Madame de Montespan, and who presented Scarron's widow to the female favourite of the day, she occupied herself unceasingly in endeavours to convert her family to the Romish faith. She first cast her eyes upon the youthful Marquis de Villette, her cousin; but the latter, firmly resisting all importunities, was banished from Versailles, and received an order to travel in foreign countries. The widow of Scarron, having thus got rid of the father, had sufficient leisure to seduce his children. She carried off, to St. Germains, one of his daughters, her little cousin, Madame de Caylus, who thus gives, in her memoirs, an account of her own conversion:—'At first (she says) I cried terribly. But, the next day, I found *the king's mass* so magnificent, that I consented to become a Catholic, on condition that I should *hear the same mass* every day, and that I *should not be whipped!* This was all the controversy employed, and all the abjuration entered into.' Soon after this, the two brothers of Madame de Caylus (grandsons, on the mother's side, of the great D'Aubigné,) were drawn over to the ruling faith, one by the bribe of a cornet's commission in a regiment of Light Horse; the other by that of the colonelcy of the Queen's Dragoons. Their father followed their example, but more, as it would seem, from his own convictions. Such were the first triumphs which, in combination with an agreeable wit and a distinguished figure, recommended the widow of Scarron to the friendship of Louis XIV.

"But the great monarch soon enjoyed the opportunity of better profiting by her zeal. He began to grow old. His amours, at first inspired by licentiousness, began to purify themselves by his devotional affections. It was as this period that Scarron's widow (already appointed maid of honour to the Dauphiness of Bavaria, and afterwards lady in waiting to the queen) took the title of Maintenon, from an estate which the king had presented to her, in acknowledgment of her zeal for the conversion of the Huguenots. The first services which she rendered to the *most Christian* king consisted in her educating, with care and even with affection, the numerous illegitimate children whom Madame de Montespan, a woman whose beauty was equal to her ambition, had borne to him. In some degree, and at the same moment, midwife, nurse, confident, and governess, Madame de Maintenon proved that ambition can endure every sort of servility. From that moment, the empire of Madame de Montespan was shaken. In measure as age calmed the passions of Louis XIV., by giving growth to his devotion, he submitted himself more and more to the dominion of a woman who to solidity of judgment joined an egotistical prudery in entire accordance with the character of the monarch. It soon re-

sulted therefrom that the haughty Madame de Montespan—the unfeeling favourite who had, without emotion, *felt* her carriage pass over the body of a man on the bridge at St. Germain—that woman who had selected Bossuet as the tutor of Monsiegneur, and who had patronized Racine and Boileau—that woman who had been powerful enough to annihilate the credit of Louvois, was unable to secure a triumph over a withered and pedantic devotee.

"At length, Madame de Montespan withdrew from court. She had been timely warned by Bossuet, whose commanding figure we meet, with regret, in the midst of such an affair as this. Then the reign of Madame de Maintenon fairly commenced; and these traits, explanatory of the elevation of such a devotee queen, will suffice to render intelligible the fatal share which she was enabled to play amid deliberations which were succeeded by so many irritating and cruel edicts. Thus was the first secret and incessant influence, which was in never-dying activity, against the rights and the tranquility of the Protestants."

This is rather a lengthened quotation, but it is one of intense interest; and, moreover, it is as remarkable for its novelty as its importance. Never did it occur to historian before to trace to such a source the cruelties and oppressions against which the loyal Protestants of France had, for so many years against such fearful odds, and in spite of such bloody defeats, to contend. It was a happy inspiration which led Monsieur Coquerel to this well of truth; and he was a man of ability to use it so skilfully, so charitably, so strikingly, as he *has* done. Of our pleasant vices, the gods make whips to scourge us. So says, or so nearly says, our Bard of Avon. An additional illustration of his being a poet, not for an age, but for all time, we may readily find in adapting his assertion to the bigotted King of France, and to the widow of a buffoon who ruled him. In making her his mistress (and thus offending God), and in making her his wife (and thus outraging the laws of his own kingdom), he fondly dreamed that his selfish pleasures were secured for ever. He listened with delight to the instigations of a crafty female apostate, who, in being the scourge of the Protestants, became the destroyer of the peace of France, and that of the repose of the king who loved to employ the weapon which slew his own quiet.

Certainly, retributive justice never received a more remarkable illustration than on this occasion—the proudest of kings submitting to the yoke of a woman, who herself had submitted to every indignity, in order to arrive at the power of rendering a king the slave of a slave. And *this* he was. There never existed such a king of shreds and patches. It is only necessary to walk through the gilded saloons of Versailles to be re-

minded of the obscenity, selfishness, heartlessness, ignorance, and indecency of this "anointed prince" who, at the instigation of the widow of a stage-player, spread ruin and death among the ranks of God's saints in France. Let us glance but for a brief moment at this monstrous incarnation of sensuality and atrocity. Versailles is itself the monumental memorial of this be-flattered idol's cruelty, bigotry, and folly. The cost of building it brought on the revolution; and the woman who reigned in it first gave the low Popish and infidel mob of France a taste for blood. As the visitor enters the gorgeous Hall of Mirrors, he comes at once upon the stage of this theatrical sovereign's crimes and blunders. He listens, as it were, to the modern and bewigged Nero, singing, in this very apartment, the songs made by others, setting forth his own exceeding glory and unspeakable merits; and he sees the same inconsistent ruler and destroyer of millions conferring on such of the Italian musicians of his band who could sing as well as play, a privilege which he denied to his own sons—that of remaining covered in his presence. It was touching the size of one of the windows in the Trianon palace, visible from this room, that Louis and his horrible minister Louvois had a quarrel which, in its consequence, brought on a war ruinous to France, and fatal to her adversaries.* The conduct of this Popish king to women in general, displayed a strange mixture of cruelty and condescension. He was accustomed to compel the four or five ladies who used to accompany him in his carriage whilst travelling, to eat fruit and cakes till they could eat no longer, and he was wont to indulge in explosions of passion, if their appetites subsequently failed them at dinner. He frowned awfully if one of these poor ladies evinced symptoms of fatigue; and the man who fainted forfeited his favour for ever. In short, while he brutally neglected the essentials of politeness, he carefully attended to its outward forms; and he who took pleasure in making the ladies of his court sick with a surfeit of sweets and fruit, never passed the meanest of his female servants without taking off his hat. The bedroom of this monarch, which still

* Louis remarked to Louvois that one of the windows of the front was smaller than the others. The minister, during a long dispute, fiercely maintained the contrary. The window was measured, and the minister proved to be in the wrong. Louis burst into an abusive fit of passion against Louvois, in presence of his servants; and the minister, enraged at the degradation, exclaimed to his familiars—"I am ruined, if I cannot discover occupation for a man who is excited by such trifles. It is war alone that will divert him from building, and *pardieu* he shall have it, since it is necessary for himself or for us." The disastrous war in Holland succeeded.

exists at Versailles, in all its pristine glory of gold and rigidity, is rich, too, in illustrative reminiscences of the tyrant who slumbered in it. It was an apartment within the sacred limits of which even his *placens uxor* never dared to intrude. Nor was Madame de Maintenon ever bold enough to step over its mysterious threshold, save on the mornings when some of the evils that flesh is heir to convinced the king that he was mortal,* and compelled him to take physic. It is impossible for any one conversant with the various passages in the life of this gilded destroyer, to stand in this room (which we now see in our mind's eye), to lean against the railings at the foot of the great state-bed therein, and not recall the morning scenes enacted on this private but gorgeous stage. We see thereon the monarch, sick with himself, and ruthless against the poor Protestants, whose boldness in maintaining their faith hurried him into a fever of desperation—we see the physician, surgeon, and nurse entering to pay their early duty to this pampered potentate. We behold the two former rubbing the limbs, and feeling the muscles of a man who, while these services were rendered him, was mentally busy in condemning the limbs and muscles of thousands of his Protestant subjects to be broken and torn asunder on the racks. His nurse executed her duty in kissing him, and in *sometimes* changing his shirt! This greatest of earthly kings was very far from being the cleanest of men; and, in being ignorant of the enjoyment arising from a daily renewal of this portion of his costume was, insomuch, less comfortable than the simplest gentleman in England. While mentally tarrying in this sleeping apartment of the idol enshrined at Versailles, let us record the characteristic fact that the unclean object of the Romish adoration, and Protestant fear and defiance, shaved but three times a week. The recollection of the chapel† (founded on the site of the grotto which had been the scene of most hideous vices), which stands so near to this apartment, induces us to

* His own clergy were sometimes afraid to tell him as much. A timid pastor, once preaching in the Royal Chapel, said, in the course of his sermon—"My brethren, we must all die!" As he uttered the assurance, his eye caught the steady glance of the king, and fancying he saw displeasure in it, he added—"Yes, sire; *almost all* of us must die!"

† Mansard (who was the first constructor of garrets in France, and whose name is immortalised in them, *mansardes*) so arranged this chapel that it appeared built rather to the glory of Louis XIV. than to that of God. The altar, as many of our readers will doubtless recollect, is half hidden on the ground floor; while the king's "tribune" towers magnificently in the gallery above it. The incense swung before the altar ascended to the royal throne, and the motto "Soli Deo Gloria" was at once an epigram and a lie.

add that he, in whose honour it was built—for it was built more in honour of the king than for the worship of God—never missed mass but once throughout the whole course of his long protracted life. Such is an undress picture of the monarch who never loved any human being but one—and that one was himself; and who thought to expiate his sins, committed against the moral and religious code of Popery, by spreading misery, desolation, and death among the homes and hearts of Protestantism!

We do not apologise for this digression, which, in truth, is none, or one more in appearance than in reality. It is good to see nearly the impure source which poisoned Protestantism in France, and whose purity was loudly vouched for by those whose political as well as religious interests were to be advanced by the exaltation and the continued domination of Popery. It were but natural to expect that where so much energy reigned against a wicked and deadly heresy, as the Reformed religion was called, that there, at least, purity and holiness, rectitude of mind in act and purpose, and a general refinement of manners, should prevail, not only over the surface, but deep within the bosoms of those who were the cynosure of the great nation. But the reverse was the fact. Setting aside the legitimate wife of the monarch, who was rather passive to endure the sight of evil than active in sharing in it, the most virtuous person at this Protestant-hating court was a royal courtezan! The queen suffered all things with admirable, or with unusual, patience. When some of her good-natured friends used to inform her that the king had taken a new mistress, the tranquil reply vouchsafed by the royal and neglected wife was—"That is no affair of mine; let the old one look to it!" So complacent or so resigned a consort can hardly be considered as forming any portion of the court whose brief portraiture we give, in order that our readers may contrast it with that of the humble, virtuous, and happy homes of the members of the "Churches in the Wilderness," so touchingly depicted by M. Coquerel, and which were so cruelly devastated by the court which pretended to interpret Popery by fire, sword, the gallows, and the river.

Versailles, which was made to take its present outward form expressly for the sake of Mademoiselle de la Valliere, was not terminated till the advent to power of Madame de Maintenon. The gigantic edifice, projected by the irresistible passion of a young and enamoured king, was not ready for the beauty to be enshrined in it, until that beauty had long been buried in the grave. The young sovereign planned it as a bower for a victim; the aged monarch was permitted to complete it only as a man-

sion for a domestic tyrant. Madame de Maintenon ruled where Mademoiselle de la Valliere was to have charmed with her obedience; and yet, among the figures connected with this far-famed locality, that of the king's first love stands most strikingly out for its errors, but still more for the qualities, the repentance, and the sincerity of her whom it pourtrays. Poor la Valliere! — whose gentle fascinations of mind veiled the defects of her person, and made the beholders forget alike her slight limp, and the marks left on her otherwise angelic countenance by that foe to beauty—the small pox. So far as a bad man *could* destroy, Louis destroyed *her*, body and soul—or rather, let us say, *would* have destroyed, but that her prayers were heard, and her resolutions were seconded in time. The moral courage exhibited by her during the thirty-six years she passed in a convent of Carmelite nuns, is a matter of more pleasant reflection than the picture of her treacherous rival and successor, Madame de Montespan, who clung to her vices till she was stricken more by want of power to indulge than by inclination to refrain; who was more terrified than repentant; and who felt the necessity of a mediator, though, in her conduct, she had too often denied the real one. In her retirement, this most imperious, cruel, and vicious of women screamed in paroxysms of terror whenever she heard the thunder rolling through the clouds: it was at those moments that she sought safety in a mediator of her own creating; and, when the lightning flashed, she was wont to hold in her outstretched arms a young girl, whose innocence might protect her from the vengeance of heaven!

These traits, we repeat, are not foreign to our object—not irrelevant to the question. The Protestants of France, pure in religious feeling, and loyal in their political sentiments, were accused of such vices and treasons that it is as well, not only to protest against the groundlessness of the accusation, but to show that the accusers come before the tribunal of public opinion with anything but clean hands. The palace of Versailles was the great bureau in which all the charges were framed, and from which all the edicts issued. A motley crew of Jesuits, courtiers, and courtezans forged accounts of crime, and induced the king to believe that by rigorously punishing them he might atone for his own. We are, therefore, by no means unmindful of the Pastor Coquerel's book, if we leave the consideration of its pages for a moment, to recall those having reference more to the story of individuals, whose course of conduct created the ills of which he is the able historian and the indignant denouncer. But even to this consideration we cannot afford many more lines;

and even those few lines must comprise more of illustration by hints than by details. We need scarcely mention the fact that the courtiers who worshipped Louis XIV. believed that the sun rose at Paris and set at Versailles—all the rest of the world to them was Lapland, Greenland, and Nova Scotia. No wonder that selfishness, vice, and cruelty reigned round the very throne from which the forked lightning issued to blast the religious reformation of France. Brute courage was the only virtue left for the men to boast of. Social virtue, they had none; the Duc de Longueville, for instance, fierce Papist as he was, himself selected his wife's lovers. True gallantry was unknown to them—an assertion which we illustrate by recalling the figure of that vain fop Lauzun, whose character is fully depicted in the story of his treading, with his iron-heeled boot, on the hand of his affianced bride, Madame de Monaco, and smiling as she screamed with anguish. If the latter excites a sympathy, it is a feeling that can be fairly claimed by few other ladies of the period, the most of whom not only, like the elegant Madame de Sevigné, made sport of the Popish massacre of Protestants, but, unlike that refined approver of regal cruelties, smoked like troopers, and drank like dragoons. There was more horror expressed at Versailles at the discovery once made there of a nobleman cheating at cards, than was ever uttered within the same gilded saloons at the judicial murders committed in the Protestant districts. But even this feeling was but temporary. We find the astonishment caused at a man allowing himself to be detected as a cheat, soon giving way to the greater excitement raised by the appearance of Madame de Nevers at court, with a cluster of ringlets on each side of her forehead; previous to which innovation it had been the mode to wear curls at the back of the head, and not the front. This fashion made even religion retire from busy contemplation for awhile. It was as much ridiculed, satirised, and laughed at, as though the Protestant confession had been the subject of the general mirth. It even draws *us* on to record, that, though nearly crushed to annihilation by epigrams, it was, nevertheless, speedily adopted by the young and the beautiful, who, patronising La Martin, the *coiffeur* according to the new process, left the sticklers against innovation to be powdered and puffed, as of old, by the ancient Monguhert.

No contrast can possibly be more striking than that which existed between the tranquil bearing—the Christian perseverance—the humility and the earnestness of the French Protestants, and the turbulent carriage—the heathenish vices—the arrogance and the frivolity of the court which, boasting in

self-righteousness, professed to anathematize a creed which taught the fear of God, and inculcated honour to the king. If questions may be judged, as they very often may, even by the position and the policy of the disputants, that of the religious communities of France must necessarily draw the universal sympathy towards the abused, oppressed, and innocent Protestants. There exists a tradition among some of our stories of anecdotical amusement, which tells of a deaf man being present at an argument carried on between two philosophers. He was so apparently attentive to the discussion of a question of which he could not hear one single word, that when the disputants had brought their contest of brains to a termination, he was ironically asked, in writing, which of the philosophers had, in *his* opinion, triumphed in the metaphysical fray. The deaf auditor—if we may place such terms in conjunction—immediately and unerringly designated the victorious disputant; and, on being asked the reasons for his arriving at such an opinion, the deaf arbitrator replied, that he knew which party had the worst of the argument, from the ill-temper and the rage manifested by him throughout the logical contest. And this, or similar reasoning, holds good in most cases where two parties are widely at issue. We may apply it to the Romish Church and Government of France, in the fierce quarrel maintained by them against the "Churches of the Wilderness," and the children thereof. In this quarrel, we see on one side a small band affected by their love for primitive Christianity, withdrawing from a corrupt Church, and demanding nothing more than permission to exercise their religion in tranquillity and peace, and according to their consciences: on the other side, we behold a court sunk in practices, compared with which the suicidal vices of Babylon were absolute virtues; we see a Romish priesthood fierce in pursuit of victims, thirsty of persecution, eager to kill where it could not convince; and, for want of legitimate means to demonstrate that the bad was the better cause, resorting to captivity, exile, and death, as penalties against the scattered "Churches of the Wilderness," which would not acknowledge that the good cause was not the cause of the Lord and his saints. It was neither captivity, exile, nor death, that could change the convictions, nor suppress the voice of those whom it was attempted to persuade or to punish. In captivity, the psalms of the Protestants ascended to heaven; beneath the chains of the galley slaves, and in the cells of the fortress prison houses, prayers were offered up for the establishment of the Church, and for blessings on the monarch who chose his martyrs from it. In exile, the banished practised virtues, which they

were not allowed to hold at home; and from the hearth of the stranger, they dispatched missives, urging those who clung even to desolate homes to remain steadfast in faith, and unwavering in loyalty, to acknowledge no other God but God, and to desire no other king but him who, for wise purposes, was permitted to persecute and make war upon his own subjects. And neither in death was this voice of the ministers of the wilderness mute; in the hour of dissolution, and under whatever circumstances that inevitable hour arrived—whether death came in the course of nature or by judicial violence—whether he who was called upon to deliver his spirit into the hands of Him who gave it, made the surrender amid tearful friends, or beneath the executioner's hands—that irresistible and dignified voice still testified to the truth, and, in acknowledging that all things were well, because all things were under the guidance of God's providence, they submitted with resignation and cheerfulness to the trials which they were ordained to endure, and delivered themselves with confidence to the assuring hope that the cloud, which then lowered over their destinies, was not one which obscured the truth which is great, which is in course of prevailing, and which shall finally prevail.

In all the persecutions heaped upon these suffering children of the wilderness, by men whose very fury showed the fallacies which they fruitlessly thought to prop up by the aid of the axe and the gallows, we trace the presence of the Jesuits. That the impulse to them was given by a female apostate, Madame de Maintenon, and encouraged by a king who thought to atone for his vices by persecuting those who objected to a religion which had not influence enough to induce him to abstain from vice, is undeniable. Sin and bigotry fashioned the scourge and forged the chains, and fanaticism employed with eager ferocity what sin and bigotry had invented. In other words, the Jesuits were the ready tools of an unprincipled woman and a savagely ignorant king—the power of whose example was not weakened by their death. Thus, persecution was born and propagated in France, and to the Jesuits alone can we trace its encouragement, and the causes of its prolongation—not that mercy was misunderstood, or disregarded entirely among the Romish priesthood: we rejoice to acknowledge that the contrary was the case, and that, to the ferocity of the regular orders like the Jesuits, many traits of good feeling, of simple piety, and Christian charity, on the part of the secular priests, shine in bright contrast. This is especially the case among the rural priesthood—the men far away from the tumultuous intrigues of court—from the empty vanities of the Versailles divinity—from

the heart-crushing tendencies of politics—and from the faith-destroying examples of the crowded world. Amid these men, we find bosoms swelling with pity for the martyred Protestants, and indignation at the cruelties inflicted on them. Their instances of sympathy stand as green and refreshing spots in an oasis of impurity and cruelty. To *their* voluntary remonstrances we attribute the capricious returns to mercy occasionally manifested by the monarch and his ministers: to the withering influence of the proud prelates, and the oily Jesuits about the throne, we attribute the as sudden recourse had to cruelty. These opposite influences we trace in the government decrees, some of which commence with approving of the good feeling manifested by the rural clergy for the reformers, and end by condemning it. They open with promises of clemency, and end with denunciations of death; they forgive, condemn, again forgive, revoke, once more promise pardon, and so go on alternately administering hope and dealing despair, as though insanity had smitten the unsteady mind which, infirm of purpose thus decreed, but which more incontestably proves that double influences worked on this mental debility—and that, with inclination to listen to the whisperings of mercy, there was also a compulsion they dared not resist, to obey the deadly decrees of the heads of a Church which *then* in France, as *only last month* in Austria, forced from the government a denunciation against every confession save that taught by Rome; and acknowledged, without being followed, by the princes, parasites, and prostitutes of Versailles.

It will be seen that we attribute to the apostacy and wickedness of Madame de Maintenon, working for the Jesuits on a profligate and superstitious king, most of the evils which pressed so intolerably upon the Protestants of France. The long chain of penalties and suffering may be traced back to her influence. It was a chain that continued unbroken until the horrible affair of the Calas family; and this affair, the most cruel of any in the history of religious persecution, singularly enough, speaking humanly, contributed to hasten the progress of religious toleration in France. This sad story is fully and eloquently narrated by M. Coquerel, as such a story, which attracted the notice and indignation of all Europe, well deserved.

But we must pause; nor can we enter, as we designed to have done, into the consideration of many subjects connected with the question of religious liberty. It must suffice to say that the book before us confirms the truth of an assertion that we have frequently made—that the spirit of Popery is a persecuting spirit. That Protestant governments have, on their

side, dealt severity with their Popish subjects, we shall not attempt to deny. But, it must be remembered, that such severity was generally employed, not for offences against the established religion, but for crimes committed or expected against the throne and its authorities. Our own penal laws are directed against Popish traitors, because the Crown knew, for a long time, no danger but such as threatened from the sides of Popish councils. It was long the object and the interest of the Papists of England, for instance, to overthrow the constituted order of things. When the religion of the state was not the religion which they acknowledged, they became hostile not only to the Church of the State, but to the head of both; hence, the severe enactments. With the French Protestants the case was different—their loyalty was unimpeachable—they were persecuted, not for being bad subjects, but purely because they were reformed churchmen. The difference should not be lost sight of. Protestantism tolerates all religious opinions, save those which may inculcate (as Popery *once* did) disloyalty to a Protestant throne; but Popery acknowledges no faith, let it teach as it may the duties of faithful subjects, but that springing from Rome. Loyalty to the temporal prince is in itself no recommendation to Romish powers, unless it be divided with the spiritual sovereign who still totters upon the Seven Hills.

ART. VI.—*Entire Absolution of the Penitent. A Sermon, mostly preached before the University, in the Cathedral Church of Christ, in Oxford, on the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, 1846.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ's Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College. Oxford: Parker.

THE period which was assigned to the suspension of Dr. Pusey from the privilege of preaching before the University of Oxford, having expired, and his turn having again come round, that learned professor, as our readers are aware, returned to the pulpit at Christ Church, on the 1st of February, and the sermon which he then addressed to his audience is that which has been given to the public under the above title.

Until the moment arrived, at which the curiosity of those who were interested in the movements of Dr. Pusey was gratified, the utmost excitement prevailed; nay, it was carried to such a pitch as to be in no little degree reprehensible; but no sooner

had the sermon been delivered than it passed away, and is already reckoned among the things that have been: no one hardly speaks of the sermon—few read it—and, as is usual in such a state of things, booksellers begin to complain.

But are the mighty fallen on that account? Is the party annihilated or subdued? Is Dr. Pusey a true penitent, or are we to have some fresh *developments* of error through his agency? Does the silence of the university, as a body, or that of individual theologians, amount to a denial of all suspicion of heresy, or to a declaration of peace? We cannot say that we look upon it in this light. We do not think that either the university or individuals are satisfied—much less willing to come to any compromise; but that there is a disposition to allow of the fullest extent of license, before they will found, upon anything that is done or said, penal measures: they are anxious to bear, as much as possible upon the side of leniency, that no cavil may be raised against their proceedings.

There was, indeed, a party who thought that Dr. Pusey would, on his return to the pulpit, carry out to a fuller extent the principles that he had before enunciated, and that, having summed them up with an amount of heresy that should be palpable, would resign his position in the university, so as at once to avoid the consequences of his conduct, and follow those friends who, in publicly joining Rome, have contributed somewhat to his difficulties; but such a course was not necessary, and has not been adopted by him. We have before us a sermon, in many respects, of great beauty—much mildness of language—and such as was calculated, on its delivery, to impress his hearers with respect; one, therefore, which was well adapted to the circumstances of the situation in which he was placed, as a preacher, at that particular moment. But, although it is one which was calculated to meet the difficulties of his situation, so far as the moment of delivery was concerned, and perhaps to carry him over the immediate dangers that might result from the peculiar method in which he treated his subject (and, indeed, it appears to have been successful, if we may gather anything from the calmness which reigns upon the subject), there is, as our readers will perceive when they come to examine the sermon, not only no apology for his previous conduct, but a reiteration of its principles; not only a reiteration of them, but a republication of Roman predilections, though, as was to be expected from the peculiarity of his situation, they be ingeniously veiled.

Our author does not, it is true, talk now of a sacrifice begun at the moment of the institution of the sacrament of the Lord's

Supper—continued on the cross—and, afterwards carried on, down to the remotest period in the administration of the sacrament:* when he speaks of a sacrifice in the sacrament, he is content to call it commemorative, and to shelter himself under Bishop Wilson's words (and, as adopting his words, he must of course be supposed to use them in the same sense as he did); but he speaks of the entire absolution of the penitent, and, as we shall have occasion to see in our examination of the sermon, speaks of it as the result of a power inherent in the clergy by the express covenant of their commission; a doctrine that is no less removed from that of the Church of England than was the former, though it comes to us in a more becoming dress, and in a form that is more seductive. But we will give a sketch of the sermon, and then proceed to our observations, first selecting, from the doctor's preface, enough to show what was his meaning and what not, as he is himself pleased to declare in the coolness of deliberation, when we may suppose the sermon to have been preached, and to have passed agreeably to his most sanguine expectations:—

"The writer of the present sermon has already stated, in the course of it, what was not, as well as what was his object; yet it may possibly save some misunderstanding here to re-state it: its object is, the relief of individual penitents. Consciences *are* burdened. There is a provision, on the part of God, in his Church to relieve them. They wish to be, and to know that they are, in a state of grace. God has provided us means, however deeply any have fallen, to replace them in it. They feel that they cannot take off their own burden, loose the chains of their past sins, and set themselves free to serve God; they look for some act out of themselves, if there be one, which shall do this—God has provided it; they want something to sever between past and future, that they may begin anew. By his absolving sentence, God does efface the past. They cannot estimate their own repentance and faith. He has provided physicians of the soul to relieve and judge for those who open their griefs to them. They wish to know how to overcome besetting temptations; God has provided those, experienced in the sad history of man's sins and sorrows, who can tell them how others, through the grace of God, have overcome them (p. iii.)

He then speaks of certain cases in which absolution is admitted by the Church in a form which may be said to be special, and then goes on to argue, that, though the Church does not *require* confession, she does not *hinder* it. Thus he says:—

"Our Church, in leaving her children free, did not mean to stint the use of the gifts entrusted to her, to force all consciences to one level;

* See upon this point an article "On the presence of Christ in the Eucharist," in No. XXXV. of our *Review*, published July 1845.

nor because she does not *require* confession, therefore (as some now would seem to interpret her), by an opposite constraint to that which she laid aside, to *hinder* or withhold them from it. It was beautifully said in her first Liturgy*—'requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the priest; nor those also which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the Church; but in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity: and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds and consciences; whereas he hath no warrant of God's word to the same.' And in later days, the principle of our Church was briefly characterized by a bishop belonging to an acknowledged English school.'† 'It is confessed that private confession to a priest is of very ancient practice in the Church; of excellent use and practice, being discreetly handled. *We refuse it to none, if men require it, if need be to have it.* We urge it, and persuade it in extremes; we urge it in a case of perplexity, for the quieting of men disturbed in their consciences.'" (pp. viii. ix.)

But not only is it argued that auricular confession is useful for the quieting of perplexed minds:—

"But as was said, she (the Church) restricted it not to the cases in which she recommended it. She did not, therefore, discourage it, when she ceased to urge it. We must believe that she who encouraged it in these cases would have recommended it in any other, if the need had then arisen, when she was free to recommend anything. Such a deep need, then, has arisen in the case of our youth" (pp. ix. x.)

Now it is very plain, that the Church of England has not recommended the use of auricular confession to the extent that Dr. Pusey would desire; and most certain that she has not recommended it to be used with children; and, when he says that it would have been resorted to, had occasion arisen, and goes on to say that such occasion has arisen in the case of youth, he would have us infer that the absence of the recommendation arose from the absence of need, up to the time in which he speaks of it as having arisen. It is, however, true that there is nothing in sin now that was absent from it formerly—it was as hateful to God then, as now; and there is nothing in penitence now that was absent formerly, the sting of sin being at all times the same. And, therefore, we must infer that the absence of the recommendation arose not from the absence of the characteristic of penitence, the intense hatred of the first approach to

* "The Book of Common Prayer, &c., 1549." (*Pusey's Preface*, p. viii.)

† "Bishop Montague, quoted by Wordsworth, p. 77." (*Pusey's Preface*, p. ix.)

sin, which Dr. Pusey would make us believe is a new thing, but from the perception of the inapplicability of auricular confession to the case—its want of all adaptation as a remedy. This, however, would not do for the doctor, and therefore his case is thrown into the shape we have alluded to. He assumes, what he ought to prove, that the Church would do so and so, and speaks of a case arising to call for the exercise of her power, as though her power had not been exerted for want of such a case; but his case is as old as Adam, and therefore not pertinent. What we would ask Dr. Pusey is, "If it be new, when did it arise?—if it be old, why has it not been attended to *more suorum?*"

But this is not all—Dr. Pusey will recommend auricular confession, and assume that the Church will eventually sanction it; nay, he would recommend it, in its most diabolical form, under a like assumed sanction. He is not content with examining children upon their first approaches to sin, and calling it up to their minds from time to time; but, after the most approved fashion of the Church of Rome, must suggest sin to his youthful penitents, the better to lay the ground for future penitence, as if it were true, that because there is "joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance," the sin upon which it is founded were desirable. "*The young* (he says, p. xi.) *need to be warned not only against sin which they know,* BUT AGAINST SIN WHICH THEY SCARCELY SUSPECT TO BE SIN;" they need, that is, Romish suggestions, as well as Romish confessions, that the priests may have a becoming demand for that fulness of absolution, which he, as an Anglo-Romanist, would recommend: and this he asserts in the full knowledge of the charges that have been brought against the Romish confessional; which circumstance, as it shows deliberation, makes his recommendation more hideous; nay, he is most elaborate in his defence of the practice, urging upon us that, wherein the charges are true they have become so from the abuse, and not the use, of the rule. But the very circumstance, that theologians have found it necessary to deliver frequent cautions against this abuse, shows that it is common, which is enough to alarm us; and when we come to know what are the *express directions* of the very men who put forward these *nominal* cautions, we shall be satisfied as to the danger of Dr. Pusey's so-called *sacred intercourse with the priests of God.*

Dr. Pusey, however, is no advocate for extreme measures: he would begin with the people and leave compulsory confession to follow, as a corollary from his present recommendations; and probably he had the arguments of Mr. Ward in view when

he determined on the course he has adopted. Mr. Ward looks upon it as a corruption in our Church that we have no system of confession—he gives an account of the education of children furnished him by a Roman Catholic priest, in which confession bears a prominent part—and this for the purpose of contrasting it with our own. He gives an account of the preparation of priests, for the purpose of conducting education upon this principle; and then goes on to a declaration, that, however desirable it may be to come to this in the end, it would not do now suddenly to resort to it as a compulsory system, because priests would not be prepared for it. We must have the whole of the Romish system at work: we must wait for the existence of a recognized body of moral and ascetic theology; and the making of it a part of a priest's whole education that he shall be sufficiently versed in the main particulars of these sciences.* Dr. Pusey, we have said, appears to us to have had all this in view, and to be furthering Mr. Ward's desires by the use of Mr. Oakeley's principle of *indoctrination;* but, whether this be the case or not, he would certainly begin with the people: if they can be led to confession, generally, the authoritative part of the matter will soon follow.

Now, it may be said by those who have read Mr. Ward's "Ideal," that his account of the practice of confession is very attractive; and our author would refer us to cautionary clauses in Bailly to remove any adverse impression we may have received upon this subject. Nay, we may be persuaded by him that no attention is to be paid to its assailants, as they do not, in every instance, authenticate their charges.† But we happen to know something of Bailly, and, notwithstanding his *caution*, we are not satisfied. We happen to have, upon our table, a pamphlet which speaks of Bailly—a pamphlet which is valuable, not only for the information that it gives us as to the practical working of Romish confessions, but for the great exactness with which references are given; and in it Bailly figures to an extent that the reader will be surprised to observe, after reading Dr. Pusey's preface, and the character in which he appears is not very enviable. As a promoter of immorality, under the specious pretence of investigation, and that with *females at the most delicate period of life*, Bailly is second to none.‡ From this work we quote the following:—

---

* Ward's "Ideal," pp. 312-325.

† See observations in note to p. 50, with regard to Michelet.

‡ "The Roman Catholic Confessional Exposed, in Three Letters to a late Cabinet Minister." Dublin: Hardy. 1837. *Not a word of this pamphlet ought to be passed over by those who would know anything of the confessional.*

"In Bailly's treatise on the sixth and ninth (according to our enumeration, the seventh and tenth) commandments we find the same lesson, that the priest, being physician as well as judge, must know all the sins and diseases of his patient; and that, therefore, if through shame or modesty, any transgression of the seventh commandment should be concealed, he must question his trembling penitent on these subjects. He is instructed to proceed cautiously—(these ministers of impurity are too wary to shock their penitents by too sudden a view of the lasciviousness, 'which to be hated needs but to be seen'); he is to proceed cautiously—advancing from more general questions to more particular —*from the less shameful to those which are more so.* He is to begin with an examination of the thoughts, by inquiring whether she has at any time indulged improper desires, and if so, of what nature. He is then to ask 'what actions followed?' 'Whether she permitted herself to be kissed, or any other liberties to be taken with her?' And, 'if occasion should be given for *ulterior inquiries*, the confessor will fulfil his duty, but with great prudence and circumspection.'" * (*Letters, &c., pp.* 40-41).

Indeed, the same clever writer says (p. 21) that Bailly's work was the subject of prosecution in Napoleon's time, and was prohibited on account of its jesuitical tendency, which is no recommendation of it as evidence in extenuation of the charges alluded to by Dr. Pusey. That learned author's sermon, however, awaits our notice, and we must pass, from the preface, to it, notwithstanding these sparkling incidents in the former; and

---

* This is authenticated by the following extract from Bailly:—

"Cum confessarius sit Judex et Medicus, debet pænitentis plagas et delicta cognoscere, ut remedia congrua possit applicare, et pænitentiam convenientem imponere, et ne id, quod grave est, pro levi habeatur, fædusve colubet in intimo cordis delitescens foras prodire non ausit. Itaque pænitentes aliquando circa sextum præceptum *interrogare debet,* ubi nimirum conjicierit eos non esse omnino castos, *præsertim si sint* rudes, ignari *verecundi, animo perturbati.*

Prudens confessarius, quantum poterit, pænitentium fiduciam ore benigno adaugeat, a generalioribus ad specialiora, *a minus turpibus ad turpiora procedat,* nec exordium ducat a factis externis, sed a cogitationibus; an pænitens inhonestatem volveri animo? An advertenter? Quale fuit istud desiderium? An motus illicitum non fuerit expertus? Quod si pænitens responderit se similia non esse expertum, in eo sistere debet communiter confessarius, nisi pænitens sit valde ignarus et crassus ingenio. Si autem pænitens declaraverit se cogitationes inhonestas aut desideria illicita expertum esse, interrogabit confessarius an secutæ fuerint quædam actiones inhonestæ? Quod si hoc fateatur pænitens, rursus interrogabit confessarius, quænam sint illa actiones; sed nullam actionem indicabit, non quæret, v.g. an sit pollutio, an sit adulterium, ne pænitentem, præsertim si juvenis sit, peccatum edoceat.

Si puella sit, interroganda erit, an ornaverit se ut placerit hominibus? An in hunc finem fuco usa fuerit? An templa frequentaverit, ut in limine vel fenestra sese ostenderet, ut conspiceretur? *An cum aliis quid turpe dixeret, aut legerit, aut cantaverit?* An non cuipiam teneriori amore adhæreat? *An nihil ei circa se ipsam permiserit? An osculo passa non sit?* Quod si *ulterioribus interrogationibus* detur locus, ministerium suum implebit confessarius, sed prudentur et circumspecte."—(*Bailly*, vol. ii., p. 228, 229).

the doctor's *nasty* friends must give way to him—we would not for a moment have it said that he must be known by them!

Dr. Pusey opens his sermon with an allusion to his suspension:—

"It will be (he says) in the memory of some that, when nearly three years past, Almighty God (for 'secret faults,' which he knoweth, and from which, I trust, he willed thereby the rather to 'cleanse' me) allowed me to be deprived for a time of this, my office, among you. I was endeavouring to mitigate the stern doctrine of the heavy character of a Christian's sins by pointing out the mercies of God, which might re-assure the penitent, the means of his restoration, the earnests of his pardon." (p. 1).

This has been looked upon by some as a specimen of that affectation of humility which we sometimes find put forth by pretended ascetics; but it sounds to us much more like jesuitical contumacy in that, under the pretence of humility for secret faults, there is implied a denial of all public grounds of complaint, and of the permission of punishment on those grounds by the Almighty. There was no necessity for him to allude to his case at all—he had erred and suffered the punishment of his error—and, if he was not prepared to acknowledge that he was wrong, he had better have allowed his sermon to have been unencumbered by allusions of this nature: he had better have gone into his subject at once than have put forward such an exordium. For, not only does he deny that it was on public grounds, for the preaching of strange doctrine, that he was allowed by the Almighty to be suspended, but he takes up his discourse from the point at which he left it in his "condemned" sermon; adopts it into his present sermon by his allusions; and reiterates it, so far as it could be reiterated without the exact repetition of his words, in the same pulpit, before the same audience; in the very teeth of his judges; and then goes on to found upon it other arguments that he thinks necessary to put forth.

He would have us think that, in the sermon to which he alluded, none of those points for which he was condemned are to be found; that he spoke not of the eucharist, but as a sacrament; and that, if he urged upon his hearers that there was any sacrifice in it, it was a commemorative sacrifice that he dwelt on, no other. But alas! *it is not true* that he spoke of the eucharist, as he now declares that he did. He did not speak of it as a commemorative sacrifice: he did not give to it that restoring power, which he would now have us believe he attributed to it before; neither now, that he speaks of the forgiveness of sins by God alone, are we free from the fear of an arbitrary exercise

of the commission of priests, that may, possibly, come between us and mercy.

It is not true that Dr. Pusey, in his former sermon, spoke of a commemorative sacrifice: had that been his expression no one would have complained; it would have been taken to have meant no more than a rite that might be said, metaphorically, to be of a sacrificial nature—that is, a rite which, whilst it kept up the memorial of the great sacrifice of Christ, applied the benefits of that sacrifice to sinners; he spoke of it as a part of the sacrifice that is made for us, and that, though not to the exclusion, in deterioration of the death of our most blessed Lord on the cross.

In that sermon he spoke of the flesh and blood in the sacrament "giving life, because they are the very flesh and blood, which were given for the life of the world, and are given *to* those *for* whom they had been given" (p. 20); and he explained this curious assertion by stating that the sacrifice alluded to by our Lord, as being that which should procure remission of sins, commenced at the very time that he used the words of institution. "Our Lord's words (said he) speak of the act as a present act. This is my body which *is* given for you. This is my body which *is* broken for you" (p. 21). And, further on, he adopted the words of Chrysostom, so as to shew the inapplicability of part of these expressions to the death upon the cross. "For a bone of him, it saith, shall not be broken" (p. 21). He went on, however, afterwards as follows:—"And this may have been another truth, which our Lord intended to convey to us, when he pronounced the words, as the form, which consecrates the sacramental elements into his body and blood, that that precious blood is still, *in continuance, and application of his one oblation once made upon the cross, poured out for us now*, conveying to our souls, as being his blood, with the other benefits of his passion, the remission of our sins also" (pp. 22, 23). He did not speak of a commemorative sacrifice—of such an expression he is entirely guiltless.

But, if he would withdraw this language now, by using the word "*commemorative*," we will not object to it. Let it, however, be utterly abandoned—not merely be supposed to be so: let us have no prevarication about it, at one time as though it were given up, at another not: if it is to be withdrawn, let it be withdrawn formally. And not only is it untrue that he used that expression then, as we have just declared, but it is untrue that he brought forward the sacrament as a comfort to the penitent, as he would allege in the sermon now before us.

For, though his sermon was so entitled, and he does not deny

but that "what wraps the saint already in the third heaven may yet uphold us, sinners, that the pit shut not her mouth upon us;" and says, "that the same reality of the divine gift makes it angel's food to the saint, and ransom to the sinner" (p. 18); yet there is a distinction throughout between saints and sinners, and a perpetual qualification of its application to the latter, though penitent. Not that saints are thought to be perfect (for it is admitted, even with regard to them, that "there is a subordinate and subdued notion of sin—p. 18: and, so, even when speaking of the sacrament generally, the author says that it has, *in its degree*, remission of sin, as well as baptism, which is said to have remission of sin, without any such qualification—p. 2); but that there is, as we have said, a marked difference between these two classes. When we read of its application to the penitent, we are constantly meeting with expressions like these:—"The penitent's joy, then, in the holy eucharist, is not the less deep, because the pardon of sins is not, as in baptism, its direct provision" (pp. 3, 4). "The holy eucharist is given not to the dead, but the living" (p. 4). "Where, one may feel, is there here any place for the sinner?" (p. 15); and, although "in each place in holy Scripture, where the doctrine of the holy eucharist is taught, there is, at least, some indication of the remission of sins" (p. 19), the immediate and proper end of the sacrament is union with God—it is only "*ulteriorly* the cleansing of our sins" (p. 27).

But all this, strange as it appeared in that sermon, is now cleared up. Dr. Pusey brought forward his former sermon, because the sacrament, being generally allowed to be necessary, would afford a topic upon which he could speak with comparative safety; but the power of the keys was not so generally acknowledged as to allow of immediate treatment. That doctrine, however, is now admitted to have been had in view, and we at last find what was the meaning of all this hesitation. Nothing had been said of absolution—therefore was all this mystery; but absolution, in Dr. Pusey's sense, being introduced and connected with his former doctrine, all this is explained. ABSOLVED PENITENTS ARE RESTORED TO THE PRIVILEGE OF SAINTS, AND MAY FEED ON THE ANGEL'S FOOD.

It is very remarkable what stress is laid upon the power of priests by men of extreme opinions. In our last number we reviewed a work on "Confirmation," in which it is alleged that baptism does not convey the Holy Spirit to us, but merely cleanses us in anticipation of the bestowal of that gift, through the bishop, at confirmation; and a like opinion was some time ago put forth, if we remember right, by Mr. Faber, of Elton, in

some little tracts, though not so formally as by Mr. Frere. And now we are to be told, by Dr. Pusey, that the sacrament of the supper will not avail us without absolution. It will not be long, perhaps, before we shall have the open announcement of the doctrine *of the necessity of intention in the priest to the validity of the sacraments*, which Dens inculcates upon his readers:* for, to refuse to absolve previously to the administration of the sacrament, and to withdraw the intention from the celebration of it, is all one in effect. We shall, in either case, be called on to think that we are entirely at the mercy of priests; and that which was intended for a means of grace will be made the engine of oppression. Nor let Dr. Pusey say that we are treating him unfairly, in that he nowhere says that absolution is *necessary* to the taking of the sacrament profitably; for he himself avows it to be a part of the scheme of the restoration of penitents that he had in view when he was suspended, though, from prudential motives, he treated not of it at first; and the passages we have brought from his former sermon, which speak of the remission of the sins of the penitent in terms of reservation, not only admit of no explanation save on that supposition, but are fully explained by it; which is as strong evidence as we can get in cases like this, when people will not be honest enough to use plain language, where there is not only enough to raise the presumption of reservation, but reason sufficient for its exercise.

But, whether or not Dr. Pusey's sermons are to furnish the germs of such a development, time can alone shew: our business now is with his present statements, and they are simply as follow:—Sin before baptism is remitted at baptism: sin after baptism, by absolution. Absolution is complete, whether we look to the nature of the sin remitted, or to the effect upon the person absolved; for *whatever* Christ's ministers loose on earth is loosed in heaven, and whosesoever sins they remit they *are* remitted unto them: there is no putting off to a distant day; men are immediately forgiven. They have at once plenary absolution from all their sins" (p. 38). Now, we do not hesitate to say that these views (founded though they be upon the literal interpretation of certain passages of Scripture) are alike inconsistent with its true meaning, and with the teaching of the Church of England. But, we will go into the consideration of these points; and, in order to discuss them in as concise a method as possible, we shall take up Dr. Pusey's observations as to the wording of the rubric, which directs the priests to

* An ad validam confectionem sacramenti requisitus intentio in ministro? R. Affirmative. (*Dens* v. p. 127.)

pronounce the absolution, as the remarks upon that wording will allow us to concentrate our observations, at the same time that they will admit all that is necessary for the fair understanding of his argument, to be brought forward.

The doctor then says, that our Church does not declare the remission of sins, but absolves, in that the priest is ordered to *pronounce* the absolution; and the fulness of the absolution, thus inferred, is afterwards said to be most strongly impressed upon us by the increased intensity of the language of the Church, as we go on with her offices. But, alas! the distinction that is drawn between the words "*pronounce*" and "*declare*," is fanciful; and the doctrine that is urged upon us untenable; inasmuch as it is *impossible* for the *priest* to do more than declare the promise of remission of sins in general terms, and found upon that promise the probability of its application to us under certain circumstances.

And this we say, not in prejudice—not from any undue attachment to the system in which we have been educated—though we believe it to be the true system—a system uncontaminated by that "*ungodly blasphemy*" which Dr. Pusey would charge upon those who differ from what *he* considers the true Church (pp. 18-19), that is, the Roman—but in attention to the force of the expressions that are used by him; for though he is anxious (and has cause for his anxiety, seeing he has a system to *impose* upon us)—though he is anxious, we say, to make us believe that absolution will be effectual, as it were, *ex opere operato*—though he talks of it as the undoubted power of Christ's ministers, which it would be a denial of Christ to dispute—though he declares that "none do him greater wrong than they who would rescind his commands, *and cast back upon himself* the office he committed to them" (p. 7)—there is some reservation in his language; something, with all his ultra-Roman bias, that he cannot get over; something, however, which, as he would get over, he mentions feebly; as though it were said, that he might not be supposed to have wilfully kept it out of sight; something that he did say to *avoid condemnation*, but which is said with the least possible prominence that it might not interfere with his aim: and here it is:—

"Grievous sins, after baptism, are remitted by absolution; and the judgment, if the penitent be sincere, is an earnest of the judgment of Christ, and is confirmed by him; yet, the same penitent has yet to appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that, according to his sincerity, the Lord may ratify or annul the judgment of his servants; yet, with these limitations, the pardon upon penitence is as absolute as in baptism itself" (p. 26).

How shall we reconcile these words with the following?—

"Nor, again, doth he put us off for that forgiveness to a distant day. The effects of sin upon the soul may often be to be worked out by sorrow and toil; the forfeited crown, and larger favour of Almighty God to be gained by subsequent self-denial, or suffering for him, or devoted service. But we have the very craving of our hearts. Our sins, when we are fit to receive the blessed words, are forgiven at once. 'They *are*,' our gracious Lord says, 'forgiven unto them' (ἀφέωνται); as though he would express the swiftness of his pardon in the same way as it is promised in the Prophet, 'Thou shalt call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am;' so now, so soon as his priest has, in his name, pronounced his forgiveness on earth, the sins of the true penitent are forgiven in heaven. Whosoever sins ye remit, they *are* remitted unto them" (pp. 38-39).

How can the pardon be immediate, and yet to be ratified at the day of judgment?—how a present act, so as at once to remit the sin, and yet the sinner be answerable for it hereafter?

Mr. Newman, when he found it convenient to unsay what he had before said, spoke of a probable infallibility as a probable gift of never-erring ("Development," p. 120); and the position taken up by him, on that point, can only be met by the assertion that it was never probable that men should, under ordinary circumstances, be endowed with that gift; but Dr. Pusey has not so much as a chance of success in taking up the position we are noticing; for he does not speak of the external possibility of the doctrine being true, but of the internal truth conveyed by the doctrine itself, which is previously supposed to be true; and of that doctrine he says, that the thing spoken of is *certain*, and yet *only possible*, with a more than jesuitical complacency. A possible certainty, not in the sense that it is possible that that which is assumed to be true may be true, but in the sense that the thing spoken of is *certain*, and yet *only possible*; or a certain possibility which speaks not of a thing being undeniably possible, but *only possible*, and yet *sure* (for to one of these positions, according to the point of view from which we look at Dr. Pusey's absurdity must we be brought) is rather too much for us to swallow. We may need enlightenment; but we should rather say that the most that can be made of all this is no more than that there is, in certain circumstances, a strong presumption of pardon in the absolution of priests; but that, as they have no means of discerning spirits, they can only *promise conditionally*: they can, at no time, say literally, as Dr. Pusey would have them say, "Thy sins *are* forgiven thee."

Nor let it be supposed that such an impression on our minds

involves the repudiation of the gracious intention of our Lord, in conferring upon his ministers the commission supposed to be charged with these powers, as though it would deny that they came afterwards to exercise powers similar to those he exercised upon earth; for it is said that he had power upon earth to forgive sins, and as his Father sent him, so sends he his ministers. For, though it is possible for God to remit sins unconditionally, and to commit, unto whom he will, the office of dispensing that forgiveness; and though the words in which the commission is given to men (if it be true that they have such a commission—a commission, that is, of such immediate and undoubted efficacy), may be of a positive tendency: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them—I have power to forgive sins on earth, and as my Father sent me, so send I you;" yet it will not follow, as a necessary consequence, that the ministers of Christ should have the power supposed. For what is *possible* is one thing, and what is *permitted* is another; and strength of expression will not always convey unlimited intention. All power assuredly belonged to our Lord on earth, whether to forgive sins, or in other ways to shew forth his mighty works; and yet there were some things that Christ, who was perfect God as well as perfect man, *could not do*—not that it was, in the abstract, impossible for him to do them—but that it was impossible for him to do them consistently with the providence he exercised with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

In Mark vi. we find, with regard even to his own country, upon one occasion—"He could do there no mighty work, save that he laid his hands upon a few sick folks and healed them. And he marvelled, because of their unbelief." (5-6). Now, we would ask, why could he do there no mighty work, but in a few instances? It was not, surely, because it was impossible for him to do it; but because the unbelief of those amongst whom he was prevented his doing it consistently with the order of divine providence. And so, upon another occasion, we find him saying to one who sought his assistance, "If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth." (Mark ix. 23).

Now, we may, in like manner, say that it is possible for Christ's ministers, as they are in some way to have power like unto his, to convey the forgiveness of sins, contemporaneously with the pronunciation of absolution (as Christ forgave sins upon earth without any the slightest interposition of delay); but it is only the case when the repentance of those they absolve is sincere and of a Christian character—they can no more forgive sins without that repentance than Christ could do his mighty works, even among his own countrymen, without their belief. And,

if this be true, as there must be always a doubt as to the sincerity of repentance, in the absence of the power of discerning spirits, they can only *promise conditionally*—they cannot *absolutely remit* sins. They may declare absolution, it may be, in terms of much strength, but they never can *pronounce* it in Dr. Pusey's sense of that word: they can say to no one, *literally*, "thy sins are forgiven." And it is exactly in this modified sense that our Church puts forth the expressions which she uses in absolution.

In the daily service (for it was in truth drawn up for a daily, and not a weekly use) the priest, though he is commanded to *pronounce* the absolution to the people, makes only a declaration, and that with the manifest reservation of a condition. "Almighty God, (he says), desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live, and thereto has given power to his ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people—being penitent (but not otherwise)—the absolution and remission of their sins." And then he declares, accordingly, that "he pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent." But we look in vain for any more positive pardon, and much more unsuccessfully for any absolution of those who do not repent. God forgives—not the priest; the priest declares the forgiveness of sins under a condition. He does not *pronounce*, in the sense of giving sentence: that is yet to be passed, at the day of judgment.

In the communion service the absolution is limited in a similar manner, while in form it is hardly so positive; the priest is still ordered to pronounce the absolution, but it is expressed in the shape of a prayer:—

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him, have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." —(*Communion Service*).

In the service for the visitation of the sick some little opening may be thought to be given to the supposition of Dr. Pusey. But, in truth, there will be seen to be none, if we consider the directions of the rubric in that instance, and the tenor of the service, just about the particular period at which absolution is pronounced; for it is not said that the priest shall give absolution, nor that he shall pronounce absolution under all circumstances, but only in some; that he is to move the sick person to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience

troubled with any weighty matter; and that he should absolve him after his confession (again, not necessarily but contingently), he is to absolve him, *if he humbly and heartily desire it.* If he do not so desire it, he is not to absolve him; nor is he to absolve him at all in the form given, unless he find him weighed down by his sins, so as to doubt the possibility of salvation: it is only when his conscience is troubled with any *weighty matter* that he is to urge him to confess to him the sin that troubles him, and before confession he absolves him not at all.

In ordinary cases the minister would omit this absolution, and go on to the prayer following, which is a prayer for forgiveness in general terms. We give it entire:—

"O most merciful God, who, according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of those who truly repent, that thou remembrest them no more; open thine eye of mercy upon this thy servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness. Renew in *him*, most loving Father, whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil, or by *his* own carnal will and frailness; preserve and continue this sick member in the unity of the Church; consider *his* contrition, accept *his* tears, asswage *his* pain, as shall seem to thee most expedient for *him*. And, forasmuch as *he* putteth *his* full trust only in thy mercy, impute not unto *him his* former sins, but strengthen *him* with thy blessed spirit: and when thou art pleased to take *him* hence, take *him* unto thy favour, through the merits of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."—(*Visitation Service.*)

And in those extraordinary cases, in which the form of absolution under consideration is used, inasmuch as the prayer we have just quoted is directed to follow—"And, then (says the rubric), the priest shall say the collect following"—it must be plain that an immediate unconditional absolution cannot be supposed; because this very collect prays for the Almighty to "*open his eye of mercy* upon his servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness," which would be wholly inapplicable to his case, were he already forgiven, as would those words which beg of God "not to impute unto him his former sins;" and allusion is made to the condition required in those words which speak of the Almighty as "so putting away the sins of those who truly repent that he remembers them no more;" all of which show, as plainly as words can show, that, although for the peace of the distressed, whose sorrow the Church would hope to be after a godly sort, the strongest language is used, there is, notwithstanding, no pretension on her part to the power claimed by Dr. Pusey, but the reverse. It is, indeed, a very full declaration of the merciful promise of forgiveness—taken by itself, we

cannot well imagine a fuller. But the language of the collect shows that the Church intended not to do more than adapt her encouragement to those extreme cases, in which men are so cast down by their sins as to fear that God *cannot* pardon *them*, and the sincerity of whose repentance is shown in their despair; but who must, for all that, have their faith and hope enlivened before it will be possible they can be saved. For not only do we gather from Scripture that God will have men repent of their sins, but he requires them to believe in that scheme of mercy through which he forgives sin: and not only will he have us believe this in general terms, but apply it to ourselves in hope. "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy upon me," is the language he would have us use, and it shows not only a sense of sin, and a belief in the scheme of redemption unfolded to us in our Bibles, but hope that it will be made available to us individually.

The Church calls upon sinners to repent—to unburthen their minds to their minister—if they feel their consciences troubled with any weighty matter; and this, in order that he may give them such spiritual assistance as they need; and it is to meet the extremity of the case that extreme language is used in the form of absolution addressed to sick persons; for the saving of them from despair, not for the exaltation of them to the opposite extreme, as though it were no longer possible for God to impute their sins unto them: it would not become the Church, neither does the Church for a moment think of that. It is only because the Church would shut out none from mercy that she adapts her language to extreme cases. Had she intended this form to be used in every instance, she would not have made the reservations we find in the rubric; neither, had she intended to speak of immediate and unconditional absolution, would she have directed the collect, which immediately follows, to be used.

The remarks that we have made upon this part of our subject will equally apply to the first exhortation directed to be used in giving notice of the celebration of the sacrament, as will be sufficiently apparent to every one who will observe its language. It concludes as follows:—

"And because it is requisite, that no man should come to the holy communion but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience; therefore, if there be any of you who, by this means, cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's holy word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's holy word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness."—(*Communion Service.*)

It will be almost superfluous to say, that, as it is only in extreme cases that the Church moves men to confess to the priest, and to seek of him consolation in their need—that system of confession which is spoken of with such admiration by Mr. Ward and Dr. Pusey, as the process by which Christians can alone be educated for salvation, is not encouraged; for, if in every case men were so to be instructed, and that from the most tender age, there would be no place for the language we have been considering. We should find no "ifs" in the rubric or the exhortation: ministers would be told plainly to bring all that are committed to their care to confession. But where is this direction?—and how could it be, as the rubrics and exhortations stand?

The Church does not encourage auricular confession as a general practice, because it would be dangerous to the priest to allow *him* to suppose, as he probably would, that he could set aside the judgment of God, by his own, seeing that men at all times were to confess *to him*, and at all times to seek absolution personally *from him*. The Church does not encourage auricular confession as a general practice, lest men should think that they have *only a man* to satisfy, and *not God*. And, finally, the Church does not encourage auricular confession as a general practice, lest priests and people should become debased by the too familiar handling of sin. The Church of England does not think that children may have impure desires at five years of age,* and wish them to confess at seven;† neither does she wish her children of either sex to be questioned as to "those sins they may not suspect to be sins," as Dr. Pusey would have them questioned. She would not *teach* any of her "little ones" to do wrong. She would have the wretch who thinks that God cannot have mercy upon him snatched from that depth of despair which is the harbinger of ruin; and she would encourage confession *in him*, that her ministers may bind up his wounds. But she will not—we say "*will not*" emphatically, for we are convinced that she never will allow the most *disgusting obscenity* to be poured into the ears of her people *for the sake of their souls* (!), much less permit women to be insulted by it; neither will she wink at the *refined scheme of dishonesty* ‡ that is taught by the Roman Catholic friends of the Hebrew Professor at Oxford.

Dr. Pusey may deny that the practice of the Roman Catholic Church is such as we have stated. He denounces Michelet—

* "Confessional Exposed," p. 37.
† "Confessional Exposed," p. 30. Ward's "Ideal," p. 314.
‡ "Confessional Exposed," pp. 48-52.

perhaps he may denounce us; and Dr. Pusey may do this to some degree with impunity: a full answer to his favourite scheme would be too disgusting to be published. We have, however, referred to a work such as must be fully met to be got rid of, in that no charge is brought forward in it without the most accurate reference to the evidence upon which it depends. Perhaps it may not be too late for Dr. Pusey to profit by it. At all events let him read "The Roman Catholic Confessional Exposed" before he again recommends *auricular confession* at Oxford, on coming to preach before the University *in his turn.*

The authorities of that learned body are not *solitaries;* and people know them but ill if they think, either that they will allow their own wives, daughters, and children to be submitted to the practice recommended by Dr. Pusey, or that they will countenance for a moment such an outrage upon the feelings of the friends of decency, as must inevitably follow its adoption. They will do anything rather than appear to persecute Dr. Pusey; but, hateful as such an appearance would be to them, they will not submit to his leading. Our readers may make themselves easy about *that.* They have not, and they never will support unlimited auricular confession. It is contrary to their nature to lend themselves to so horrid a profanation of religion—they will not, they *cannot* do it.

ART. VII.—*History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.* Volume IV. By J. H. M. D'AUBIGNE, D.D., assisted by H. WHITE, Trinity College, Cambridge. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1846.

WE regard this "History of the Reformation" as valuable in itself, and also as greatly enhanced in its value by the circumstances of the time, and the stir which has been raised amongst us in the secession of so many men who held ostensibly places of respectability and influence in the Church of England, and at our two universities. These accidental circumstances have given a direction too limited—too exclusively English, to the views which are taken by us of the Reformation: it is attacked as though it had no other beginning than the tyranny or the less royal passions of Henry VIII.; and is defended by appeals to the works of Jewell, or Ridley, or Latimer; with but little reference to the real grounds of the Reformation, and those noble struggles of John of Saxony and Phillip of Hesse, by whose disinterested zeal, and persevering valour, the cause of civil and

religious freedom was virtually gained, while Henry was still regarded by the Pope as a defender of the faith, and England had not been in any degree separated from the communion of Rome, and Cardinal Wolsey, a creature of the Pope, governed the kingdom.

The time comprehended in this fourth volume extends from 1526 to 1531—not till after which period did the struggles of the Reformation become sensibly perceptible in England, or give any manifest token of the mighty change which was about to take place. Yet these four years embrace events which have left the most indelible—the most characteristic of the marks by which the Reformation has been distinguished: for, in 1529, the Reformers gave in that protest against the proceedings at Spire, which obtained for the whole body the name of Protestants; and, in 1530, the confession of Augsburgh was read before Charles V., and the Princes of the Empire, and became virtually an European document, being translated and sent to all the courts by the emperor's order—a document which has formed the basis of all subsequent confessions, and was even the thesis which determined the subjects and order of deliberation in the council of Trent; and a document which, considering the time and manner of its preparation, is wonderfully broad and catholic in its spirit and tone, while at the same time no essential truth is compromised: nay, we doubt whether the most favourable circumstances has yet produced a better confession, *as a whole*, than that of Augsburgh—if indeed any succeeding one has really equalled it.

God, in History, is the noble object which D'Aubigné proposes to himself; endeavouring to trace the hand of God in the providential train of events which prepared the way for the men of God, raised up at the time, to accomplish that mighty work of Reformation which was destined to regenerate Western Europe—to raise the standard of the Church to a higher and more spiritual tone than before—to enlarge the powers of mankind so as to enable the world to receive this last, this fullest testimony of the truth—and to give an expansion to civil and religious liberty so ample as to allow of this full witness being freely borne, and frankly communicated to all mankind. The Reformation was the beginning of this mighty work, and it has been going on for three hundred years, and it is still in progress—still year by year increasing: and it shall go on to the end of time, for such is the commision to the Church:—"Go ye into all the world; preach the Gospel to every creature. Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel until the Son of Man come."

The hand of God appears in the variety of instruments which are made subservient to the accomplishment of one purpose; and this a purpose unknown to themselves, and they unknown to each other, while they are all engaged in forwarding one common work: and while both the parties and their occupations appear in the eyes of men utterly contemptible, when, in fact, through them, God is stretching forth that hand which can at any time "turn the world upside down." A few fishermen of Galilee were the despicable instruments whom God employed for planting Christianity: a poor monk who had to beg his daily bread while at the university, with others as little favoured by fortune as himself, were the honoured instruments for reviving Christianity, when scarcely a trace of its genuine lineaments remained.

We need continually to be reminded what the Church was in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when monsters in profligacy, who can only be paralleled among the Dantons and Barrases of France, swarmed around St. Peter's, and even sat in the pontifical chair; and when indulgences for any crime, whether committed or only purposed, and whether the perpetrator were living or dead, might be purchased for a few pieces of silver. Luther wrote, in 1518:—

"The times in which we live are so bad that even the best personages cannot come to the help of the Church. We have now a very good Pope in Leo X. His sincerity and knowledge fill us with joy; but what can one man, though amiable and agreeable, do by himself alone? He certainly deserved to be in better times. We, in our day, deserve only such popes as Julius II. and Alexander VI. I wish to say the thing in a few words, and boldly. The Church stands in need of a Reformation; and this cannot be the work of one man like the Pope, or of several men like the cardinals, and fathers of councils; but it must be that of the whole world, or rather it is a work which belongs to God only. As to the time in which such a Reformation ought to begin, He alone who created time can tell."

In the same year, and while thinking thus favourably of Leo X., Luther wrote a letter to the Pope, promising to abide by the decisions of the Church, saying—

"In all taverns nothing has been heard but complaints of the avarice of priests, and attacks on the power of the keys, and even on the supreme pontiff. To this all Germany bears witness. On hearing these things, my zeal for the glory of Christ (at least so I thought it), or if they will have it otherwise, my young and boiling blood, was inflamed. And this, most holy father, is the fire which is said to have set the whole world in flames. Now, what must I do? I cannot retract, and what I have done is subjecting me to inconceivable hatred;

but in order to appease my adversaries, and respond to numerous solicitations, I now make known my thoughts; that I may place myself, holy father, under your shelter. All who are willing, will thus be able to understand the simplicity of heart which asks instruction from the highest ecclesiastical authority, and what respect I have shown for the power of the keys. Wherefore, most holy father, I throw myself at the feet of your holiness, and submit to you with all I have and all I am. Destroy my cause, or embrace it; decide for me, or decide against me: take my life, or restore it to me, just as you please. I will recognize your voice, as the voice of Jesus Christ, who presides and speaks by you. If I have deserved death, I refuse not to die. The earth belongs unto the Lord, and the fulness thereof. Let him be praised to all eternity.—30th May, 1518."

The only reply to this appeal was a citation to appear in Rome within sixty days: and before these days were expired the Pope issued a brief to his legate, saying: "We charge you to bring personally before you, to pursue, and constrain without delay, and as soon as you receive this, our letter, the said Luther, who has already been declared heretic by our dear brother Jerome, Bishop of Asculan ..... If he persists in his obstinacy, and you cannot make yourself master of his person, we give you power to proscribe him in all parts of Germany, to banish, curse, and excommunicate all who are attached to him, and to order all Christians to shun his presence." Thus, in fact, condemning him unheard.

It was by reiterated acts of violence and injustice like this that Luther and the Reformers were forced to take an independent stand; coupled as this conduct was with the most extravagant assertions of the unlimited power and entire infallibility of the Pope. For Prierio, the Dominican, had, at Rome, maintained "that whosoever does not rest in the doctrine of the Roman Church and Roman pontiff, as the infallible rule of faith, from which the holy Scripture itself derives its force and authority, is a heretic." Luther, after this, said—"I give myself no trouble as to what pleases or displeases the Pope. He is a man like other men. There have been several Popes who loved not only errors and vices, but even things still more extraordinary. I listen to the Pope as a Pope, *i. e.*, when he speaks in the canons, according to the canons, or when he decides the point with a council; but not when he speaks out of his own head."

Luther, however, did not refuse to appear before Cajetan the legate; and, at his appearance, conducted himself with all respect, forbearance, and moderation; and, when he at length obtained a hearing, delivered himself as follows:—"I declare that I honour the holy Roman Church, and that I will continue

to honour it. I have sought the truth in public discussions; and all that I have said I regard, even at this hour, as just, true, and Christian. Still I am a man, and may be mistaken; I am, therefore, disposed to receive instruction and correction in the things wherein I may have erred. I declare myself ready to reply, by word of mouth, or in writing, to any objections or charges which my lord the legate may bring against me. I declare myself ready to submit my theses to the four universities of Basle, Fribourg, Louvain, and Paris; and to retract what they declare to be erroneous. In a word, I am ready to do all that may be demanded of a Christian."

It was in vain that Luther sought for a compromise—it was useless to appeal to reason: the case of Rome admits of nothing short of absolute, unconditional surrender to her dictation, and that without reason, or even against reason. To admit of parley, is admitting the possibility of mistake; and this once admitted, in any case, would be like striking out a stone from an arch—any stone removed endangers the whole arch—any question allowed endangers the whole structure of infallibility; and it is the same now as then—Rome cannot change: men only deceive themselves when they think liberal ideas, which they may entertain, will find any response in the Papacy, or produce any alteration in its conduct towards them. In the recent debates of the upper house of Bavaria, which have turned very much upon the ecclesiastical questions at present agitating all Germany, the liberal Catholics attacked the ultramontanist party on this very point, and the latter avowed that no compromise whatever could be listened to; and, in the course of the discussions, a very remarkable document came out—viz., a letter from the Pope to the Bishop of Augsburg, written in 1842, in consequence of the latter having caused a solemn requiem to be celebrated on the death of the Queen of Bavaria:—

"You will not take it amiss when we, in fulfilment of our duty, complain of what has lately occurred in the diocese of Augsburg on occasion of the death of an uncatholic princess, the illustrious Queen Dowager. We refer to the services employed on her funeral, and have now before us your letter to your clergy written on that occasion. —19th Nov. 1841.

"We can scarcely find words to express the concern we felt on reading that letter, to find that those public prayers, which the Church has appointed for all who die in the Christian and Catholic communion, had been by you directed to be made for a princess who, after having notoriously lived in heresy, had also died in the same. It is quite irrelevant to allege that, in the last moments of her life, she may have been brought to repentence through the secret grace of our merciful God. Such hidden mysteries of divine grace must not be allowed to

have the least influence on the outward judgment and ostensible acts of the Church; and, therefore, in the ancient, as well as in modern Church discipline, it is forbidden to honour, with Catholic rites, those who die in the unknown or well known faith of heretics. Indeed, in the very commencement of your letter, you have not been afraid so to speak of her death as if she had been removed by God from this life to life eternal. We do not understand how this could have been so confidently asserted by you without some further explanation; nor how it can be made to harmonize with the Catholic doctrine of the necessity of true Catholic faith to salvation.....We entertain no doubt but that, moved by this our exhortation, you will seek to remove the scandal you have occasioned to the faithful, by your letter and the funeral service; and trust that you will take advantage of such suitable opportunities as may in the course of time arise, or which prudence may suggest; and that you will use all such occasions of time and place to protect your faithful flock against the vain deceit of those smooth-tongued flatterers who falsely proclaim, that a man who is a stranger to the Catholic faith, and the Catholic communion, may, even if he should die in such a state, attain, notwithstanding, to eternal life. In this view, and in order to avoid the danger of similar funeral services in future, you will deposit this letter in your episcopal archives, and preserve it there for all time to come."

When there is a work to be done, God finds, and prepares and brings forth his instruments for accomplishing it. And there were many instruments employed in the Reformation: the civil rulers contributed their share of assistance in helping to emancipate the Church. Frederic, the wise, and John, the persevering, of Saxony, and the energetic Phillip, of Hesse, rendered services, without which Luther might have lifted up his voice in vain. And even in theology, Luther stood not alone—Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Melancthon, in various degrees helped forward the good work; and Luther himself stood indebted to Staupitz, the vicar-general—first, as having put him upon the right track, and then for the gift of a bible—the first which Luther possessed, and which became his constant companion, and out of which he drew not only his arguments against the Roman corruptions, but his own strength and consolation, under his many struggles, external and internal. The same light and strength, derived solely from the Scriptures, guided and supported the whole body of Reformers. Luther was not present at Augsburgh when the confession was prepared; and it was Melancthon, not Luther, who was commissioned by his companions to draw it up. But being based on Scripture, it carried conviction with it, so that the Bishop of Augsburg exclaimed, "All that the Lutherans have said is true—we cannot deny it." "Well, doctor (said the Duke of Bavaria

to Eck, in a reproachful tone), you had given me a very different idea of this doctrine and of this affair." This was the general cry; accordingly the sophists, as they called them, were embarrassed. "But after all (said the Duke of Bavaria to them), can you refute, by sound reasons, the confession made by the elector and his allies?" "With the writings of the apostles and prophets—no! (replied Eck); but with those of the fathers and councils—yes!" "I understand, (quickly replied the Duke), I understand—the Lutherans, according to you, are in Scripture, and we are outside" (242).

A considerable portion of this volume is occupied with the discussions between Luther and Zwingle, concerning the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Luther was never able to shake off entirely the erroneous and confused dogmas of the Roman Church in support of transubstantion; and Zwingle had the better arguments on his side, Luther being able to oppose nothing more than the mere letter of Scripture—"this is my body;" and refusing to enter on the question of the manner or the nature of the change; and refusing to declare whether he understood it to become, by consecration, the body which Christ had when he spake the words, or the risen body, or that which is now glorified, or a spiritual mystery. But it appears to us that the two Reformers really meant nearly the same thing, and that it was chiefly a dispute about words. For when Luther was required to put into writing the differences between them, he thus expressed himself:—"We all believe, with regard to the Lord's Supper, that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the primitive institution; that the mass is not a work by which a Christian obtains pardon for another man, whether dead or alive; that the sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of the very body and very blood of Jesus Christ, and that the spiritual manducation of this body and blood is specially necessary to every true Christian" (123). This mode of expressing it, Zwingle and his companions could assent to, and both parties signed the declaration—leaving the scholastic question undetermined—pledging themselves to cherish more and more of Christian charity for one another.

This fourth volume of D'Aubigné's history is the first that has been published by him in English—the former volumes having been first published in French, and translated by the booksellers in England, or the other countries, without the concurrence or superintendence of the author. It is gratifying to be informed, that from 150,000 to 200,000 copies of the former volumes have been printed in the English language; while copies of the original French work have only been sold

to the amount of 4,000 or 5,000. This decided the author, who does understand English, to choose that language for the future volumes of his work; and he also, very properly, determines himself to publish an English translation of his former volumes. We desire to encourage him in this determination, by assuring him that the want of it is felt, from the careless way in which some of the translations have been made, and from the necessity, in a work of this kind, that the author himself should take care that his meaning is neither weakened nor exaggerated; and we are sure that every one who possesses the fourth volume would desire to possess the preceding ones, prepared with the same care, and printed in a similar manner. "The best translations are always faulty; and the author alone can have the certainty of conveying his idea, his whole idea, and nothing but his idea. Without overlooking the merit the several existing translations may possess, even the best of them is not free from inaccuracies, more or less important." (Preface iii.)

We regard, therefore, this work as an English publication; and hope shortly to see, not only the former volumes in the same form, but a continuation of the history and into those times which are so peculiarly interesting to an Englishman—the establishment of the Reformation in these lands. We have already said that Englishmen, to estimate the Reformation aright, must look at it, not only in England, but in other lands; and we are desirous of knowing the converse of this also—viz., how a foreigner, like D'Aubigné, will regard the English phase of the Reformation. It is evident that our author, like every Swiss, has a warm and even partial regard for his own land; but we have not yet observed that it has so warped his judgment as to render him blind to the merits of others; and we have no fear of being unjustly censured, but a strong desire to hear the opinions of so enlightened a foreigner as Merle D'Aubigné.

The faith of a people cannot but receive a colouring, as we may call it, from their national character—not so as to affect fundamentals, or make the faith of the Church more than one—but to leave room for diversities of form; while the substance remains the same. It was said by a looker-on, during one of the fiercest controversies, that a pious Arminian was a Calvinist on his knees. We believe that, both in doctrine and in practice, the Church of England has more nearly attained the happy medium than any other of the established Churches; and she has, therefore, been able to maintain at all times the most friendly relations with both the Lutherans of Germany, and with the Calvinists of Switzerland.

ART VIII.—*Tithes! Corn! Land! Facts and Figures. No.* 1. London: Longmans. 1846.

2. *Corn and Currency.* By the Rev. C. NEVILLE. London: Ridgway. 1846.

3. *Compensation to the People for Aristocratic Poor Laws and Unfair Taxation.* London: Fisher and Son. 1846.

WHEN we received the first intimation of Sir Robert Peel's intention to interfere with the existing Corn Laws, we suspected, as has been the case on other occasions with this singular and instatesman, that, as his conversion to the free trade philosophy consistent was sudden, so would it be complete; and that the result would be, that he would not only abolish all protection on corn, but that his measure would be unaccompanied with other enactments, in the general policy of the country, which might render it safe, and act as a compensation to the landed interest. We regret to say that our surmises have been but too truly verified. The proposals which are to form a part of the great measure are notoriously inadequate, as a compensation; and such as they are, they appear unwillingly dragged in, as a sort of make-weight, for which they are not only insufficient, but are, withal, crude and indigested in their composition, and display the marks of carelessness and precipitation.

Such sudden and radical changes, in the political views of a minister, in whose hands the nation has placed the custody of its laws and institutions, are likely to be attended with the most disastrous consequences to the people over whose destinies Sir Robert Peel has been called to preside. Such is the common sense view of the subject, forbidding any other interpretation, except on the supposition, that the minister is gifted far beyond all other men of his generation, and capable of taking a more enlarged and comprehensive view of the causes and effects which sway and accompany the affairs of men. We do not pretend that the course of human affairs can ever remain stationary. The tide of moral, commercial, and intellectual improvement is ever progressing, and advancing with unceasing flow, and without a retrograde motion, to some grand termination, which is to accomplish the designs of the Creator with respect to his beloved race of man. But the progress has ever been gradual—almost imperceptible—and we profoundly doubt the wisdom and stability of great social revolutions, carried out, like the measure now before Parliament, upon some sudden impulse of expediency, or founded on the speculations of some untried theory. The social existence of all nations, throughout the world, is so

interwoven, and the machinery of its operations so vast and complicated, that all changes forcibly introduced into the system, and not arising from its own natural and spontaneous action, must inevitably prove injurious to the general frame-work of society. Such we consider the character of the measure now propounded by Sir Robert Peel. It is an attempt to force the national will. What hint or suggestion have its projectors received from the nature of things? What commercial crisis throughout the world has arisen? What social emergency has happened amongst the nations to suggest the necessity of a revolution in their modes of intercourse? No such crisis has arisen—no such necessity has happened. The world is progressing, each portion within itself, on the certain laws which have always guided its onward course, wrought out, on the experience of its own necessities.

In no part of the habitable globe have the inhabitants discovered that a crisis of commercial intercourse has arrived, which renders it necessary to reject the lessons of all past experience—repudiate the maxims of all former statesmen—abolish the laws and usages of international policy; and, in their stead, establish a system of universal interchange—a vast republicanism of commerce—in which the technicalities of rule, and restriction, and treaty, sanctioned by the use of all men, of all times, and of all places, shall be for ever abrogated!

We do not give this prodigious scheme (we use the word "prodigious" in its classical acceptation) credit for greatness, or comprehensiveness of conception. So far from thinking the minister who proposes it worthy of admiration for enlarged views beyond the common range of the human mind, we consider him as merely adopting—and in a very clumsy manner—the sentiments of men whose grandest conceptions are formed on bales of cotton, and whose most comprehensive views of political intercourse do not extend beyond the folios of their "day-book" and "ledger." This may be considered as an assertion without weight or importance. Be it so: we have other grounds for asserting our belief, that Sir Robert Peel's mind is not so far removed from the ordinary standard of human intellectual power, as that its acts are not capable of being judged of by the rest of his countrymen. We rest our assertion on his own words and deeds. He has taken up and disposed of other matters of mighty import; and to this day, in the judgment of a great majority of his countrymen, he has utterly failed; and, after years of experience, every day only serves to prove the fatal tendencies of those measures. What confidence, then, can we repose in a minister whose every great step has been a false

one? Is not the present measure, vast as it must be in its consequences, as likely to prove a false step as any of those great measures which have preceded it? From the bottom of our hearts, we believe it is. We believed those former measures, to which we can only allude, to be fraught with injury to the institutions of the country; and Sir Robert Peel, when he proposed their adoption, would then have been banished from the counsels of the country by an indignant community, had he not made elaborate professions of "Conservatism," and declared, that what the difficulties of the times had extorted from him, he would make up by a faithful adherence to British principles; and that it should be his care to "walk in the light of the constitution." A generous people applauded his resolution, and in their returning confidence were willing to forget his past delinquencies. Witness their forgiveness in their almost unanimous declaration of sympathy and support during the crisis which happened in the reign of William IV. Sir Robert Peel was then, indeed, a great man—he had reached the summit of all human wishes and expectations—he was held in the highest esteem by his sovereign, whilst his name was carried from one shore to the other on the plaudits of his countrymen. The addresses of popular confidence, which he received from all parts of the kingdom, comprise many folio volumes, and are deposited in the archives of Drayton Manor. We, too, were amongst his ardent admirers; and so well did we think his honours merited, that we rejoiced in his being able to hand down to his posterity an heir-loom of such inestimable value. Had he *then* retired from public life, with what distinguished honour must his name have been inscribed on the roll of England's fame as a benefactor to his country! But, alas!—he has lived to see the end of his own glory. He has treated the warmest sympathy of his countrymen with coldness and indifference—stigmatized their support with epithets of contempt—again and again betrayed their confidence, and answered the expression of their sentiments with insulting silence. He has patronised the constitution only to betray it—he has promised his constituents only to deceive them—he has wooed his countrymen only to ruin them. We do not write with bitterness, although our words may appear harsh. We wish to preserve a Christian temper when speaking of wrongs—public wrongs of a sufficiently tormenting nature to give speech and vehemence to the very stones. But we speak the words of truth and soberness when we say that Sir Robert Peel's conduct, as a statesman, is altogether inexplicable. He has pleaded one thing, and practised another; other men have carried out, with as much consistency as cir-

cumstances would allow them, the convictions of their judgment and conscience; but Sir Robert Peel has done the reverse. If there was one thing more than another on which his judgment was assured, and on which his conscience rested with the greatest satisfaction, that thing, sanctioned by his understanding, and sanctified by his spiritual consciousness, has been sure to be sacrificed. But we forbear. Retribution ever awaits the violation of just principles; and we shall not be surprised if that retribution were intended to follow in the wake of the measure which he has now propounded for the adoption of Parliament. We see nothing great in it—nothing in its conception that might not have been reached by a pettifogger in political economy. It is a chimera of the speculative mind; and, as it is not founded on the nature of things, it is as dangerous as it is chimerical. Hitherto, the nations of the earth have been astonished at the sudden and unexpected announcement of such a revolutionary change. But we are much mistaken if, when their reeling judgment has had time to settle, they will not consider the whole transaction as a fable, and view the sage and cautious prime minister of England transformed into a leader of comedy. Look at the course he has adopted: he has inaugurated himself as the high priest of a philosophical system, in the doctrines of which he had always avowed himself an unbeliever. He has become its apologist to the world—is resolved to defend the pernicious principle—and, if possible, to fasten its deadly fangs on the vital energies of his country. The position which he now occupies is the antipodes of that which he has held through all his political career. Darkness and light are not more dissimilar than his former sentiments and his present avowals. He has before thrown down venerated portions of our constitution—has pleaded the necessity of the crisis—and he has been screened under the dubious enquiry, "Who can tell where these things may end?" But these were chiefly moral and religious questions, which are not capable of mathematical demonstration, or of being tested by brief experience, but which require time to work them out in all their consequences. But the great measure now contemplated is not a moral or religious question. It is a material, palpable innovation which will soon bring conviction to every mind through the medium of the senses; and, on this ground, we should like the experiment to be made, in order to bring back to their senses those who have apostatised from our long-established and well-tried principles of national policy, to follow the *ignis fatuus* of a wild and speculative theory, if we did not, in the meantime, fear the ruin of our country. We deplore the step he has taken;

and, without wishing to lay claim to any unusual share of prescience, we foretel it will be the last delusion he will practice on his now indignant party. The measure he patronises is too palpably inconsistent with the prosperity and stability of the country; and, if carried, would so soon prove its disastrous tendency, that it is impossible he should recover from it.

We consider "PROTECTION" the foundation-stone of all national prosperity, and of all international intercourse—it is the essential and cementing principle of the human race—not only the principle which is, but which the Universal Father of the race intended should be, the bond of union between the different tribes of his creatures. It is established in the nature of man himself. It is the law by which all his actions must be regulated; and yet, the mistaken commercial theorists, with Sir Robert Peel at their head, are determined to repudiate it. It must be to their ruin. It is only among savage nations, besotted with ignorance and stupified with the innate indolence of their nature — entertaining no idea of combination and improvement, but satisfied with the supply of their brute appetites — where protection is unknown; nay, even among such unorganised tribes, the strong and over-mastering law exists: they are under the necessity of *protecting* their hunting-grounds from the depredations of their fellows; and, at the dawn of civilization, it becomes still more necessary to protect their nascent energies, and preserve their peculiar products from the competition of more advanced and formidable neighbours. It is a law inherent in us—that where the peculiar products of our soil and climate are capable of protection from either rapacity or injurious competition, it is our duty to exercise it. Our fellows, if they can, will take advantage of our weakness or of our simplicity; and it is an unalienable right, which we derive from the Author of our being, to use every means in our power to prevent the injustice; nay, even amongst ourselves, within the boundaries of our own community, what is it that holds together the social bond? Is it not PROTECTION? Does it not establish, and regulate, and guard the rights of property and capital? Much more, then, is it necessary to guard the capital and labour of our own country from the rapacity of foreigners. Here is our *prima facie* case in favour of "Protection," founded in the nature of things, and which must ever hold good under any circumstances, or any development of society, which, in all human calculation, is ever likely to occur. This view of the subject does not interfere with the true principles of free trade, founded upon reciprocity of interests, when they can be directed and protected by human policy. This appears to us to be the

intention of the Divine Author of all things. He has not granted equal facilities to all nations: he has not gifted all alike: he has scattered, with a beneficent but with varying hand, the ever-teeming and exhaustless stores of his creative power; but withal has given to every clime and country its own peculiar products—not, that he did not wish the whole of his world to partake of these bounties, but to give the whole an opportunity of exercising a fraternal sympathy, and mutually reciprocating the bounties of each, for the benefit of all. We shall not, at present, enter upon this subject; but we ask, what nation ever rose to eminence or prosperity in its manufactures or commerce which did not lay the foundation of that prosperity in "protection?" It is to the bursting energies of an industrial state, what the warmth and shelter of the nursery is to the tender saplings, which strengthen, and grow, and expand, under its nourishing and protecting influences. What fabric of English manufacture is there which has now, perhaps, reached a state of unrivalled perfection?—has it not been thus tended and matured, and forced into a prolific and permanent growth? Has not this protection been the method which common sense has dictated, and which has been universally adopted by individuals, as well as nations, for securing to themselves the advantages of their skill and industry? And as the wants of mankind and the philosophy of the human mind, though varying according to times and circumstances, are permanently the same—so the means of providing for those wants; and guarding against their increase or recurrence, will ever be pursued on principles similar to those which have ever operated. What nation is there at this advanced period of the world, however great, or free, or powerful, that is not thus pursuing its own interest, and seeking its own aggradisement? Even the United States of America, whose institutions are republican and as free as the wind, yet, in this respect, they have made a noble exception, and with a prudence which has done honour to their statesmen, who have laid restrictions upon foreign commerce, and protected the infant manufactures of their own country from the monstrous competition of England. The effect of protection has been magical. The state of New England, in particular, has felt all the good effects of the protecting tariff. From being the most unproductive and most depressed of the States, it has, owing to its abundance of water and other facilities for manufactures, become the most important and prosperous, and is fast rising to opulence. Under this inspiring influence of protection what right have the free-traders to "hope" that the United States will adopt their example, and permit the cup of pros-

perity to be snatched from their lips, just when they have begun to taste the sweetness of it? It is much more likely that New England will become an exemplar State, and be followed, wherever it is practicable, by every State in the Union. Brother Jonathan knows his own interest too well to be cheated out of it by the shallow representation of the Whig-Radical, pseudo Conservative, free traders of England. Look at the continental nations—are they not conducting their commercial regulations on the same principles? Nay, they are carrying these principles beyond their just and proper limits: they have actually bound themselves, by the most solemn and formidable engagements, not to patronize any manufactures except their own. And the states of Germany—have entered into a league, called the "Zollverein," for the express purpose of encouraging and protecting their own manufactures. This Germanic league comprises more than thirty millions of persons, combined to defend the products of their native industry from all foreign competition. We do not approve of their scheme—we consider it too deeply infected with the corrupt principles of human nature. It is carrying out the extreme of selfishness. We cannot say that it presents a distorted picture, but that it bears too striking a likeness to the moral, or rather demoral, lineaments of our fallen race. The picture may be hideous; but it has the merit of being like the original. But "free trade" is the offspring of an unnatural alliance: it possesses none of the attributes of our moral being—it is a deformity—there is nothing in it with which we can hold sympathy. If it were cognate to religion, which has a tendency to transform and elevate our nature, we would hail it with satisfaction; if it were allied to humanity, we would at all events own our relationship; but we own no kindred to it. It is the offspring of human pride and the spiritual mammon, and is in repugnance to our best feelings. But however extreme in selfishness these regulations of the Zollverein may be, no one has a right to say that they are unsound in principle, or unwise in practice, in a worldly point of view, and in a world on all sides equally selfish. But our opinion of their policy, as long as they find it profitable, will have very little effect on their practice. The question is—how will the free importation of their fabrics assist our manufacturers to compete with their high prohibitory duties? With as much reason might we expect that the discharge of our own ordnance, before an engagement, would assist us in securing victory!—and yet, we hear a great deal of the "intelligence" of the mercantile classes. It may be considered very stolid in us, but we can assure our readers we have yet to discover it. They are quick and intelligent in striking a bar-

gain—in discovering the best markets—for the high-minded purpose of "buying cheap and selling dear." They are expert in that kind of knowlege which they acquire in the daily intercourse with their fellows; they are well versed in those subjects which engage their thoughts night and day—the rising and falling of stocks—the state of foreign markets—the quality of goods best suited to the inhabitants of China or New Zealand. On these and other kindred subjects they are sufficiently acute and *intelligent;* but, in general principles, in the lessons of history, in the science of government, and in the true philosophy of man, they are profoundly *ignorant*—they have neither time nor inclination for such pursuits. Their every-day engagements render them incapable of severe thought. Are the speeches of their leaders characterized by "intelligence?" What argument do you ever find in them, except the vulgar and brute "*argumentum ad hominem.*" Is it intelligent to speak with scorn and contempt of the other classes of their countrymen? Is it intelligent to treat with ribaldry and abuse the ancient and dignified forms of our constitution? Is it intelligent to speak with insult and opprobium of the aristocracy, who, taken as a body, are the excellency of the land?—or, is it intelligent to speak with flippancy of the national Church—the noblest monument of Christianity in the world? We must see very different symptons of intelligence, before we can be induced to give them credit for possessing it, or to follow them as safe guides, in any measure deeply connected with the permanence and prosperity of the empire. On this ground alone—we mean the ground of *their* "intelligence," if there was no other—we should be prepared to reject the measure which they have found the means of introducing into Parliament, and which we consider inconsistent with the steady welfare of the country: instead of enlarging and directing our own resourses—instead of making the best use of our own dependencies, over which we have the power of exercising a healthy controul, and securing a reciprocity of interest—they are engaged in throwing down the barriers of our prosperity, for the wise and intelligent purpose of enabling them to invade the prosperity of the world.

At the same time, we are aware that every scheme of human devising, however well founded, has its proper limits, which must be determined by prudence, and directed by times and circumstances. "Protection" should not be interpreted to mean "Prohibition;" nor can equal protection be necessary for all times and for all subjects. The tree which, so lately, was a sapling, and under the especial care of the husbandman, no longer requires his attention; but, depending upon its own na-

tive vigour, and the strength acquired by years, it is able to withstand the storms of winter and brave in safety the changes of the seasons. So we consider it may be with the different branches of industry. A certain manufacture may be so far advanced in capital, and in the perfection of its workmanship, that it may no longer need the protecting arm of the law; but may be permitted to stand on its own merits, and freely compete with other branches of manufacture, whether at home or abroad. But supposing the capital and manufacture of any particular branch of national industry to be so far advanced, that, after supplying the home and colonial markets, it has capital and production sufficient—whether rising from machinery or human power—to supply other continents, would it be wise, or politic, or patriotic, in order to obtain the liberty, to sacrifice other great interests and branches of industry, not so favourably situated, yet of paramount importance to the community? The cotton trade is that branch of industrial manufacture which may and does claim to itself this high pre-eminence. It exceeds two-fold the produce of any other British manufacture; and its masters, rioting in prosperity, demand new channels for the conveyance of their produce, at the expense of every other class in the community, and, after all, their demand, if granted, would be injurious to their own interest. They are now in a situation to be "protected" against their own pride and selfishness, and require to be confined within the legitimate bounds of prudence and common sense. It is clear to us, that the scheme they are accelerating through Parliament, and in which they are assisted by the prime minister, will shake all classes, and bring on a convulsion in which they themselves will be the greatest sufferers. Nothing will ever compensate them for the loss of the home and colonial markets where at present they have the surest payments and the quickest returns—advantages acknowledged to be of the highest moment in trading transactions; nor is it less a fundamental rule in commerce, that the nearest and wealthiest markets are to be principally sought.

On this principle let us suppose each county in England to represent a distinct nation. The supposition will require no great stretch of imagination—France and other continental nations are nearer London than any of the northern counties of England—the only difference is, thatthey are not separated by seas, or language, or government; and this is the true point of view in which trade and commerce, acting upon its proper principles, must regard them. Thus, we number forty counties in England, twelve in Wales, thirty-three in Scotland, making a total of eighty-five nations—the wealthiest and most

enterprising in the world. It is no matter that some of these nations are very small—small and great together, the manufacturers have the entire run of their markets. The transit of goods is easy—the payment sure. They have the command of their whole capital, which is immense—so immense, that we could easily prove that the rest of the world cannot compensate them for the loss of it. The total annual value of agricultural produce amounts to the enormous sum of 250,000,000*l.* This immense fund, nearly twice as much as the whole produce of the manufactory, and *four times* as much as the whole demand of the foreign market, is the staple wealth of the United Kingdom; and it is worthy the "intelligence" of the manufacturers to enquire whether their interests are likely to be promoted by a measure which might perchance deprive them of such a sure, and steady, and wealthy market? The total amount of manufacturing produce is about 180,000,000*l.* of which only sixty-five millions are required for the foreign market—the remainder, 115,000,000*l.*, being consumed by the wealth of our own country. And from statistical tables before us, we learn that the average consumption in England is five pounds for each person; whilst in Russia it is but eightpence; in Denmark tenpence; in Prussia threepence; but in all the American colonies it is 1*l.* 1*s.*, in the West Indies, 3*l.* 12*s.*, and in the British Australian colonies, 1*l.* 10*s.*! And to this triumphant statistical argument in favour of our own home market, it need only be added, that, by the Parliamentary Returns of 1831, out of the total population of the empire, at least 20,000,000 persons are directly or indirectly dependent upon agriculture. With such remarkable statistical facts before our eyes, it requires little "intelligence" to form an opinion upon the merits of this great question. The subject increases in interest; but our limits will not permit us to enlarge: we must, therefore, content ourselves with briefly stating upon what grounds we consider PROTECTION to our corn produce ought to be upheld on its present wise and moderate footing.

No necessity has been shown for any alteration in this grand fundamental article of home production. The country was in a state of advancing prosperity; every branch of trade and manufacture was enjoying its own fair proportion of the general welfare. The merchants and manufacturers were amassing large fortunes, and their workmen were generally contented, whilst the condition of the labourers was rising with the improvement of agriculture. If commerce required fresh outlets in order to find employment for its abundant capital and in-

creasing population, we answer that if our colonial dependencies, affording openings in every clime, and for every possible kind of merchandise, was not sufficient to gratify the cupidity of the most inordinate, no new facilities should be sought at the expense of the other classes of the community. And more especially, we say, if there be one class of labour upon which this contemplated change of policy may be expected to act with injurious effect, it should be manifest that that class stands on such a footing as to be able to bear competition with the rest of the world. Many branches of trade are not in a condition to bear such unrestricted competition; but our argument must be chiefly directed to the agricultural interest, which is more immediately threatened by the alarming measure now in progress. First of all, the landed interest is not on an equal footing, as respects the command of its capital. It cannot seek its labour in the cheapest market—it is tied and bound by the sympathies of locality; and, moreover, oppressed with burdens which do not so heavily press upon the other interests of the country. And secondly, before being exposed to such a tremendous competition, it ought to be shown that the "divine art" has already reached its perfection, and is in a position to withstand all rival powers; and at the same time it must be shown that it is incapable of supplying the ever-increasing wants of the country, and hence, that a necessity exists for drawing supplies from foreign countries. Now, we could demonstrate, if our limits would permit us, that neither of these causes exists; but that the agriculture of the country is in progress towards perfection, and that it is capable of being made available to the support of *three times* the amount of our present population.

Besides, the importation of foreign grain at present is very inconsiderable—not equal to more than a month's consumption; and if, as the free traders assert, foreign nations will bring their produce and take back our manufactures, the demand for manufacturing labour will increase, and with it a population, to be supported, according to their theory, on foreign corn. Should the seasons prove unfavourable, and the supply from these foreign nations fail, then that part of the population must be thrown upon our native resources, which, on the supposition, not being intended for them, must prove utterly insufficient to maintain life, and would be followed with appalling scarcity to all ranks of society. This is a case most likely to happen, but even should it not happen—if, as the free traders assert, they mean to import wheat in their own vessels, and export their manufactures in return, and to feed and support their own workmen—then, we ask, what would they be better than foreigners living

on our shores at our sacrifice, and draining our pockets? We cannot conceive a greater injury inflicted upon our country than the probable results of an arrangement by which such a great portion of our acquired wealth is to be expended on foreign nations; and if at any time, through the pressure of circumstances, the impoverishing of the landed interests, or the loss of our capital—the intolerable burden of taxation, a crisis should arise, these semi-foreign manufacturers will find little remorse, or difficulty, in removing themselves and their capital to other shores. Add to this, the great risk of bringing into jeopardy the acknowledged prosperity of the country. The reflecting portion of the community regard the proposed attempt with alarm as a revolutionary measure; whilst the most skilful financiers—men versed in trade and pecuniary transactions—declare that there is *no certainty* of good attaching to the measure. It is their opinion that the removal of protection may, in some instances, be beneficial by reciprocating a mutual exchange of produce—an opinion in which we cordially agree with them. But the great leader says that the measure is founded in "hope," and that he has no idea what effect it will have on the price of grain! He does not know whether it will be less or more than at present! But this great risk, if it were even problematical in evil, must, on the principles of the free traders, which is avowedly that of reducing prices, be followed with disastrous consequences to all the great interests of the community—unsettling the compacts and agreements on mortgage—the commutation of tithe, concluded on the tacit agreement that the protection of the "sliding scale" should remain as the basis of all. Whilst on this subject we may be permitted to say, that if the rent charge of 250*l.* per annum to the tithe owner, or any other given sum, may have been a fair and reasonable charge on the tenure of the protective system, what claim will such charge have to be either fair or reasonable, when wheat, upon the averages of which it is to be regulated, shall, by reason of the removal of protection, be reduced to half the price? The "rent" of the land, which originally rests on the same foundation as the "tithe," will not be so affected, because rent is not to be guaged and measured by the price of wheat, but by the general produce of the soil. It shews that the Act of Commutation was a blind, unpolitical, avaricious Act, and, like many other Acts of a similar description, is about to be visited with a just retribution. The most statesman-like debate we have seen, for a long time, was that which occurred on the motion of Lord Beaumont, for enquiry into the peculiar burdens upon the landed interest. The whole debate was one of distinguished ability. The noble lord's address dis-

covered every attribute which a statesman—a peer, and a patriot—need to possess. It was marked by solidity of argument, extensive information, and strict impartiality. Lord Stanley's speech manifested his usual ability and deep penetration, with a dash of that speculative mind which makes moderate men fear the steadiness of his adherence to constitutional principles; and, more especially, since they find how grossly their confidence has been abused by the conduct of his great colleague in office. But Lord Grey's observations merited a distinction beyond all praise: he supported, in opposition to Lord Stanley, Lord Beaumont's views of tithe and rent in a very masterly manner. The attempt of Lord Stanley to distinguish between *rent* and *tithe* failed, and his statement, that rent was the surplus of the produce of the soil, we consider unsatisfactory. Many other things arise out of the surplus of the produce of the soil: the expenses of the farmer—the interest of his capital—nay, the public taxes may equally well be said to be the surplus of the produce. Rent is the payment when this last charge is paid. *Rent, therefore, varies with production,* and is exactly liable to the charge alleged formerly against tithe—that it was a tax upon the capital and industry of the farmer. Such we admit tithe to have been, and we contend, as a prior claim to rent, it ought so to have remained. Its alteration to a fixed charge was a short-sighted measure. The allegement was true—but it was equally true that, with the increase of tithe, there would always have been an increase of rent, and an increase of profit. But, positively, we must not enlarge.

If the measure proposed by the repeal of the Corn Laws be not intended to reduce prices, the absurdity of attempting it becomes tenfold more apparent. The free traders are chuckling at the groundless assumption of Sir Robert Peel's "hope." They *intend* prices to come down, and care little about the injury to be inflicted upon hundreds and thousands, who are holders of leases, binding them to pay the same rent, and the same tithe (till the averages are again taken), when, in one important article of profit, it may be reduced one half. But who can tell the risk to be run in bringing in this uncalled-for measure, if the decrease of price by foreign competition should cause a check to be put to our progressing agriculture, and throw the poorer lands of England out of cultivation, on which so much capital has been spent, and labour almost beyond endurance expended, just when they are beginning to return a slight remuneration to the cultivator? Exactly as these lands shall go out of cultivation here, they will come into cultivation in Poland. The "increments" and "decrements" would be reversed, as it respects the two countries.

Still greater evils impend over us in case of a scarcity at home, or abroad. At present, the abundant supply of one year is spread over the wants of the succeeding, and the hoarded grain of one year's harvest, on the continent, may be made available for the scarcity of another. But, on the proposed system, our own resources are not only to be crippled, but foreigners, expending their whole supply upon us, will have no hoarded surplus to fall back upon in unfavourable or defective seasons. But our fears are inexpressible, when we view the probable effects on our colonial possessions. We cannot, for our lives, conceive of what *peculiar* advantage these possessions are hereafter to be to us more than the other nations of the world. At present, they are a home market, only secondary in value and importance to that of our own. But, what relation they are hereafter to hold with respect to this country, we are unable to conjecture: we see nothing in the proposed measure but the dismemberment of the empire; and, without enlarging further on this subject, we leave the remarks of Sir Howard Douglas, in the debate of the House of Commons, to the serious consideration of our readers:—

"He contended that the Canada Corn Bill was a solemn compact between the Parliament and the colonial legislature; and, if this measure passed, it would be a total abolition of protection, which would not only extinguish the Canada Bill, but the colonial system itself. That system was one of protection; the abolition of it would convert the colonies into independent states, each managing its own colonial affairs. THE SHIPS OF ENGLAND MIGHT GUARD THEIR COASTS, AND THE TROOPS OF ENGLAND COMMAND IN THE INTERIOR, BUT THE QUESTION WOULD THEN COME, WHAT WAS THE USE OF THE COLONIES? From the moment they were permitted to regulate their own commercial affairs, there was an end of the colonial system. He denied that Mr. Huskisson's Colonial Trade Acts were abrogations of the principle of protection; he found the colonial trade in a state of monopoly, and he opened it to the produce of all friendly states; but in all the colonies the produce of England had a protection varying from seven and a half to thirty per cent. He would ask, what was to become of British India, and the many trades flourishing in that colony, but dependent for flourishing upon the maintenance of those laws under which such trades had originated? Although novelty might be found in the demand for free trade, there was nothing new in the approbation entertained by the majority of enlightened statesmen of protection."

We cannot think that the country is prepared to cast off these appendages to the British Crown, or that public opinion at the hustings will sanction Sir Robert Peel in endangering our colonial possessions, even if no other evil than this was to be apprehended from the repeal of the Corn Laws. Already has

that opinion been tested; and the Government candidate, however high in rank, or distinguished for ability, has been rejected; and, even in the great suburban district of the metropolis, where both candidates were free traders, the electors shewed their abhorrence of a time-serving, unprincipled policy in statesmen, by rejecting their former representative, on no other ground that we can perceive but that of his being a changeling, and false to his formerly avowed principles; and we fully expect, when the general assize of the elections shall be instituted, the hustings will prove the place of execution, where the political existence of the ONE HUNDRED AND TWELVE will find a termination. And, last of all, what shall we say of the patriotism of that man or minister, who shall, by such a rash and uncalled-for measure, subject this great empire to the mercy of foreigners, by rendering it dependent upon them for its food? We *have* fought and conquered. The legions of foreign lands have fled before our well-maintained and well-disciplined forces, and their flags have struck to the superior skill and prowess of our naval heroes. But, after the passing of this suicidal measure, the power of our arms must pass from us—our enemies will soon discover where our weakness lies—and, armed with the formidable weapons thus put into their hands, they will combine to avenge their humbled pride and mortified vanity, not by fighting, but by starving us. If there is but a risk of such a catastrophe, who will dare to take upon themselves such a responsibility? and, if any are found so bold, so reckless, so hostile to the glory of their country, let them be deprived of the power of inflicting such an injury amidst the general execrations of their countrymen.

What is the position now occupied by the prime minister of this country—by the man whom the people "delighted to honour," and whom, in opposition, they supported during a long and tedious period, whilst the revolutionary delirium was expending itself, and just and sound principles were gaining their ascendancy in the minds of the healthy portion of the community? He is no longer in "opposition;" he is now in conjunction with the men against whose revolutionary course they encouraged him to offer the stoutest resistance. Behold he is now one of them! The community have long observed his tendency in this direction—they have been alarmed again and again at the aspect of the measures which he has brought forward for the adoption of Parliament—they have sent in their petitions, with a design of informing their representatives of their unanimous opinion, and of checking what they considered a downward course. But in vain! These representatives, entirely swayed by their leader, rejected the petitions of their

constituents, and, in spite of their entreaties, obstinately followed the policy which he *dictated*. From that moment the opinion of the country ceased to be represented by the Conservative party. Their leader threatened resignation if they failed to follow in his track, and support him in whatever measure he should think proper to lay before Parliament. They struggled; they resisted—but obeyed. Never, perhaps, did a great party, representing the mind and strength of a country, succumb so entirely to the will of one individual: their conduct has been disastrous to themselves and to the country, and cannot fail to be recorded in our annals as the period of Peel dictatorship. They now discover their folly whilst standing on the brink of the precipice to which he has been conducting them, and would now gladly retrace their steps; but it is too late. Can they even keep their footing? It will require a terrific strain—a prodigious effort—to preserve their equilibrium in the position in which they have been placed so suddenly by their skilful leader; but great as the effort must necessarily be, it is their duty, founded on the law of self-preservation, strenuously to make it. They have been led blindfold into the share, and have, with an incredible pertinacity, assisted in elevating the prime minister to his present position, and in laying the foundation for the ruin of their own party. The floor of the House of Commons has for a long period been the arena of political discussions and political measures, as abhorrent to the *mind* of the community as dangerous to the institutions of the country. Such a method of conducting national affairs is not founded on the principle of a representative Government, but has degenerated into a tyranny, and is as much an autocracy as the czarship of Russia.

Sir Robert Peel now stands at the head of the democratic and liberal party, where, as is now apparent, he ought to have stood ever since the year 1829, when he abandoned all his former statements—we will not vouch that he abandoned his former principles. Had he stationed himself in his present position then, he might have preserved some character for consistency: it was his proper place, to which he has been gradually inclining, and endeavouring to lead with him the strength of the nation; and in which he has to a great extent succeeded. He has seduced from their allegiance one hundred and twelve representatives into the support of measures diametrically opposed to those they were sent to Parliament to support. These one hundred and twelve, who have apostatised from their implied obligations, solace themselves in their inconsistent course by asserting a constitutional principle, that they are not the

delegates, but the representatives of their constituents—not of the peculiar interests of the locality for which they were elected, but of the general interests of the whole community. Granted. But, are they then bound by no tie? Have they no certain rule by which their votes are to be influenced in the House of Commons? Do they cease to be REPRESENTATIVES? They are bound by the laws of truth and honour to uphold and defend the policy of that portion of the community by whose suffrages they were constituted members of the legislature. They are the representatives of that policy generally—the working out of its details is left to their counsel and judgment—but they cannot depart from the course of policy to which they owe their legislative existences, without forfeiting all title to honourable dealing between man and man. If their judgment should be convinced, that, for the welfare of their country, they ought to deviate from that line of policy which their constituents expected they were pledged to uphold, they are bound to state the grounds of such a change in their opinions; and, if the reasons adduced fail to satisfy their constituents, they must resign their trust. This, we contend, is the common sense view of the case; and, if it be objected that such a course would embarrass a legislative assembly, and put a check to improvements which would be manifestly for the improvement of society, we are sure that no great innovation in the policy of a country, whether for good or evil, ought to pass the legislature, unless the MIND of the community is fully made up to it, and the votes of its representatives are entirely acquiesced in by the constituency. The community alone must be the judge of its own interests; and depend upon it, if a measure be wise, and just, and beneficial, it will, sooner or later, gain their sanction, and pass into law with their approbation and on their responsibility. For our parts, we see no safety to a nation, or its institutions, on any other supposition.

But if this view of the case be correct, the whole of the Conservative party have seriously betrayed their trust, in yielding to the former wishes of the prime minister, instead of adhering to their own principles, and those of their constituency, and at length a fatal disruption has taken place: the one great "*interest*" which they represented was "*Conservatism*." They were to uphold, in all their integrity, the Protestant Monarchy and the Protestant Church; they were to guard and protect the institutions of the legislature and the general interests of the country, and especially the landed property, from the aggressions of their enemies. Keeping these undebateable principles in view, the representatives were fully at liberty to direct, im-

prove, and extend their influence, but not to shake nor endanger their stability. But this they have done: they have permitted themselves to be led astray by the prime minister; they have assuredly deserted the interests they were sworn to defend. Their conduct will stamp their character with deserved infamy, and a heavy responsibility will rest upon them for assisting and abetting the prime minister, and enabling him to throw the country into its present revolutionary panic.

Thank God! there are yet two hundred and thirty-two Conservatives who are faithful to their trust and their country. These, we hope, in the providence of God, will be enabled to resist the revolutionary pressure; they will form a band of good men and true, instructed, warned, and fortified by the past, resolved, if they cannot save their country, like the heroes of Themophylæ, to consecrate themselves to the attempt. In the mean time, till the elections can be tried, and the voice of the people heard in thunders over the heads of their recreant representatives, let the House of Lords stand in the gap. At such a crisis, England expects every man to do his duty! And, surely, that august assembly will not fail us in our hour of need. Let them not leave us to the cruel dictation of Sir Robert Peel and the oppressive tyranny of the House of Commons. The former now stands before the whole world, in the foreground of the political drama, amidst the Cobdens and O'Connells—avowed partisans of revolutionary change: his principles and intentions are now avowed—his future acts are indicated by his position. The Conservative party cannot, under any circumstances, again enlist under the banner of Sir Robert Peel, and follow him as their leader, without giving up every particle of credit for consistency, forfeiting all title to be called men of honour, and even sacrificing all claim to be considered as possessing that indefeasible right of intelligent beings—freedom of will. No: Sir Robert is now chained down by the force of circumstances—he is the "Prometheus" of his own destiny—he has stolen fire from the political empyrean of the British Constitution, and, by its aid, has given vitality to the "clay" models of Whig-radicalism; and the just retribution of his rashness awaits him—his doom has been precipitated by his own acts, and his power is gone. We sincerely hope the parallel will here end. We implore the House of Lords to interpose, and save us from the destruction impending over us, and our constitution. If we have been surprised and betrayed, let them afford us one opportunity of rallying our strength by their timely intervention. Let them, acting upon the well recognized principles of the constitution, NEGATIVE the measure, send the members of the House of Commons to meet their indignant constituency, and let us trust to God for the results.

ART. IX.—1. *Eight Dissertations on certain connected Prophetical Passages of Holy Scripture, bearing, more or less, upon the Promise of a Mighty Deliverer.* By GEORGE STANLEY FABER. Two Vols. London: Seeley and Co. 1845.

2. *The Retrospect. Being an Enquiry into the Fulfilment of Prophecy during the last Twenty Years; and, also, how far the Church is thereby furnished with any good grounds for expecting the Instant Coming of the Lord.* With a Chart. Nos. I. and II. London: Painter. 1845, 1846.

THE "Dissertations" of Mr. Faber were written more than twenty years ago, but important additions have been recently made to them; and the Preface states distinctly the general view which Mr. Faber, at the present time, entertains of the interpretation of prophecy, and points out in what respect it differs from the mode of interpretation which is adopted by Mr. Birks, Mr. Elliott, and others, whose orthodoxy and ability Mr. Faber admits to be unimpeachable, while he disputes their interpretations. And Mr. Faber speaks with good humoured modesty of his own productions, saying, "A septuagenarian ought ever to have before his eyes a wholesome fear of the Archbishop of Granada and his far famed Homilies ..... should they be set down as a second edition of the Spanish prelate's latest Homilies, I have perhaps no right to complain. At all events, I may wrap myself up in my own virtue of honest acknowledgment; as Horace sings or says, '*Virtute mea me involvo.*'"—(*Preface* xx.)

When such men as Faber and Cuninghame, or Birks and Professor Lee—after having given their best attention to a subject, for the elucidation of which they all appeal with equal reverence, and with the same confidence to the Scriptures, and yet strenuously maintain very different, not to say opposite opinions—it would ill become us—it would scarcely become any of the highest standing in the Church to dogmatize on such subjects. We believe that there are difficulties of no ordinary magnitude to overcome, and turning points of great nicety to discover, in order to arrive at the true solution of the question, and to trace the first ground of divergence between men of this stamp, who have, or think they have, one common object in view—to know and to do the will of God; and who appeal to one common standard of truth—the holy Scriptures.

And it cannot but be some form of truth that each of these men is attracted by, though each may be holding his own portion of truth too exclusively, and therefore with exaggeration: and it must needs be a truth worthy of the attention of the

Church, or such men would not be contending for it. We may be assured that there is divine truth working in the mind of each: that they are holding important Christian verities; and that it well becomes us reverently to inquire after, and carefully to weigh the matters which are propounded by each student of Scripture. And it may happen that in so doing a way of reconciliation may appear; if not of all the things which they severally hold, yet of all those things which rest upon the simple letter of Scripture; when they are regarded apart from hypothesis and human systems, which are only a more respectable name for human imperfections.

The immediate object which all pious persons propose to themselves is their own personal conformity to Christ; and the end they have in view while thus engaged, and using diligently all the means of grace, is the attainment of everlasting life at the resurrection, and in the kingdom of heaven. They would all agree to make one step more together, acknowledging that they expect to enter the kingdom of heaven at the coming of Christ, in the full and proper meaning of the words; and that however true and important it may be to acknowledge eternal life as begun spiritually in regeneration, or to believe that the departed saints are with the Lord, still there is a possession and manifestation of eternal glory yet to come, at the resurrection of the just, or the spirits of just men made perfect, which will not be experienced by any until the last day. This is the resurrection which is coupled with the coming of the Lord; and it is usually spoken of as one simultaneous act of the gathering all mankind to Christ's judgment bar; but sometimes more specifically as a resurrection only of the Church, called the first resurrection: or Christ the firstfruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming.

Faith in Christ, and correspondent living, and hope of the kingdom of heaven, are the great spiritual facts necessary to ensure salvation: in these all true Christians are agreed. And these are universal truths which all may alike apprehend—the ignorant as well as the educated—because they depend not on any mental process, and do not require for their reception any intellectual culture. But the interpretation of prophecy is only to be arrived at by a mental process, and the variety of intellectual character in different individuals will appear in the results; and even the school of theology, so far as mind can be shown therein, will also be seen in a corresponding bias which will be given to the interpretation of prophecy. If, for instance, the course of study has been critical, it will produce a tendency to understand all the prophecies literally; if, on the other hand,

the student has been chiefly occupied in the spiritual and doctrinal meaning of Scripture, such an one will be inclined to interpret the prophecies figuratively, and seek their accomplishment in the spiritual advance or decline of the Church, rather than in outward visible things.

Without going into minute particulars we may regard the students of prophecy as consisting of three classes; first, there are those who contend for the spiritual or figurative meaning of prophecy; for whom we have very great respect as good and holy men, yet cannot but regard them as labouring under a great mistake in this matter, brought about by their confounding together things which ought to be kept entirely distinct—as distinct as are the regions to which they severally belong, namely, spirit and mind. We concede without the least hesitation or reserve that the spiritual region is the higher, the more important, the first to claim the attention of all; we concede that the discourses of our Lord and the writings of the apostles are chiefly, we may almost say solely and exclusively, occupied with the higher things of the Spirit, addressed to the souls of men. And it is indisputable that, in these discourses and writings, future realities are spoken of as already in spirit begun: as when it is said that the kingdom of heaven is within, and that we are passed from death unto life, and that we are risen with Christ, and seated in heavenly places, &c. But every one must acknowledge that there is also a resurrection to come, and a heaven to be attained hereafter; and it is with these future realities alone that prophecy has to do as far as it applies to the Church, and not with her present spiritual attainments; and there are also prophecies which relate not to the Church but to the world, which cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be explained by means of any past events, but are future, and immediately precede the end of the world, and usher in the final judgment. These are incapable of a figurative exposition, and by parity of reasoning draw with them many more such things.

Spiritual things being incorporeal are in their very nature abstractions, and therefore cannot become subjects of any *continuous* prophecy, for they are *the same* at all times of their existence. Their existence may be predicated, but this is all: to exist, or not to exist, is all that can be predicated of them. Thus, in speaking of the Church, her spiritual standing is regarded as *the same* throughout all times. "There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling." (Eph. iv.) But the history of the Church is a varied scene, affected by trials from within and from without; sometimes prospering, at other times persecuted; yet always advancing and enlarging,

until all the elect shall be gathered, and the kingdom of heaven shall come. This *history* of the Church is the subject of prophecy.

Secondly, there is a class of students of prophecy, who justly expect its fulfilment in the history of the Church, but in the history of what shall be the condition of the Church, after the close of this dispensation, and in a state of things altogether different from the present knowledge or experience of mankind—a state which it is therefore impossible to define, and concerning which each individual may have his own ideas, but no two individuals will be found in agreement the one with the other. We cannot allow that this is a correct view of prophecy, or that it is becoming in men thus to regard a subject which forms so large a portion of the word of God. The whole of Scripture is given for edification; but, if any part of it be regarded as belonging to other states of existence, it ceases to have its practical bearing upon us—it belongs not to the present state of things, and conveys no present instruction. The militant Church is not instructed, or edified, or warned by details concerning the glorified Church: and when these future glories are spoken of it is only in such general terms as may strengthen our faith and brighten our hopes, and incite us to press forward. And it is always implied that the details are beyond our present comprehension, as they are things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive them. Moreover, the vicissitudes contained in the prophecies we now allude to preclude the idea of their relating to the final state of things; for, when the day of judgment shall come, there shall be no more change, but all the things which have been disordered by the fall of man shall be rearranged; everything shall be put in its true place, and shall keep that place for ever.

The third class consists of those who appear to form a worthier estimate of prophecy in regarding it as belonging to the present history of the Church, and as being of greater importance to her edification by pointing out from what quarters the most formidable assaults will be made, and how they may be averted by timely warning and preparation—how they may be overcome, or what are the means of escape when they actually arrive. And not only so, there is also in this view of prophecy a still higher end attained than even the edification of the Church. It is a continual witness for God's presence with his people, and in ordering the affairs of the world continually, and throughout all time. If any one will attentively consider that great mass of evangelical prophecy which is comprised in the twenty-six final chapters of Isaiah, he will find

that, from the fortieth chapter onwards, the leading idea is the contrast between the true God and the false gods of the heathen; and that this contrast consists in God having declared beforehand what he meant to do, and doing the very things which he had declared before; but the false gods were neither able to say what should come to pass, nor do anything for or against their votaries, either good or bad. What God did, then, before the coming of Christ, and to encourage the Jewish people, is done now under the Christian dispensation, which, being spiritual, needs it more, as we are exposed to more subtle, and, therefore, more dangerous temptations. Christ himself is the prophet of the Church, especially instanced in his advertising the disciples of the things which were about to come on that generation, through the rejection of him by the Jewish people—namely, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the heavy judgments upon all, save those who did believe on him; accompanied by encouragements to the faithful, and warnings of their peril, and directions how they might escape those tribulations, or be sustained under them. But this discourse of our Lord, which was primarily meant for the first generation of the Church, is also of so comprehensive a character as to afford similar instructions and warnings to all generations of the Church; since the faith of the Church being one throughout, and mankind by nature being the same throughout, the trials of the Church will necessarily be the same in principle throughout the whole dispensation, and varying only in accidental circumstances; and, therefore, this discourse of our Lord assumes that the state of things foretold would necessarily run on, not only throughout that generation, but until his second coming; yet so as not to pronounce whether he would, or would not, come during that generation, in order that the Church might abide continually in a state of watchfulness and expectation; by her not knowing, at any time, the precise hour at which her Lord would return.

It is remarkable that, in this discourse concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, our Lord pointedly refers to the prophecies of Daniel as furnishing the sign by which those, who read *with understanding*, might discern the beginning of these things, and so might escape the impending danger; and moreover that the prophecies of Daniel, like the discourse of our Lord, run on to the time of the end; and that the sign to which the Church is directed occurs long before the destruction of the fourth or Roman monarchy, which last event is contemporaneous with the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven—so that our Lord's discourse becomes, to this extent, an authoritative interpretation of Daniel's prophecies.

But it is in the Apocalypse that our Lord most conspicuously appears as the prophet of the Church—a book which closes the canon of Scripture, because it contains all that God has seen fit to reveal, and, consequently, all that the Church needs to know, either for direction or warning during the present dispensation. In this book, though written by John, Christ is the revealer; for it is the revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass, and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John; and as in our Lord's prophecy, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, he comprehended the whole time state of the Church, and linked on his own prophecy to the prophecies of Daniel—so, in this last book of prophecy, is comprehended the whole history of the Church militant, followed by visions of the Church triumphant and glorious; while this book, also, by its nnmerous references to the Old Testament, is linked on to every preceding prophecy which has reference to the Church in these last times.

Mr. Faber is one of the oldest living students of the Apocalypse, and seems to have had his attention turned to the subject soon after the warning note was struck at the French Revolution—an event similar to that revolution which Sir Isaac Newton, and many of the older commentators, had noted as a turning point in the history of the Church as deducible from prophecy, and which they also were led by the signs of the times to expect would very shortly come to pass—an event, too, which did very remarkably turn the attention of the whole Church to the study of the Apocalypse, as Sir Isaac had expressed beforehand his conviction that such would be the consequences of that revolution. But Mr. Faber has not confined his attention to one branch of study—he has taken the whole range of prophecy; and wherever profane learning, or Gentile traditions, could throw any light on the subject, he has not omitted fully and judiciously to avail himself of these collateral helps, for better understanding, what may be called the *machinery* of sacred visions and prophecies; and so more correctly applying the highly wrought predictions to the truly corresponding historic events.

The students of whom we speak are all agreed in regarding the remaining portion of Church history, as revealed in prophecy, to be consummated in the second advent of the Lord; and the only important question among them is, whether he shall come before the commencement of the millennium, or after its close. And the question seems to have arisen principally from the fact, that the millennium is specifically revealed in

the book of Revelations alone, and its details are there dwelt upon as being of the kind of things which are in harmony with the symbolical character of that book; while the second advent does not take so prominent a place there as it takes in other prophetic books; but, on the other hand, the second advent forms the most conspicuous feature of the other prophecies, and in them the millennium only comes in by implication and inference, and very frequently is not alluded to in any way: and hence, some who have not given the Apocalypse a sufficiently important place in their studies, have even gone the length of denying a millennium altogether.

Mr. Faber contends for the postponement of the second advent until *the termination of the millennium:* on the other hand, the "Retrospect" enquires whether the Church is furnished with any good grounds for expecting *the instant coming of the Lord*—an expectation which, at first sight, would appear unreasonable from being far too early for such an event, as Mr. Faber's may probably seem much too late. But, after careful consideration, we are inclined to think that the time of the second advent is, on every account, to be placed before the millennium, and not after it; and that, as it is certainly possible so to interpret the prophecies concerning the advent as to include in that event a considerable portion of time before the commencement of the millennium, it is a far safer attitude for the Church to be expecting the coming of her Lord at the very earliest possible period, than to be desirous of procrastinating it as long as possible.

We hold it to be a fixed canon of interpretation, one never to be departed from in speaking of the coming of our Lord, that the precise time of his coming will be unknown to all. Of that day and hour knoweth no man. And we interpret the canon in the large sense, of our not knowing the year or the century, and in such a sense would give the advantage of it even to Mr. Faber; and would say that we do not know that he is wrong in placing the advent after the millennium; but we think that he is wrong, and claim for ourselves the same use of the canon which we give to Mr. Faber, in saying that he does not know that we are wrong; for the not knowing when Christ *will* come, also infers that we know not when he *will not* come: he may come on the instant, so far as the argument from our ignorance of the time is concerned.

And the reason which is given for our being kept in uncertainty, is, that we may be always watching and praying. But we are men compassed about with infirmity—of such frail beings the whole Church consists—the Church will not be watching

and praying for an event a thousand years distant, with the same earnestness and diligence as for an event which may take place at any time, and of which she knows not but that it may be at the very doors. Our Lord says that he may return at midnight, or at cock crowing, or in the morning: therefore, his servants must always be on the watch. He says that his coming shall be a time of tribulation; but that, for the elects' sake, those days shall be shortened. "Watch ye, therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape those things that are coming on the earth, and to stand before the Son of Man. Take ye heed, watch and pray; for ye know not when the time is: and what I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch." Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.

Mr. Faber speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Birks, while he differs from him on this point; and we desire to speak of Mr. Faber in the highest terms, while differing from him on this point, and agreeing with Mr. Birks; and as it is for the very quality which is most needed in an expositor—"clear-headedness"—that Mr. Birks is commended by Mr. Faber, we feel the more confidence when we do agree with him. But we feel the same liberty of differing from Mr. Birks as from Mr. Faber, where either fails in establishing a point; and it is this liberty, arising from this diversity of opinion, which corroborates practically the fact that the interpretation of prophecy stands on a totally different footing from doctrine, because it wants the basis of certainty which the exact knowledge of the times and seasons would give. We may not differ on the great doctrines of the Church, because the truth concerning these is known; and not to acknowlege the truth is to be in error: we may differ on the interpretation of prophecy, because the exact truth cannot be known, for the Father hath kept the times in his own power; and in so wide a field there is room enough for every one to find a path for himself, or even strike out a new and nearer way as we draw nearer to the end. It is not necessary to follow the footsteps of another; it is not seemly to cross the path of another, or impede him in his progress.

The question between Mr. Faber and Mr. Birks is, "*whether the literal second advent of Christ will occur* BEFORE *or* AFTER *the Apocalyptic millennium*" (Preface ix.) And according to Mr. Faber, "the prediction of St. Peter is the millstone suspended from the neck of premillenarianism, which no effort and no ingenuity can shake off" (Preface xvii.) If we were of this opinion concerning St. Peter's prediction, the question would be at an end, and would be decided with Mr. Faber. But without affecting the possession of any extraordinary strength,

or any great ingenuity, we do not find any difficulty in understanding St. Peter's words in such a sense as is compatible with a premillennian advent. For St. Peter must be his own interpreter, and we must understand his words in his second epistle as agreeing with the corresponding words of the first. But in the first epistle (iii. 20, 21) baptism is made the correlative of the waters of the deluge; and the believing portion of the Church is the correlative of Noah and his house saved in the ark, and the world which was then destroyed was not annihilated—the sinners and all that pertained to them were drowned—the earth was purified! and the destruction was universal, because the knowledge of God was not then confined to one portion of the earth or one family of mankind!! the apostates were destroyed from the face of the earth!! the earth itself remained for the habitation of those who were preserved in the ark, and the heavens were not physically affected by the deluge at all. In his second epistle, St. Peter says, that as by the word of God the heavens and the earth were created, so, by the same word, that old world, being overflowed with water, perished; "but the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." (2 Pet. iii., 7). If, therefore, the *water* of the deluge be the type of baptism in the Church, and the judgment upon those who had apostatized from the antediluvian covenant, and the salvation of those who continued steadfast in the faith, then the analogous baptism of *fire* will fall in judgment upon those who shall have apostatized from the Christian covenant, and the same fire be the salvation of those who are faithful, as it is elsewhere declared that the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it may be. In short, we believe that the judgment in St. Peter will fall upon the Roman earth or Christendom, the seat of the fourth monarchy, and the proper locality of the Christian Church; and that, even there, the judgment is not to annihilation: but, as at the deluge, for the destruction of the sinners, for the salvation of the righteous, and for preparing it for the future habitation of those who are finally delivered.

The judgment of fire in St. Peter we parallel in time with the burning of the tares of the field in the end of the world. (Matt. xiii). And in the act done, as well as in the time, we couple it with St. Paul's declaration, that "the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ," at the time "when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be

admired in all them that believe." (2 Thess. i.). The whole context shews that this time is "the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ," (ii. 1.) and "the day of Christ;" (ver. 2.) and that it is by a mystery of iniquity working in the Church (4, 7.) that the sin is consummated which brings down the judgment. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming (8). And, lastly, concerning the millennium itself, we find it expressly written that the saints of the first resurrection shall live and reign with Christ a thousand years. Those who make the first resurrection a figure, and make the millennium a figure, may with consistency maintain that the coming of Christ at the commencement of the millennium is only figurative; but how any can with consistency maintain that the saints shall really rise, and reign *with Christ* for a thousand years, while he is not with them, and does not come till the end of the millennium, it is beyond our wit to comprehend.

The object of Mr. Faber, in the publication before us, is to shew that the second advent of Christ and the glorious results thereof, in the justification of God, and in the blessing of man, is not a novel doctrine—is not a doctrine of recent times, but has been revealed from the very time of the fall, and has been the hope of the faithful in all ages. The promise has been made from the beginning—the precise time and exact manner of its accomplishment is not revealed; but the fact itself is a point of faith which has been steadfastly held by the saints of the Old Testament as well as of the New. The sin of man began in apostacy from God: to check this a deliverer was promised, who would first make atonement for the sin of man, and then deliver him from the consequences of the fall, and place him in a condition of eternal stability. The first "Dissertation" is on the promised seed of the woman, who should bruise the serpent's head. The second relates to the prophecy of Noah, concerning Canaan, Shem, and Japhet. The third has reference to the sceptre, and law-giver of Judah, predicted by the dying patriarch Jacob. The fourth is on the prophecy of Balaam, concerning the star and sceptre of Jacob. The fifth discusses the long tarrying of the children of Israel, spoken of by the prophet Hosea. The sixth treats of the desire of all nations, promised through Haggai, on the building of the second temple. The seventh refers to the prevalent expectation of a mighty prince at the time of the incarnation. And the eighth and last has for its subject, "The predicted final triumph of Christ's Church over all opposition, and over every apostacy."

In so wide a range as these "Dissertations" embrace, there is ample opportunity for the right employment of all the various stores of learning which a long life of diligence has enabled the author to collect: he himself would scarcely expect that where the topics are so multifarious his readers will agree with him in every particular. But we can assure them that they will always find sound and varied information put in a very clear and instructive form; and the appendix contains ten short dissertations, on Chedorlaomer, the Phœnicians, the Turseni, central America, the Pelasgi, the Negroes, Cain, Lamech, Ham and Nimrod.

"The Retrospect" has for its immediate object the great events which have taken place in Christendom during the last fifty years; by which Providence has been throwing more and more light upon the prophetical declarations of the holy Scripture. The author, following principally the systems of Cuninghame and Frere in this point, regards the French Revolution as the termination of that period of 1260 years, which is spoken of symbolically in the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse, as 1260 days, or three years and a half, or forty-two months, or three days and a half, or a time, times, and dividing of time. All these forms of expression are taken as relating to the same period of time, during which the true Church would be kept in subjection to an antichristian power, being the fourth beast of Daniel or an instrument of that beast; and being the second beast of Revelations (xiii. 4), to whom power was given to continue forty and two months (5); and to make war with the saints and overcome them; and over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations (7). The author does not profess to discuss these several points—he assumes them on the authority of those who have already, as he supposes, proved them, to whose several works he refers his readers, and does not profess to bring forward anything which has not been already assented to by names of weight in the Church.

A chart is prefixed to the first Number, which should be considered attentively by all who desire to understand clearly the points which must be kept in view while following the arguments of the author. For although he professes to give nothing which is new, he does not follow implicitly any one system, and the several parts of which his system consists may be all old, yet the arrangement of these renders the plan as a whole new; and some of the later parts of this arrangement we have not met with in former publications.

The chart commences from the edicts of Justinian, A.D. 532-3, which is made the commencement of the 1260 years, during which the "little horn" of Daniel's vision would have power to

oppress the saints. They consequently expire A.D. 1792, when the pouring out of the vials of wrath (Rev. xvi.), during thirty years, symbolized by Daniel's 1290 days, is supposed to be producing the twofold effect of both destroying the power of the Papacy in the west, and of Mahometanism in the east; so as completely to emancipate the Church, and prepare the way for the restoration of the Jews to their own land—this being marked in the east by the several acts of dismemberment, which they virtually were, of the Turkish empire; and above all by the erection of Greece into an independent kingdom, guaranteed by the great powers of Europe.

Six of the vials of wrath are understood as filling up the thirty years, from 1792 to 1822; and, for the commencement of the seventh vial, the author has recourse to the time prescribed in the preceding visions of Daniel (viii. 14, ix. 24), where the cleansing of the sanctuary is fixed at 2300 years from that time; which would correspond with A.D. 1847. This is the time which the author assigns for the pouring out of the seventh vial, accompanied by the restoration of the tribes of Judah, the destruction of Antichrist, and the deliverance of all the faithful from the last—the great tribulation. Which events taking place under the seventh vial are supposed to occupy twenty years—namely, from 1847 to 1867; this being deduced from Daniel's number, 1335 (xii. 12), at which period it is supposed that the millennium will commence.

All these points we commend to the careful consideration of our readers, as well worthy of their best attention; and as not having sufficient confidence in our own judgment to pronounce an opinion one way or the other. "The Retrospect," as a literary composition, is not very well written; but we think that there is more in the matter it brings before us than would be at first suspected from the style.

ART. X.—*The Mariolatry of the Church of Rome, set forth on the Authority of Statements accredited by the Reigning Pope, Gregory XVI., and Nine Prelates: in a Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, on Sunday, January* 25, 1846. By FRANCIS JEUNE, D.C.L., Master of Pembroke College. Oxford: Vincent. London: Hatchards. 1846.

ONLY one week before the University of Oxford was called upon to listen to the recommendation of the confessional, in the Cathedral of Christ Church, by the learned professor of Hebrew, who preached, as a right, "in his turn," Dr. Jeune, the Master

of Pembroke College, preached, *by appointment*, at St. Mary's; and it must be alike satisfactory to all, who wish well to the University and to the Church, to find the discretion of the authorities so well exercised as it has been in the appointment, and the appointment so well applied as it has been in the sermon before us.

If, on a former occasion, we felt bound to speak highly of the efforts of Dr. Jeune, when his voice was raised in defence of the University, and in answer to the calumnies that men who hate the Church, no less than they hate the University, have heaped upon Oxford, as if there were there no regard for religion or for truth—we have now as much, if not more, occasion to speak with favour of his efforts, when his argument is addressed to the spiritual adultery of that Church, which has, lately, exercised an unwonted influence within the walls of Oxford, and has even *yet* (we regret we are obliged to confess it) too much hold upon the affections of some of her members. For if it be a work of piety, as it undoubtedly is, in one that has been educated at that University, and who has partaken largely, but deservedly, of her honours, to come forth in the moment of her trouble to her defence, and to endeavour to tear away the miserable sophistry by which those who hate her would counsel her ruin, and so to satisfy those that are without—no less certainly is it becoming in such an one to carry his efforts further, and show to those that are within the true character of that by which they are tempted, what it is they must hold, and to what conform, if they listen to those plausible statements which the friends of Rome are constantly urging upon them. It is an act of the most affectionate character, such as "the head of a house" may well be employed in—an act such as we shall gladly find imitated—such as, we have not a doubt, will be imitated by others of a like prominence at Oxford, as opportunity may be offered them.

For if, as Dr. Pusey says, "the first duty of a minister of Christ is to his little ones," surely the responsibility that is attached to the discharge of that duty is greater at an University like Oxford than in the case of the mere parochial minister. The preacher there has not merely to look to the production of true Christian feeling in his hearers, so far as in his audience the young are comprised, but to the encouragement of those feelings which will be of consequence, to such of them as are going into orders, in the discharge of their ministerial functions; and it would ill become him to forget that, at this peculiarly delicate period, much diligence ought to be bestowed upon the prevention and eradication of errors, which, if not guarded against

now, may end in the ruin not only of his hearers but of thousands—in the ruin of those who, in their turn, will listen to those he is addressing, on their coming into active employment. For it is not always possible to detect the errors that are maintained by individual candidates for the ministry, by examination at the moment of ordination; and, even if it were, it would be better not to allow them to proceed up to that moment; for there is commonly a lengthened interval between graduation and ordination, which, if allowed to be passed in error, must be productive of serious consequences to the Church; as one of two things will ensue—either the services of the candidate will be lost to the Church on the detection of his errors, or he will, should he pass muster, be allowed to go forth with an evil bias to the work upon which he is sent—neither of which contingencies are exactly such as the friends of the Church can calmly contemplate.

We are glad, then, to find that Dr. Jeune is not satisfied with the mere attempt to remove the doubts of such of those who are without, as have been alarmed at the supposed position of Oxford, but is turning his attention to the necessities of the junior members of the University, at this juncture, and prescribing antidotes to the poison which is so freely exhibited by theological quacks, under the immunity commonly enjoyed by quackery, when immoral means are unsparingly used, and nothing which can contribute to success is thought inapplicable.

The text Dr. Jeune has selected, with this most praiseworthy aim, and which he has handled with the greatest dexterity and success, is taken from Mark iii. 32-35—"And the multitude sat about him, and they said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee. And he answered them, saying, Who is my mother or my brethren? And he looked round about on them which sat about him, and said, Behold, my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother."—He opens his discourse upon these words with the following excellent observations in introduction of his statement:—

"If the spirits of the just who are awaiting their final consummation and bliss, be permitted to know what passes upon earth; if painful emotions can disturb their rest, the mother of our Lord must again feel the sword pierce through her soul, as she perceives how successfully Satan has availed himself of her dignity, to supplant God, her Saviour, in the hearts of many of his redeemed people. It is a grievous charge to bring against any who profess and call themselves Christians, that they worship the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed

for ever. But none who have travelled where Rome is dominant—none who are familiar with the books of devotion which are in general use among Romanists—can have failed to perceive that, in a great part of Christendom, the worship of Mary has been substituted for the worship of God, and that men trust in her, rather than in Christ, for grace and protection here, and for salvation hereafter.

"The authorized formularies of that corrupt Church prove sufficiently that her theory is in harmony with popular practices. But it is, notwithstanding, difficult to confound a Romish disputant by appealing to formularies and practices, when he is disposed to palliate or to deny the creed and the superstitions of his communion. Decrees and canons, and Church offices, are often vague and ambiguous, and may be in some cases, plausibly disavowed; the writings of popes, and saints, and prelates, may be represented as the productions of doctors speaking in their private capacity; the books in which the people delight as devoid of authority—their devotions, as instances of vulgar superstition, such as are occasionally found in the most enlightened Protestant countries.

"Our divines have always felt that, if we possessed a complete and official exposition of the creed of Rome, their task as controversialists would be almost at an end—so utterly repugnant to the word of God are the fictions with which she has debased Christianity. Perhaps Rome will never commit herself irrevocably to such a standard—she cannot, consistently with the principle of development. Meanwhile, we possess a work which, to a plain understanding, appears to approach very closely to it. It is a voluminous catechism, designed to qualify the French clergy to train the rising generation of that great country. To this work is prefixed a brief of the reigning pontiff, which was accompanied by a decoration for the fortunate author; and the brief is followed by strong recommendations from no fewer than three archbishops and six bishops. If we had recourse to older writers, and to books designed for Italy or Spain, we might find blasphemies more coarsely expressed than those which are adapted to the present condition of France; but there is enough, and more than enough, in this irrecusable authority, to prove that, whatever may be the religion of Rome, it is certainly not the religion of the New Testament." (pp. 5-7).

The learned author then proceeds, after some general observations as to the principle of development—which he, justly enough, characterizes as the expedient of the moment, and which he believes to be repudiated by the wiser divines of Rome—to apologise for the seeming inconsistency of the position which he must occupy, when he goes to speak, from such a place, of the blasphemies of Rome—a dread of which has deterred more than one honest person from speaking out, as well as the reluctance to appear to be attacking another communion:—

"It will be painful for you to hear, more painful for me to quote,

blasphemies; but no consideration of this nature ought to close the lips of a minister of the Gospel, in a place in which apostasy has been, and is yet expected to be, frequent; a place which still supplies admirers and apologists of the corruptions of Rome. It is of importance, too, that men's minds should be disabused of the notion, that a departure from our Church to the camp of her enemy is a mere removal from one part of the Lord's vineyard to another, or, at the worst, a simple act of schism, the guilt of which would cease if men crossed the British channel. The question at issue is, really between eternal truth and the delusions of Satan: it is, to speak in the words of our Church, whether 'the doctrine and decrees of Rome be agreeable to Christ's Holy Testament, or whether, by making the Holy Ghost the author thereof, she doth not blaspheme and belie the Holy Ghost to her own condemnation.' If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him. The truth—the truth as it is in Jesus—this must decide you. Every other consideration is, comparatively, insignificant, as between our Church and the Church of Rome. Our differences are not few, nor on secondary points: they are many—they are essential—they are eternal.

"Perhaps a simple exhibition of Roman doctrine, on a single but cardinal point, set forth on her own authority, and contrasted with a few passages of God's word, may, by his blessing, confirm us all in our holy faith; perhaps startle the minds of some seduced into admiration of an ideal Rome, such as late writers have painted, but who have hitherto been mercifully kept back from formal apostasy; and if this attempt should prove to be ill-judged, we may yet escape the guilt of misemploying altogether their precious moments, by dwelling, however briefly, before we conclude, on the ennobling doctrine of the text" (pp. 10-11).

Urging, then, briefly on his hearers that the errors of Rome are errors of addition rather than of omission, in which particular she departs from the usual course of heretics, and pointing out the use of this policy, he proceeds to show how she has superseded our Lord in his office as a Saviour, mediator, and intercessor, and how this has been *especially* done by her teaching as to his holy mother; and the bulk of the sermon is addressed to the proof of an assertion that, we doubt not, our readers would be unwilling to believe, but upon the most satisfactory evidence; since it declares that the Church of Rome has carried her apostasy to an extreme that even her most inveterate foe can hardly view but with surprise and sorrow; for men are apt to think that party feelings have somewhat exaggerated the case against Rome, and to abate somewhat from their indignation in their earnestness for fair play. But there is here no exaggeration—no room for doubt—all is plain—too plain—to save that Church from unqualified censure. The assertion is as follows:—

"It will be found that the various fictions respecting the blessed

Mary, to which Rome has given her sanction, are constructed with a definite idea; that, namely, of investing her, as far as possible, with the scriptural prerogatives, and attributes, and offices of the Son of God—some, indeed, in a lower, but others in a higher degree. These fictions are, consequently, little else than a miserable parody of parts of the history of the Lord, and of those passages of Scripture in which his qualifications and his work, as a Saviour, are set forth" (p. 12).

We cannot quote at length the masterly exposition of the doctrine of Rome with regard to the mother of our Lord: that would be to rob Dr. Jeune of too many pages. It is sufficient to say that it is as complete an exposure of the infamous conduct of Rome, in the corrupting of doctrine, as the most nervous parent could wish to be laid before his son, should any still fear that, at Oxford, the inroads of Romanism are little thought of; and one which, whether at Oxford or elsewhere, may be profitably referred to in the controversy between truth and error. But we will quote the observations which immediately follow the evidence which Dr. Jeune adduces, as we think them of a nature to commend him to the public as a faithful Churchman and minister of Christ:—

"Such is now the settled teaching of Rome. Long and fierce was the strife in her bosom, before this article could be brought forth—the Dominicans denying, the Franciscans maintaining it; while the infallible oracle prudently refrained from deciding the pious opinion to be a point of faith. Now, however, the strife seems to be at an end. The reigning Pope, a few years since, caused the words 'immaculate conception,' to be inserted in the preface of the Church service. Each day, indeed, does the doctrine seem to lead to new superstitions, and to receive fresh developments. Two centuries ago, the worship of the heart of Jesus was begun. A few years since, an arch fraternity, for the worship of the heart of Mary, was instituted by a private priest, and now reckons a million of members, and has, I believe, received the Papal sanction. The next step will, probably, be, that prayers will be addressed to her eyes, her ears, her hands, her feet, as the several parts of our Lord's body are invoked, in formularies lately recommended to us. Perhaps, ere long, the bold expression used two centuries ago, but of late repeated by a living and distinguished ecclesiastic, that Mary is the 'complement of the whole Trinity'—an expression which, indeed, seems to spring naturally from what is already received—will be found to be no daring blasphemy, but the happy symbol of a divine truth, and an anticipation of the future belief of the Church.

"Such, my brethren, is the new goddess of the Church of Rome. I say goddess, for Romish writers of name—nay, a Pope—have not scrupled to call her so. To speak of her deification is not uncommon among them. But I do not rest my accusation on these words alone, or mainly. Plain as they seem, they admit of a juggling evasion. She

is a goddess, they will tell you, because all true Christians are partakers of the divine nature: she is omnipotent; but her's is the omnipotence of prayer—that effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man which availeth much. Such paltering could not impose on a child; for if it be as they say, why not assign her attributes to every departed saint——why not worship every living believer? It is not, however, on the score of such language that we charge Rome with idolatry. She would not be a whit less guilty if it had been never used. The Holy Spirit calls Satan the god of this world—the belly, the god of the sensual—and covetousness, idolatry. But worshippers of these deities are so far from openly adoring, that they would indignantly repudiate them. Satan is not a jealous God; he is satisfied with a divided homage; he asks not to be confessed with the mouth; he does not even look for conscious veneration. Worship anything but the Lord, or anything with the Lord; and give it what name you will—whether Jupiter, or Baal, Peter, or Mary—only trust to it for protection and happiness, it sufficeth him. He takes to himself all that is not given to the Most High. He would have you worship them with the impure rites of heathenism; but if this cannot be, he is satisfied with spiritual adultery.

"Say to an unsophisticated Christian—There is a being who was the object of the thoughts and complacencies of God from all eternity—who was seen afore, desired, hailed by the prophets—the deliverer of the human race—one who was born without sin—who now reigns omnipotent in heaven and earth—the dispenser of all favours in the order of nature, and in the order of grace—the sole refuge of the most abandoned sinners—the source of inspiration—our mediator, our advocate, our intercessor—one the contemplation of whom, throughout eternity, is the whole desire of a Christian; to whose worship Europe owes her noblest fabrics, her churches, her monasteries, her hospitals. Say this, and ask, Who is that being? Will not an unsophisticated Christian reply at once—the enigma is easily solved—it admits of one answer only? You mean Christ, who is all in all—the Lord Jesus, God and man—our hope and our salvation; to him alone such attributes belong. But join the Church of Rome, and you must say, No; that being is Mary—our Lady of peace—our Lady of pity—our Lady of deliverance—our Lady of consolation; or, at least, you will hesitate between mother and Son.

"Massillon, one of the most eloquent orators of the Gallican Church, has constructed his noble argument for the divinity of Christ, on the ground, that, if a being like Jesus, who is invested with all power by God, who was brought into the world with so much glory, and who confers every blessing on man, be not God, we are indeed idolaters; but that it is God who is chargeable with the guilt of our idolatry; for it is impossible for us to think that a jealous God could attach the soul by such ties to a mere creature. Such a being, the arbiter of our destinies—the dispenser of all that we hope for—who does all that man looks for at the hands of God—must necessarily fill the place of God in the human heart. Judge ye, whether, taking for granted all that Rome has taught, another Massillon might not construct as forcible

an argument for the perfect divinity of Mary. Judge ye, whether Rome observes the first commandment, which says—'Thou shalt have no other Gods but me, or that other—'Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, and with all thy soul.' Judge ye, then, whether Rome be idolatrous or not—whether she hath not blasphemed the awful majesty of the Godhead—whether she have not robbed Christ of the love and trust of his people.

"Such, then, is the mystery of iniquity. Such the other Gospel, for which men have been found to abandon the Gospel of Christ. Such the creed for which some of our brethren have conspired to unprotestantize the Church of England." (pp. 24-29).

This very forcible language is well adapted to Dr. Jeune's purpose, and coming, as it does, immediately after the proof of his charge against Rome, must have had an impressive effect upon those who heard him; if among them any had been induced, by the specious arguments of the Romanizing party, to think that the doctrine of that Church, with respect to the Blessed Virgin, was not so untenable as it is usually supposed to be by Protestants. But powerfully as it must have aroused them to the perception of the sinfulness of the course adopted by Rome with regard to her worship, it was not thought sufficient by Dr. Jeune. It is followed up by observations which give to his sermon a completeness that will be found very inconvenient to our opponents, should they, in disregard of their usual policy, condescend to notice his assault. He has not contented himself with mere vague charges, nor, in drawing the attention of his hearers to the blasphemous appropriation to the Virgin-mother of our Lord, of those expressions of Scripture which are confined to him, has he contented himself with adducing the evidence upon which that charge depends, and with then offering merely general remarks; but has followed up these portions of his sermon with some pungent remarks upon the untenability of the doctrine of Rome, on this particular point, that will amply repay perusal, and has, in the general remarks on the doctrine contained in the text, with which he concludes, brought forward arguments that are decisive as well as practical. In short it is a perfect production, admirably adapted to open the eyes of those to whom it was addressed, and as such, likely to prove highly serviceable to the Church at this peculiar juncture.

Dr. Jeune tells us, in the advertisement to the reader, that by the advice of those friends at whose recommendation the sermon is printed, he has given (in foot notes, and in an appendix) in the original language, the passages to which he has referred in the text; and this is an exercise of discretion, that in

all future publications, whether by himself or others, we most earnestly recommend to be imitated. Dr. Pusey, in a note to his sermon on the "Entire Absolution of the Penitent," endeavours to get rid of Michelet, upon an allegation of deficiency in the authentication of the facts upon which he depends; and, although it is notorious that evidence in abundance can be produced, in answer to Dr. Pusey and others who side with Rome, there is so much in the objection calculated to mislead weak minds, that we would most strongly recommend the most accurate attention to this point by all who may be called upon, or who may feel disposed, to take part in the present controversy. For it must be remembered that it is to the weak that they most especially attend—their necessities must be provided for—the strong-minded are not in danger of falling, and may, therefore, comparatively speaking, be left alone. Mr. Newman's secession, indeed, may be thrown in our teeth as an answer to this assertion; but we think it will be obvious to every one, that in spite of his great abilities, his mind has become impaired by the peculiarity of his situation, so as to make it questionable whether he may, strictly speaking, be looked upon as an exception. But even, supposing him to be so, it will not make our recommendation inapplicable: it will still be of *most consequence* to attend to the necessities of those who are in most danger—the little ones of the University and the Church—those upon whom the most strenuous attempts are made, seeing as they are those with whom the greatest success is expected.

Nor can we conclude these hurried observations without commending to the notice of those who partake with Dr. Jeune in the confidence of the University, the particular kind of warfare adopted by him. This is no time for inaction—neither is it the time for mere defensive operations. We must carry the contest into the enemy's camp, so as to make him see that he must look to himself and withdraw from his present course; and it is certain that, in the attempt to do so, nothing will be half so productive of effect as such short and brilliant attacks as that before us. Let the distinctive doctrines between England and Rome be brought forward—the fallacies and impieties of our opponents be exposed, in sermons of moderate length and of pointed language, or in treatises of equal conciseness (though these will not be so effective as the former, as the former can be published as well as preached, the latter published only)—and it is almost inconceivable what benefit will accrue to the cause that we have in hand. Your lengthened treatise will be read by some, perhaps by many, but not by half so many as

will these. The expenditure of time, money, and patience, that they involve, is nearly as much against their readers as their authors: and there is, besides this, so much ground for the popular prejudice against great books, that they not infrequently prove themselves great evils. Mr. Ward's "large work" is an illustrious example of this—Mr. Newman's not an exception. The former, unless read with an object, would hardly be read through by any one: the latter is difficult of digestion; its parenthetical illustrations are so many, so long, and so little to the purpose, that it is hardly adapted to produce effect. And hence it is, that though its *great author* is gone, and has now departed from us for some time, few have been they who have followed him—he has not carried with him the band that was expected. Men of less ability than himself have been as useful to Rome in bringing converts—he certainly is not *facile princeps*.

We believe that we have truth on our side, and ability enough is left in the University, notwithstanding recent secessions, to warrant the attempt to assist the Church; and all that is wanted, to ensure success, is a concentration of power upon points that are likely to tell; upon such, that is, as are likely to yield up their effects to the shortest process—such as can be treated of in an animated manner without inconvenience either to the teacher or the taught. We are satisfied that this is not the last time we shall hear of Dr. Jeune; neither the last time that he will be *requested* to publish his valuable productions; but one man cannot do everything; neither will those others, to whom we have alluded, wish him to bear the whole weight of the contest; and we trust that such of them as have already shown that they are true to the Church, by the condemnation of the immoral attempts that have been made against the junior members of the University, will come forward to share the work with him, and be quickly followed by others, so that, by a division of labour, the effect that is to be desired may be the sooner produced, and Oxford resume its wonted position in the affections of the people, without risk of calumny or fear of reproach. Not that we would recommend, as a general rule, controversy, even in an university pulpit; but controversy, like the more dreadful forms of war, is sometimes necessary; and is, as they are, most blessed when it is short and effective.

Notices of Books.

Papers read before the Statistical Society of Manchester, on the Demoralization and Injuries occasioned by the want of Proper Regulations of Labourers engaged in the Construction and Working of Railways. Manchester: Simms and Dinham.

We would very earnestly call the attention of our readers and the public to the statements contained in this pamphlet, which comprises observations on the subjects indicated in its title by individuals who may well claim our regards from their position—Mr. Robertson, a surgeon of high standing and extensive practice in Manchester, and president of the society before which the papers were read; Mr. Rawlinson, the engineer to the Bridgewater Trust (the extensive canal navigation, worked by the celebrated Brindley, and now the property of Lord Francis Egerton); and Thomas Edwin Chadwick, one of the commissioners of inquiry into the labour of young persons in factories, &c. It has been placed in our hands too late for any extended notice; but, as we deem the facts which it makes known too important to allow it to remain over to another publication, we shall lay a few extracts from it at once before our readers.

It presents us with a frightful view of an evil, existing in our very midst, almost unknown, and one which, from the present tendency of commercial enterprise, is likely to go on increasing to an indefinite extent; and bad as are the injury to life and limb, occasioned by this want of proper regulations for our railway system (affecting not only the sufferers, but consequently the community at large), the demoralization ensuing on it is, in our opinion, far worse; and calls for immediate help, if we would have a stop put to what we must term a wholesale *heathenizing* of a large, an increasing, and important part of the population.

Mr. Robertson's letter exhibits an appalling list of accidents, arising out of the cutting of the summit tunnel on the Sheffield and Manchester Railway—thirty-two lives lost, and one hundred and forty-seven hurts, besides four hundred minor accidents; these including seven amputations of fingers. And it is the deliberate opinion of these gentlemen, borne out by facts that are adduced, that so frightful an expenditure of life and health might have been very greatly diminished had proper precautions been adopted in the management of the works. It is not a little startling to be informed that the number of killed and wounded, during that work, nearly equal the proportionate casualties of a campaign, or a severe battle! The losses in this one work may be stated as more than three per cent. of

killed, and fourteen per cent. wounded!" The deaths in the four battles of Talavera, Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo, were only 2.11 per cent. of privates; and in the last forty-one months of the Peninsular war, the mortality of privates in battle was 4.2 per cent., and of disease 11.9 per cent." Nor is this the only point to be looked at. Mr. Chadwick further informs us:—"In the case of deaths occurring in the prosecution of such works, the relief of the destitute, widowhood, and orphanage, has fallen upon the distant parishes from which the labourers have been frequently taken:" so that this heedlessness not only wastes life, but also imposes heavy pecuniary burdens on the country, and proximately on that part of it least benefitted by the undertaking.

The immorality of the workmen employed upon this tunnel was such as we cannot go into; and no wonder, considering the number of people crowded together from all parts—fourteen and fifteen men in one hut of two apartments; no provision made for religious instruction, for either the sick or healthy; and the work going on Sunday and week-day alike: not pumping, or such work as might arise from an emergency, but regular boring, and blasting, and mason-work.

It is a deep disgrace to the parties concerned; but we suppose the contractor must bear the blame rather than the directors. *These* are only concerned to get the thing done, any how—soon, and perhaps cheaply; though it is in another part well shewn that the best work—best in every way—is the cheapest. One man, at this same tunnel, died from fracture of the spine; and again and again, sinking into the grave, did he entreat to have the Bible read to him, and to receive such religious counsel as his poor forlorn spirit, shivering on the verge of eternity, felt it needed. But it was not to be had! The company, or the contractors, had *used up* his body, and his soul was nothing to them—it had not entered into the agreement! Surely, the very "stones of the wall shall cry out" against such unrighteous, such ungodly doings!

The want of proper accommodation for the workmen is a serious evil, both for morals and health. Mr. Robertson asked a woman in one of the huts how ten or fourteen lodgers could dry their wet clothes by a single fire? Her answer was, that the "clothes were seldom half dry." For the state of morals, we must refer to the pamphlet itself. The incentives to drunkenness, from the manner of paying wages, are also touched upon;—"July 11th, 1845, was pay-day, after a nine weeks'*

* We wish that some of the distinguished individuals who have, with such admirable zeal, applied themselves to the correction of abuses connected with

interval. On the 14th (Mr. Robertson's informant writes) there were everywhere fights, disorders, and drunkenness."

One of the workmen was asked, on that day, why he was there, among the drunken people? He was waiting for his money; and it might still (he said) be two or three days before all were paid! And when asked the reason of the delay, his answer was—and we cannot wonder at it—that he knew none, unless it were to keep the men idle till they had spent all their wages!

These poor creatures seem to be regularly victimized; for Mr. Chadwick tells us that he had been informed of one piece of work which was undertaken by the contractors at a loss, on the work itself; but they would make seven hundred pounds by the "truck" of beer, and inferior provisions to the workmen! The provisions at this summit tunnel were both dear and bad.

It is stated, too, that large contributions are made to the criminal population, by the railway labourers, at the expiration of their work. It is time the matter were looked into; for this state of affairs, at the "summit tunnel," is said to be but a sample of what takes place in other quarters; and when the vast amount of capital already engaged, and still to be embarked in railway projects, is considered, well may it be remarked that, "abuses springing up in connexion with them are likely, if unchecked, to become enormous abuses." Mr. Chadwick says:—

"The course of railway labour, and the expenditure of wages upon the labourers taken from the agricultural districts, is generally as follows:—The labourer has been detached from the habits and influences of his home and his village, and set to work amongst promiscuous assemblages of men attracted from all parts; has received double his ordinary amount of wages; and has been surrounded by direct inducements to spend them in drink and debauchery. If he were a married man, little or none of his earnings have been returned to his wife and family, who, in his absence, have commonly obtained parochial relief, on the ground either of 'desertion by the husband,' or of his 'absence

---

the factory system, would direct their attention to the practice, which is too common in some of the manufacturing districts, of paying wages at intervals of two, three, four weeks, and even more, if some holiday time should intervene, was to afford a pretext for pushing it still further: the mischief to which it leads is incalculable. Besides, the direct inducement to intemperance and extravagance which it holds out to the workman (as instanced in this pamphlet), it must be further borne in mind that, getting his goods on trust, he must, of course, pay a higher price for them, in order to remunerate the seller. The shopkeeper giving long credit, which varies in extent as the workman may or may not be in work is obliged, in consequence, to drive *his* payments to those who supply *him* with goods; while the number of "bad debts" which he makes, owing to this long credit system, not only ruins himself, but ultimately falls on the wholesale dealer. The amount of money lost in this way would astonish one who had not looked into the subject.

in search of work.' Whether he were married or single, the whole of the excess of money earned beyond his ordinary rates of wages has been expended, under the inducements to which he has been subjected; and at the completion of the works, he has been discharged penniless; and has returned discontented, reckless, and deteriorated in bodily and mental condition; or he has, with others of the same class, entered the ranks of the dangerous swarms of able-bodied mendicants, vagrants, and depredators, of whom the committals within the last few years have been so largely increased."

This is a terrible representation, and on authority that cannot be disputed. Had we space, we might fill many pages with quotations that would scarcely fail of leading the reader to the same conclusion as that to which these gentlemen have arrived; and a firm conviction that the remedy suggested—Government interference and controul, to *compel* some better provision for the life, health, and morals of the workmen—is the only one capable of meeting the lamentable case of the railway labourer—this plan being shewn to have worked well in other cases, as, for instance, in factory employment, respecting which, Mr. Robertson observes:—

"I am able (from an experience of nearly twenty-eight years) to testify to the improvements that have taken place in the health and happiness of the factory hands, as well as in the respectability of the masters, owing, mainly, to the enlightened regulations under which the latter are now compelled to conduct their establishments."

The principle of pecuniary responsibility is also well insisted upon, as the most effectual means of expressing a due care for the lives of passengers, by railway, as well as the labourers—most of the accidents happening to both arising from causes that a *little* extra expense would have obviated; and the only way to compel this extra precautionary expense seems to be, to render the parties concerned liable to a heavier one in the form of compensation to sufferers: nor is this principle left unsupported by illustrative cases.

We cannot pretend to touch upon all the points embraced by this pamphlet: we can but indicate its valuable contents, and, under a deep, overwhelming, sense of the magnitude and importance of the subject, press its consideration on all who are any ways concerned in these gigantic undertakings. A fearful responsibility rests upon them, and under circumstances that would render a forgetfulness of it altogether inexcusable. Wealth is the object sought in them—and *life* and *soul* are perilled for it!

Lays of Faith and Loyalty, or Narratives in verse, selected from History. By EDWARD CHURTON, M.A. Cambridge: Walters. London: Burns. 1845.

THIS little work forms the twelfth volume of the "Juvenile Englishman's Library," and is brought forward by its author, because, in the historical tales put forth for the young in prose and verse, there is an absence of all moral purpose—a want of unity in the component parts, and of judgment in the choice of materials—so as to produce no effect beyond the amusement of the lower faculties of the mind, with things that scarcely deserve a more lasting remembrance; and, of course, in so far as he desires to supplant these, he endeavours to frame a work that shall not be open to complaints of this nature, but shall deserve our praise, by being at once more complete and moral. But alas! such is the infirmity of our nature, that though we behold the mote in our brother's eye we consider not the beam that is in our own; and Mr. Churton errs in the matter of judgment, not only as much as, but more, than his predecessors, by bringing forward, for the instruction of youth, topics that must be of worse than a doubtful nature, and that at a time when the greatest discretion should have been used in the choice of subjects.

It is said of him, indeed, that under the pretence of advancing the claims of Faith and Loyalty, he is endeavouring to infuse into the minds of the young the elements of Popery; and that, if his work be allowed to be circulated to any extent, we shall not have to look long for a plentiful harvest of error. We think this charge carried somewhat too far, but that there is ground for it we cannot deny. If Mr. Churton be not guilty to the extent that such a charge would imply, he is, most certainly, guilty of great indiscretion in the choice of his subjects, and has been very unfortunate in the treating of some of them; and he must take the consequences at the hands of the public, notwithstanding the certificate of good behaviour which is involved in his late promotion—nay, that very promotion will aggravate the censure that will fall upon him. For it will not do, in times like the present, for any doubt to hover over those who are put forward in the front of the defenders of the Church; they must, at all events, be above suspicion, else no one will follow them in the moment of conflict. And we will add that our prelates must see, if they would not dismember the Church of England, that no one be put forward *by them* who has not the confidence of those he is to lead, or who, having it, may put forth as an author works that may have a tendency to shake that confidence. For, notwithstanding the respect that is due

from the inferior clergy to their superiors, and the cheerfulness with which they submit to them in all things, which can be canonically demanded of them, and their willingness to extend their compliances to a degree which shall not be bounded by mere considerations of duty, the great body of the Church of England will not tamely submit to be governed by incompetent men, much less by men whose incompetency arises out of indifference to the distinctive doctrines of the Church to which they belong, or such a careless handling of doctrine in their works as to lead to the suspicion of that indifference.

The battles of the Church, if fought at all, must be fought, if not upon the same principles as the battles of nations, at least with the same earnestness; and parties that throw themselves open to suspicion cannot carry them on to any beneficial purpose, in that the ardour of their followers will be damped, through which alone it is permitted them to look for success. Patrons, indeed, may force upon the Church persons who are not altogether fit for the situations occupied by them; and it may be a hopeless task to seek their removal. But we should hope, that, in the case of the hierarchy, at least, moral duties would be regarded as well as legal rights, when it fell to them to exercise the patronage that belongs to them; and that some respect should be had, in the estimate of the fitness of candidates for promotion, to the circumstances of the times as compared with the peculiar characteristics of their theology. If not, we may as well submit to Rome at once, and petition the bishops to accelerate our progress thither: it would be a kindness to us—we should thank them. It will be useless to fight—men cannot fight under suspected leaders—they will lay down their arms themselves rather than be betrayed: but, if their leaders have courage and discretion, there is nothing that they will not do to support them.

For the sake, then, of the Church, we implore our spiritual rulers not to encourage Popish prettinesses, by promoting those who disseminate them, unless they would have the Church of England in a state of apathy or rebellion—unless they would see, one by one, their clergy seek that countenance that they must one day fear, unless their own bishops are true to them: or, unless they would stir up that body to put themselves in opposition to their leaders, which would, indeed, be an evil hardly less to be lamented. Let our youth, at least, be secured from possible contamination by such as are to fill the high places of the Church of England—let no germs of development be laid by them. Let not monachism or penance be urged upon our children, even in their mildest form, lest the corruptions of pre-

tended solitude be one day their characteristics, and their turning to God, for pardon for their sin, a lie. Let *them* not be tampered with; or, if it be impossible wholly to prevent that, let not such as are guilty of it be put forward to the highest rank that a bishop can confer—let not such men be made his very vicegerents—let not them, at least, be suspected.

But we must turn from this very unpleasant topic to the work before us, to prove that monachism and penance are spoken of with too much favour, to allow of that work to be safely put into the hands of the rising generation. We quote the following:—

"Those still Cistercian walls are gone;
And Faith in bondage must abide,
Where tyrants, to her God unknown,
Rear high their pyramids of pride;
And their hard taskmen scarce will spare
The Sabbath hours for rest and prayer.

"And flatterers praise their deeds, and scorn
Those unenquiring days of old
Ere stirring sciences were born,
And wealth increased and love grew cold;
And teach, for duty's ancient way,
That to enjoy is to obey.

"But thou, fair child, beware their lure,
That would with notes of peace destroy;
Tempting meek hearts from shades secure
To griefs that feign the sense of joy.
And rather seek, ere storms be nigh,
The threshold of glad poverty.

"Nor scorn the truth that breathes within
Those mouldering aisles of Faith o'erthrown,
That souls who mourn for mortal sin
Must dwell in silence and alone;
That heaven shines down with purer ray
On virgin souls that watch and pray.

"Thou know'st not, how minds innocent
In this world's crowded solitude,
With pangs of secret grief are rent,
And fain would fly to deserts rude,
Where the lone dove may pour her moan
From dewy cave and mossy stone.

"Thou know'st not how that lordship proud,
That racks the vain with envy's thorn,
With weight of cureless cares is bow'd,
And they who have such fardel borne
More blithe in prison-bands would lie
Than bide that heart's captivity.

"I bid thee not with hood or veil
To cloud thy sun-bright youth in gloom,
But make, ere life's first promise fail,
Thy father's house thy freedom's home:
Arms, such as Templar never wore,
Shall meet thee on the Church's floor.

"And with that armour girded on
Go forth and try what truth can do,
Tho' singly match'd, yet not alone,
In combat with a world untrue;
With sweeter zest shalt thou be paid,
Than the glad hart's in noon-tide shade." (pp. 85-87.)

And again:—

"Where the Rie its waves of amber
Rolls o'er its bed of stone;
Where the wild deer stray, or clamber
The gray rocks all alone.

"There an abbey stands—more fair one
No northern vale hath seen;
That abbey rear'd the baron
Those echoing hills between.

"There dwell the monks, the wan ones,
Who labour, fast, and pray,
Good Bernard's meek companions,
In their cowls and frocks of gray.

"While the moon is on the mountains,
And the moonlit air is still;
No sound, save of the fountains,
Or the gushing near the mill;

"Now the midnight chaunt is ended,
And the aisles are deep in shade,
And in chambers long extended
The convent's sons are laid;

"Gaze softly where the grating
Gives to view the bed of heath;
There the baron rests awaiting
The welcome call of death."—(pp. 95, 96).

We do not deny that, in the former of these instances, when it is said that the author does not wish the youth of his readers to be clouded with gloom (though not a word is said of their after-life), it may be argued that, at all events, he did not wish to recommend monachism; and we are not unwilling that he should have the full weight of a reservation of this nature in his favour. But we do not like, in times like these—in times when especially a doctrine of development is put forth by one who is,

at all events, thought somewhat highly of by our author—to read in his works of the supposed bondage of faith on account of the changes he speaks of—

> "Those still Cistercian walls are gone,
> And faith in bondage must abide."

Neither do we like to read words so pregnant of meaning as the following:—

> "Nor scorn the truth that breathes within
> Those mouldering aisles of faith unknown,
> That souls who mourn for mortal sin
> Must dwell in silence and alone—
> That heaven shines down with purer ray
> On virgin souls that watch and pray."

Nor do we like the open favour of monachism in the latter of the instances quoted:—

> "There dwell the monks, the wan ones,
> Who labour, fast, and pray,
> Good Bernard's meek companions,
> In their cowls and frocks of gray."

We do not say that Mr. Churton's words may not be explained away; but is it *discreet* to bring them forward in the moment of controversy with Rome, and when a movement is openly going forward for the restoration of her supremacy? This is a question we cannot answer in the affirmative, with any regard to conscience. The doctrine of penance appears in the following extract. It is the story of St. Olave, formerly king of Norway:—

> "It was the Sabbath evening hour
> The calm of hearts believing
> The saintly king in silent bower
> Sweet fancy's chain sat weaving.
>
> "In his left hand a staff of pine
> His quiet grasp enfolded;
> His right, a blade both bright and fine,
> With which the staff he moulded.
>
> "An honest thrall, who waited by,
> His lord's behest observing,
> All heedless of his reverie,
> From duty deem'd him swerving:
>
> "At length, his courage rising higher,
> In tone of simple sorrow
> He said, 'It will be Monday, sire,
> If heaven so please, to-morrow.'

"'Gramercy friend,' the king replied,
'The fault was unintended;
But fitting penance shall abide
The hand that so offended.'

"He grasped the shavings great and small
As close as hand could handle;
Then bade the kind reproving thrall
To bring a lighted candle;

"And on his much-enduring palm
He let them burn together—
His visage all unmoved and calm
As Norway's summer weather.

"Whene'er St. Olave's Church I see—
Let scorners call it folly—
This tale shall be a hint to me
To keep the Sabbath holy."—(pp. 51, 52).

The inference drawn, certainly, is that we ought to keep the Sabbath holy; but the importance of its observance is enforced by the recounting of deeds of penance performed by the hero of the ballad. Was it right to instil into youthful minds holy truths upon such a warrant?—or, is it right that they should for a moment doubt what is the sanction of the holiness of the Sabbath? Could Mr. Archdeacon Churton justify this at any time? Can he justify it at the present? If he can, he is not only unfit for his archdeaconry, but to hold office in the Church—unfit even for the lowest place that could be found at her disposal. And yet he is amongst the highest—second to none but his bishop!

This is a sad blow and heavy discouragement to the Church—a blow such as has not as yet been equalled. It is the first instance in which the open avowal of the germs of Popery has met with encouragement by our prelacy—we trust it will be the last. Favourers of the dissatisfied party, who are at the bottom of the movement now going on, may have received their promotion before Mr. Churton; but no one who has openly stated doctrines of a Popish tendency had, up to the time of his succession to his archdeaconry, been signalized.

We may be thought, perhaps, by some to be unfair to Mr. Churton, in putting forward our sentiments in so decided a form as the present. But we live in times of doubt and suspicion: no man is sure of his neighbour; and every one must therefore expect, when he comes before the public, to have his conduct challenged. And in Mr. Churton's case there is not only the evidence we have drawn from his work against him; but collateral evidence, in other circumstances of his public conduct, to

strengthen our distrust. He was amongst those who addressed the proctors in words of thanks for the repudiating the condemnation of Tract 90 by the Oxford Convocation. And, although we are far from thinking that every one who signed that address approved of that tract (because some may be supposed to have thanked the proctors for the course they adopted, then, upon other grounds than the approval of that tract) yet, when we find that which is in itself at all events open to suspicion followed up by other acts that are open to suspicion also, there is enough to form a presumption of the unsoundness of the party whose work may be under consideration; and as in matters of this sort, as long as the parties choose to be cautious, presumption is all we can arrive at, we are obliged, when that is strong, to speak for the sake of the Church, however unpleasant it may be to do so. We should not wish to wrong any one—much less Mr. Churton: neither do we like to hint at the possibility of error in our spiritual rulers; but with us the Church is every thing—men are nothing, especially in connexion with it, but as they look to its distinctive doctrines and principles.

Notes on the New Reformation in Germany, and on National Education, and the Common Schools of Massachusetts. By George Combe. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

Such of our readers as are anxious to peruse something more than general observations on the German movement, and to trace it to its origin, will find this little pamphlet of service to them. But we think it right to state that, both in the notes on that movement, and those on national education, there is amply enough to show that the writer is a person of ultra-liberal principles, whether we look to religion or politics; and that, therefore, some little modifications and allowances may be requisite before we may hope to arrive at a correct estimate of the facts which he intends to illustrate, or of his character as their exponent. With this reservation, however—a reservation which appears sufficient to meet the necessities of the case—we would recommend the work before us to our readers, as something better than the vague generalities that have been bestowed upon the subjects under notice, and especially with regard to Germany and the Germans. Their movement is the principal subject of the author: the other appears to have crept in as a make-weight, and certainly is, comparatively, of little importance. Any one might write a better paper on it—certainly the author could: he cannot, therefore, expect us to commend it,

Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England, in the North American Colonies, previous to the Independence of the United States: chiefly from the MS. Documents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. By Ernest Hawkins, B.D., Fellow of Exeter College, &c., Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London: 1845.

The title of this work will explain its interest and importance; and we quote it with the twofold object of directing the eyes of our readers to its pages, and of expressing our own regret that circumstances have obliged us to defer a full examination of the book to the July Number of this "Review." Its claims are unusually strong. The position of the author has given him opportunities of consulting a large collection of original letters from missionaries in America; and his piety and zeal have enabled him to make the happiest use of his materials, and to construct a narrative of Christian enterprise and self-denying devotion which cannot be read without pleasure, or remembered without advantage. Never unneeded, now especially persuasive, are the pictures of apostolic courage, meekness, and faith. There is something at once beautiful and benign in the presence of these servants of God—whether we linger over the obscurer memorials of Bray, or the brighter name and more embellished history of Berkeley: of both we may say:—

> "Happy are the eyes that meet
> The apparition; evil thoughts are slayed
> At his approach, and low-bow'd necks entreat
> A benediction from his voice or hand."

For the present we must take leave of Dr. Hawkins, in the anxious hope and pleasing anticipation of a long conversation in the summer.

Hebrew Reading Lessons, consisting of the First Four Chapters of the Book of Genesis, and the Eighth Chapter of the Proverbs, with a Grammatical Praxis and an Interlineary Translation. London: Bagster and Sons.

We have great pleasure in recommending to the attention of beginners in Hebrew this very excellent little work: its chief merit is that "the serviles which are added to the root, as well as all prefixes and suffixes of each word are printed in *hollow* letters, and all letters which have been dropped from the root are placed above the line." This will be found of great assistance to beginners, as there is nothing which is so puzzling to them at first as these peculiarities of the language. By the adoption of this plan the root is at once thrown up to the sight, and the modifications it has received exposed. It is a most valuable, though unpretending, work.

Tentamen Anti-Straussianum. The Antiquity of the Gospels asserted on Philological Grounds, in refutation of the Mythic Scheme of Dr. David Friedrich Strauss. An Argument by ORLANDO T. DOBBIN, LL.D., Trinity College, Dublin. London: Ward and Co.

THIS very clever argument ought to be in the hands of every one who is interested in the defence of Revelation, and who feels that an attack upon the authenticity of the Gospels must, if not steadily met, lead to a repudiation of the word of God at no very distant period. It is based upon a principle, which it would be well if others would recollect, that the sacred books of the Christians, when assailed, will be found sufficient for their own defence; and that, as new methods of attack are contrived by those who impugn them, even from those books will new methods of repulsion appear. Our author speaks as follows:—

"The great question in the Christian Church, for a century past, has undoubtedly been the age of the Gospels. The comparative recentness of their composition has never been maintained with so much vigour, nor with so much presumed success, as by Dr. David Friedrich Strauss. The more intellectual of the Neologian party seem already to have adopted him as their apostle, and to vaunt of his book as a new revelation. In fact a vague but general impression prevails in our British circles that the German divine is something more than any previous opponent of Christianity, for that not only is his mythic theory ingenious, but his logic (that is the favourite merit ascribed to him) unanswerable." (pp. v., vi.)

Now, his aim is not to depreciate Dr. Strauss' abilities, nor to disparage those who have gone before him in the conflict. Of him and them he speaks well enough—of the latter in terms of high commendation; but he would add his own argument, which aims at proving, from philology, that the Gospels were composed much within thirty years of our Lord's death (p. xi.), and consequently could not be, with justice, regarded as they have been by German theologians.

The author commends his essay to the candid consideration of believer and unbeliever alike, as an humble and sincere expression of his love for what he deems the truth, and declares that it will be a rich reward, if it should be considered to add to the panoply of the evidences of Christianity, and begs that, if successful, scorn may be cast upon him rather than upon it; and although we are aware that custom makes observations of this sort appropriate to a preface, we do not think there is much fear of the result. Dr. Dobbin will have to put his modesty into his pocket, and accept of the praises of the public; for we cannot suppose that the reader, in this instance, can be otherwise than most benevolent.

As Dr. Dobbin's work may be had for a trifle, it would be unfair to make large extracts from it—much more would it be so to transfer to our pages the substance of his argument, so as to take from it that freshness which it enjoys in the original. We shall do no such thing—we shall give only enough to let our readers know what it is with which he has to contend, and how he proposes to meet his adversary, and leave them to follow his argument themselves; for we are perfectly convinced that he has treated it successfully, and that they will gladly go to his pages for enlightenment as to the main points upon which he relies. From the historical portion of the work before us we shall draw the following:—

"Shortly after Paulus of Tübingen, the *facile princeps* of the Rationalists, had graduated with such *eclat* in the school of German naturalism, and reduced the evangelical history to a mere common-place record of a life, whose features varied in no respect from that of every-day men, save in the success with which Jesus practised upon the credulity of his followers, or the easiness with which they submitted to be duped, a new battery was opened upon Christianity from another quarter, by Dr. David Friedrich Strauss, in his 'Life of Jesus.'

"But the myth itself was no new device for getting rid of inexplicable or miraculous occurrences in the volume of revelation. Both in the Old and New Testaments, from Semler to the Coryphœus of the mythics just named, a mythic element had been detected. Eichhorn, Gabler, Kaune, Meyer, Schelling, Vater, Bauer, De Wette, and De Vatke, have all been labourers in the same field, with much zeal and various success. From fable in the beginning of Genesis—the amount of the discoveries in this department at first—they proceeded, until, at length, there was found to be little else than fable down to the close of the Apocalypse. The singular renown of Dr. Strauss is not built upon his being the inventor of this system, but its most masterly exponent and methodiser, and the most daring experimenter in its application to New Testament history. Others laboured, and he entered into their labours; and, if a rash purpose, and powers more than respectable, could have done it, put the finishing stroke to their rude work of demolition on the sacred books. Of the seamless robe of historic truth in the life of Christ, they leave not a rag or tatter; and its entire fabric, from its commencement to its close, is a fond figment of the human heart of that day, modified by its Hebrew affinities." (pp. 16, 17).

But naturalism is different from mythicism, though they are each of them species of anti-supernaturalism; and our readers may like to know what are the characteristics of that with which Dr. Dobbin has to contend. We go, then, to the following:—

"*Quotations from Strauss.*—'A myth is the invention of a fact by the help of an idea. A nation or religious community finds itself in a certain position in the midst of certain institutions and notions in the spirit of which it lives; the nation or community finds itself constrained,

by invincible yearnings after satisfaction, as to the origin of those observances and views, to imagine to itself an origin for them. *The real origin is concealed in the darkness of the past;* or it is not sufficiently clear to correspond with the clearness and fulness of their enlarged conceptions and desires. By the light of those conceptions, and at the instigation of those desires, they trace upon *the obscure canvass of the past* an attractive picture of fabulous incidents, their incidents being but the reflection of their present thoughts and aspirations.' (*Intro.*, § x.) 'The great difficulty (he had said before) to be cleared away, when we turn from the Old to the New Testament, in the mythic conception, is this—that we do not ordinarily search for myths except in the primitive and fabulous ages of the human race; that period when men had not already begun to consign the history of events to writing.' 'But,' he observes in the way of obviating this objection, 'Gabler calls attention to the fact, that the idea of antiquity is a relative idea.' 'Without doubt, with regard to the Mosaic religion, the Christian religion is modern; but, in itself, it is sufficiently old to justify us in ranging the primitive history of its founder with the ancient times. There were, it is certain, in those times, written documents upon other subjects; but here that does not affect the question, and, indeed, proves nothing, *if it be possible to show that, during a long period, no one possessed any writing concerning Jesus, more particularly respecting the commencement of his life.* All was confined to oral relations, which, it is not hard to conceive, were adorned by the colours of the marvellous, and impregnated with the ideas of the contemporary Jesus, thus becoming true historic myths.....For the Old Testament, we have seen that the mythic conception could only be maintained by those who deny that the historic documents contained therein had been composed by ocular witnesses, and contemporaries. It was precisely the same for the New Testament.....Since the opinion is now established that the three first evangelists proceed from oral tradition, it is, as we know, especially since that period that either mythic ornament, or the pure myth, have been found in those traditions. On the other hand, the major part of our cities now consider the Gospel of John as authentic, and, in consequence, of a certitude perfectly historic; while those who, with Bretschneider, doubt even the existence of the apostle, are still able to allow a large place in that gospel to the mythic element. (*Intro.* ix.)

"But (it will be said) this divine origin rests nowhere upon so authentic a documentary basis as in the Hebrew and Christian religions. While the mythic cycles, amongst the Greeks and Romans, consist of mere collections of unaccredited legends, the biblical history has been written by eye-witnesses, or, at least, by persons who, on the one hand, stood in such a relation to the eye-witnesses as enabled them to relate the truth; and whose evident honesty, on the other hand, permits us not to doubt the existence of their good inclination to relate it. *Certainly, it would be of most decisive importance for the credibility of the Bible history, if it could be proved that it is written by eye-witnesses, or even by near neighbours, in point of time, to the occurrences recounted; for although mistakes, and consequently false narrations,*

may find room even in the case of eye-witnesses, yet the possibility of unintentional error (besides intentional imposture, is easily detected) is confined within much narrower limits, than when the narrator is removed from the events by a longer interval, and compelled to draw his accounts from the oral reports of others."—§ xiii. (pp. 82-84.)

Now, Dr. Dobbin addresses himself to this admission, and triumphantly proves that the four gospels were histories, written by men capable of testing facts rigidly, and detailing them precisely, as being the works of men who lived in the times which they speak of; and he does it by the production of internal evidence—the production of a usage in the gospels, which does not appear as the epistles of the New Testament, and which not only does not appear in them, but could not be co-ordinate with the usage of times more remote: and, though we will not detail the argument, for the reasons above assigned, we have no hesitation in saying that it is complete, and in every respect worthy of the perusal of our readers. Indeed we have not seen an argument, for many a day, so free from objection as this. It has given us great pleasure, and is calculated to do the same for all who will read it. A challenge is given to Strauss which we doubt if he will accept: if he accept it, it will tend only to further confusion.

Plain Lectures on the Gospel according to St. Matthew. By the Hon and Rev. C. G. Perceval, Rector of Calverton, Bucks, in Four Volumes. Vols. 2, 3, 4. London: Capes and Co.

The first volume of this work was noticed by us in the Number for April, 1845, when we drew the attention of our readers to the simplicity and plainness aimed at by Mr. Perceval. Now that the work is complete, we do not hesitate to say that it will be found highly useful to all who have a sense of the value of these properties. Indeed, we think that, if the author would reprint them in double columns, and a small but clear type, so as to bring them into the compass of one volume, and within the reach of people of small means, he would be amply repaid by the increase of circulation—not but what they are cheap now, in comparison to the style in which they are got up—but they are beyond the reach of those to whom they would be most useful—out of the grasp of the great majority of our population—too costly for those who, though the creators of wealth, know little beside its creation.

A Brief Plea for the Old Faith, and the Old Times of Merrie England, when Men had Leisure for Life and Time to Die. Addressed principally to the Industrial Classes of his Fellow Countrymen and Women. By their sincere Well-Wisher, FRANK FAIRPLAY. London: Dolman. 1846.

THIS book is an *ad captandum* argument, addressed principally to the manufacturing population, who, as has been truly observed, "have neither time to live nor time to die," whose lot is thrown amongst toil and labour, and to such an extent as to allow of little else than the provision for the moment. Who can look forward for a provision against casualties, much less against the sorrows of age; and whose moments are so engrossed as to preclude a right estimation of eternity? And the specific which is offered to them is a return to Popery, and the channel through which relief is to flow is monasticism.

It is contended that, as in days of old, relief was extended to the poor through the agency of religious houses, so in the present day, relief would be derived to the same class from similar sources; and that, but for Protestantism, a Malthusian poor-law would never have been heard of, and perhaps not a rural police. And all the ills that flesh is heir to, and some to which it is not, are of course spoken of as the necessary consequents of Protestantism—if not a development of its idea. In short, it is alleged, that we must sue humbly for the pardon of the Pope—earnestly seek re-union with that centre of unity of which he is the representative before "cakes and ale" will flow in—first most religiously cursing Henry the Eighth and the Reformers, whom we have hitherto, like so many fools, been blessing.

In order to get the steam up for this purpose, a very elaborate analysis of the "History of the Reformation" is presented to Frank Fairplay's readers; but it is remarkable that all the care has been bestowed upon one side—none has been thrown away upon the other; and the consequence is, that if we have not an impartial account, we have a racy one, of the interesting period which is alluded to. No one, perhaps, in the present day could equal our author—Cobbett must be revived to surpass him. Our author is certainly inferior to him in talent, but may challenge a comparison in virulence. But Cobbett will not arise to dispute possession of the field, and so our author will probably enjoy his ill-earned honour.

We will not deny that there were circumstances connected with the Reformation which no one, in his senses, will attempt to justify. Perhaps we might not be unwilling to admit that our religion "first shone in full radiance upon England from Mistress Boleyn's charming eyes." Perhaps, too, other circumstances, which had as little to do with the religion as her fascinations,

combined with her influence to afford a proximate cause for the introduction of the Reformation. But this has nothing to do with the point at issue between the Churches of England and Rome. The Reformation must be shewn to have been inapplicable to the period, and unfounded in truth, before it can be got rid of, and its prevalence up to this time accounted for by such as would allege that it is in opposition to God. It is not sufficient to say that it was introduced or favoured by circumstances of a doubtful or evil nature; for such has, not unfrequently, been the case with acknowledged blessings, as might easily be demonstrated by any one who knows anything of the doctrine of an over-ruling Providence, and the facts upon which it is founded.

But, were it not so, the argument derived from this source cannot fairly be used by our author; for, while the Reformed Church is not responsible for the evils which were antecedent and introductory to its establishment, no little ingenuity is required to make it so. Our author is not a little anxious to remove the responsibility arising out of certain enormities that are inseparable from the history of his own Church, and defends it with no little eloquence. And it may be fairly asked if everything of an unfavourable nature which occurs in the administration of the affairs of the Romish Church is not to be held to be subversive of its claim upon our allegiance—with what fairness evil can be said to be subversive of the claims of the Reformed Church which, though introductory, was antecedent, and in no way connected with its administration. If the following argument is to amount to anything in favour of Romanism, the principle upon which it is founded must be of equal service to Protestantism: surely, in the face of it, the Reformation in this country cannot be attacked with fair play.

"It must be borne in mind that the arms of the Church are wielded by human hands, and that its bright history must, consequently, be expected to be in some places blotted and blurred by the evil deeds of bold, bad men, who dishonoured the faith and office they professed and exercised. Amidst the loud hosannas which celebrate her glorious and peaceful triumph over the sensual atheism of the south, and the coarse idolatry of the north of Europe, an attentive ear may doubtless distinguish, at long intervals apart, a wailing cry of suffering as for conscience sake; but this, however sad and mournful, no more affects her claim to be God's Church, than did the crime of Judas invalidate the commission given by Christ to his companions, the apostles. These are specks on an else stainless robe; and it is certain that no candid and attentive student of the history of the Church, whatever his previous religious prejudices, can rise from its perusal without being impressed with a profound conviction, that she was God-directed, and God-restrained in her high mission..... (p. 7.)

This is pretty well for a man who throws stones at the Reformation; but this is not sufficient. Let us turn to the following:—

"This rapid sketch of the progress of the Church would be unpardonably incomplete, did it not contain some notice of the *intestine* discord, follies, crimes, which impeded her progress, and invited the attacks of the avowed foes to her peace. I shall not insult the understanding of the reader by any *argument* to prove that the misconduct or the crimes of individuals, can not affect the character of the institution of which they are unworthy members. The angelic host was not contaminated by the fellowship of Satan and his angels, cast out as soon as they rebelled. (p. 25.)

So, also, farther on, our author, in the abundance of his consciousness of the unfairness of his argument, breaks out into the following language:—

"I may be, perchance, reminded of the evil and violent deeds committed by evil and violent men in the name of that Church (the Romish). I lament the partial truth of the charge; but I can perceive no soundness in the inference so often deduced from it. For one person that has suffered injustice from men who dishonoured the faith they professed, how many dying pillows have been smoothed and cheered by the ministerings of faithful priests; how many breaking hearts and wounded spirits bound up and comforted; how many children, perishing and all but lost, restored to bless the lives and deaths of weeping parents; how many miserable hearths have been cheered; how many red-handed, tyrannical oppressors of the humble, humbled and brought low? The spots in the sun must be carefully mapped out and numbered, to be known; but the light and heat of the great luminary require no herald and no chronicler." (p. 78.)

These passages are surely sufficient to answer the address of our author; but then he has something wherewith to blunt the edge that may be turned against him:—

"The insuperable objection to the Anglican Church, its mortal taint is, that it was *conceived* in crime, *born* in crime, *matured* in crime. The Catholic Church was conceived of God, born of holiness, matured in virtue. The edifice of the Anglican Church was reared by apostates, and cemented with innocent blood. The Catholic temple, erected by apostles and martyrs, has it may be, its excelling brightness here and there faintly *stained* by sin—a tremendeus distinction!" (p.78.)

Of course, it is not convenient to our author to admit much against his own Church, or more in favour of ours; but the least acquaintance with history would turn that balance against him which he so complacently claims for himself—at all events, the Church of Rome cannot condemn the Church of England for doing the same things as herself—much less hold her responsible for acts which, though they gave an opportunity for her establishment, were in no way produced by her. Had their been no faults in the Romish Church, no more human designs

would have furnished an opportunity for her subversion in this country; but it was the wickedness and tyranny of that Church that gave birth to the Reformation. And we feel satisfied that the good sense of our countrymen will not allow them again to listen to the voice of this charmer, charm he ever so wisely.

Our author says with more smartness than truth:—

"We are frequently told, with a smirk and a swagger, by Exeter Hall orators, that the 'Reformation' has made England what she is. If they mean what she is in her crowded mines, her hot factories, her teeming garrets, alleys, cellars, union-houses, in her reckless and restless working population, I perfectly agree with them; but it is surely somewhat illogical and absurd to attribute her victories by land and sea to the reformed liturgy; the invention and perfection of steam-boats, railroads, and gas-lights, to the thirty-nine articles; or the erection of the Thames-tunnel to the doctrine of the Queen's spiritual supremacy." (p. 6).

Surely this is a remnant of that spirit which led our author to mock at religion (p. 73), and read Tom Paine (p. 74); or he would not attempt to ridicule that faithful feeling that attributes all our successes to God's blessing. The Exeter Hall orators mean no more than that, by the pureness of our religion, evidenced in the Reformation, we have attained the blessing of God, and that we should be mad to forfeit that blessing by the abandonment of our religion. And our artizans will take up their spirit, and ask some more solid reasons for conversion than Frank Fairplay can give them. Let him not be surprised if they ask him some startling questions as to Popery; and let him be prepared to shew its merits, more than he appears at present to be, not forgetting its consistency with liberty, without which he will make no progress with them. The tyranny of Rome will not do for England, and he will utterly fail in his attempt to palm it upon our operatives.

A Letter on Recent Schisms in Scotland, with a Documentary Appendix and an Introduction addressed to the Lord Bishop of Llandaff. By the Rev. R. Montgomery, M.A., Oxon. Second Edition. Lendram.

To such of our readers as take an interest in the affairs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and who have been alarmed by the reports that have reached this country with respect to its divisions, Mr. Montgomery's pamphlet will be invaluable. Not only are the remarks which flow from his pen just and seasonable, but a collection of documents is appended which is likely to be of much service. We commend it to our readers, reminding them that it has already come to a second edition, which is no small evidence of the appreciation in which it is held—an appreciation that must be acceptable to its author.

Hexapla. An Edition of the Bible, containing a Combination of Typographical Helps and Elucidations, facilitating, by a Concentration not hitherto attempted, the Grammatical Acquisition of the Original Languages. Psalms 1. xxxvi. Printed at the private press of Dr. Bialloblotzky. London: Longmans. Cambridge: Deighton. 1845.

THIS is a remarkable undertaking, and as extraordinary in its execution—indicating a combination of various talents rarely found concentrated in one individual; and we earnestly hope that no want of encouragement will impede or frustrate the completion of this bold undertaking, which, we are told in the title page, "if supported, will be extended to the Chaldee of the Old Testament, and the Greek and Syriac of the New."

The volume before us, which embraces only thirty-six of the Psalms, is ushered in by three prefaces, or prolegomena—in Greek, Latin, and English. It also contains, bound up with it, very clear instructions on folding sheets, and on a large scale, concerning the Hebrew alphabet, the vowel points, and all the accents—both those which serve the purpose of stops, and those which regulate the pronunciation and sense, whether metrical or prosaic. Moreover, there is a list of all the simple Hebrew roots, amounting to 2,252, with short directions for finding them; and a table of the flexion of the regular Hebrew verb through all its conjugations and tenses.

The Hebrew text, the acquisition of which these various helps are designed to facilitate, is itself printed in a manner to render it more easy of comprehension to the beginner; for the *radical* letters of each word are printed in the ordinary *black* characters; but the *servile* letters, though printed in letters of the same size, are *followed* out in the middle, so as to look fainter, being only the outlines of letters. As most of the Hebrew roots consist of three letters, the learner who perceives *three* black letters in a word becomes assured at once that these three letters form *the root;* but where any of the radical letters are dropped, or any difficulty is likely to occur, the root itself is inserted under the word in the text, but in a smaller character; and the effect of the conjunctive and disjunctive accents is represented, as nearly as it can be, by inequalities in the spaces between the words, and the typographical marks with which we are supposed to be already familiar.

The work takes its name from the HEXAPLA of Origen, and it embodies all the fragments which remain of Origen's six versions, as first collected by Drusius, and as afterwards enlarged by Montfauçon; but the present arrangement is different from any of the preceding. The version of the Septuagint we possess

entire: this, therefore, is arranged parallel with the Hebrew—each Greek word being placed over the Hebrew word with which it corresponds; and below each Hebrew word is given its English translation, as literal as it is possible to make it; and where the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and others have differed materially from the Septuagint, these versions are inserted for the sake of comparison, as is also done in those cases where there are passages in the Septuagint which are not found in the Hebrew.

We think the mere statement of this plan sufficient to commend it to all who need such a help to the critical understanding of Scripture; but, we may add, that we have examined this volume with attention, and have reason to think that it is correctly executed, and that it fully accomplishes all that it professes, or leads the reader to expect.

The Miscellaneous Works and Remains of the Rev. Robert Hall, with a Memoir of his Life, by Olinthus Gregory; *and a Critical Estimate of his Character and Writings, by* John Foster. London: H. G. Bohn. 1846.

This is the first volume of a series intended to furnish well printed, accurate editions of works, for which there is a constant demand at the lowest possible price; and so to supersede those common and carelessly printed books which are called cheap editions, and are little better than trash. The great experience and large capital of the present publisher, enable him to do this effectually, by furnishing these good editions at as low a price as the former bad editions; and it has, therefore, exposed him to misrepresentations which he has found it necessary to correct, and to attacks upon his copyright which he has found it necessary to vindicate in the courts of law. We think it right to say thus much in behalf of a most praiseworthy undertaking.

The works to be thus published, being of established character, renders it unnecessary to speak of anything more than the typographical and ornamental character of the volumes; and, in these respects, the present volume is not merely unexceptionable, but very commendable. It is well printed, and handsomely bound; and there is a portrait of Hall prefixed, which is a most excellent likeness, and engraved in the best style. This we are glad to see, and would hope that none will be admitted into the future volumes which are of an inferior character. It is far better that there should be no portraits than that caricatures should be introduced—misrepresenting the parties, and disgraceful as works of art.

Vindiciæ Ignatianæ: or the Genuine Writings of Saint Ignatius, as exhibited in the Ancient Syriac Version, vindicated from the Charge of Heresy brought against them by the Writer of an Article in the Eighth Number of the English Review. To which is subjoined an Appendix, containing the Opinions of various Learned Men respecting the Ignatian Epistles, from the year 1650 *down to the Discovery of the Syriac Version in* 1843. By the Rev. W. Cureton, M.A., F.R.S. London: Rivingtons. 1846. 8vo.

We gave an account of Mr. Cureton's most important discovery of the Syriac version of the epistles of St. Ignatius, shortly after its publication,* together with an abstract of the very powerful arguments adduced by him, to prove that these *shortest* Syriac epistles are the genuine productions of that eminent martyr for the Christian faith. And, as far as we can ascertain, the judgment of the learned, both on the continent and in this country, is in accordance with Mr. Cureton's judgment. A writer, however, in a contemporary journal, has taken a different view of the subject, and has brought the heavy charge of heresy against these Syriac epistles—"*Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.*" Besides refuting this charge, Mr. Cureton's "Vindiciæ Ignatianæ" contain much information, which will be read with deep attention by all who take an interest in the study of patristical theology. We hope he will be encouraged to lay before the public further fruits of his important discoveries among the ancient Syriac manuscripts which are preserved in the British Musem.

Clarke's Foreign Theological Library. Vol. I. Commentary on the Psalms, by E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology, Berlin. Translated by the Rev. P. Fairbairn and the Rev. J. Thomson. Edinburgh: Clark. London: Seeley and Co.

We have much pleasure in introducing this work to the notice of our theological readers—the enterprising publisher of which was previously known to biblical students by the publication of the "Biblical Cabinet,"—a series of standard treatises on Hermeneutics, Exegesis, and Philology, now extending forty-five small octavo volumes, which have materially contributed to diffuse a taste for biblical science. The "Foreign Theological Library" is to be published by annual subscription, on easy terms to the subscribers. The first volume contains a portion of Dr. Hengstenberg's "Commentary on the Psalms"—a work which, for sound learning, accurate exegesis, and evangelical sincerity, deservedly holds a high rank among the recent productions of German theologians. We regard this undertaking with much satisfaction, and sincerely wish it success.

* See Vol. XVIII. p. 501, *et seq.*

W. E. Painter, 342, Strand, London, Printer.